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AND

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY & CULTURE

PAPERS ON INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

ANCIENT INDIA TO A.D. 1300

BY

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PREFACE

This was the name suggested by the late Rev. Canon Sell for a collection of nineteen of my papers brought out in the form of a book. This I resolved upon doing in 1910 when it looked as if I should be compelled, by exigencies of official work, to give up doing any research work. The extract from the introduction contributed by the late Dr. Vincent A. Smith, will indicate the character of these papers and provide the justification for their publication. The book was found useful both by the students and the teachers of the subject, and the question was often asked of me whether I had no idea of bringing out the book again. Owing to pressure of other work I could not take up the work. It is now being published very much enlarged by the addition of a comparatively large number of papers published from time to time by me as Professor of Indian History and Archaeology at the Madras University. The plan of work adopted for the Professor by the University, at my own suggestion, admitted of the lectures being of a regularly educational character falling into two categories, as it were;—advanced studies on the subject in general, intended primarily for the more advanced University students; and lectures intended for the public, more or less, on matters of research work conducted by the Professor, whenever it was felt that the results so far achieved were worth publishing. They are all scattered about in a large number of journals published

from time to time. It was felt that the more important among them which have an educational value and may prove to be of use to students might be published. Hence the publication of these selected papers in two parts: (1) papers on general Indian History, both North and South, included in the first part which is issued under the old name, Ancient India; and (2) the other papers of the same useful character, but relating to a later period of South Indian History mainly, and a number of miscellaneous papers bearing upon topics of Indian culture, forming another part in continuation, under the caption "South Indian History and Culture." The two parts together contain the more important of the lectures delivered at the University mostly, during my tenure of office, excepting those more important lectures which were published as separate books. It is to be hoped that this publication would prove to be of benefit to students and teachers alike, more particularly University students.

My obligations are, indeed, great to my colleagues on the Editorial Staff of the Journal of Indian History, Rao Saheb Professor C. S. Srinivasacharyar, Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar and their collaborators in the first instance. Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L.M.S., of the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, who has undertaken the responsibility of publication, and Mr. G. Srinivasachari of the G. S. Press are responsible for the printing and get up of the work, and I acknowledge their assistance with gratitude. It is to be hoped that the publication will be of benefit to students of Indian History and serve as a memento of the work done by the first

Professor of Indian History and Archaeology at the University.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge my obligations to the various journals and magazines, from which these papers have been taken and to express my gratitude to them. It was impossible to write and obtain individual permission, as the printing work had to be done against time.

Madras, S. K.
15th March, 1941.

Extract from the late Dr. V. A. Smith's Introduction to Ancient India.

"The request made to me by Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar that I should prefix to his volume of collected essays on the literary and political history of South India, a few words of introduction met with ready acceptance, because nothing gives me greater pleasure than to watch the steady progress made by Indian-born students in the investigation of the ancient history of their own country. It would be easy to name many recent Indian authors who have made important and solid contributions to accurate knowledge of the early history of India. Among such writers, Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar holds an honourable place, and, if he had leisure greater than that which official duties permit, he might, perhaps, produce that *Early History of Southern India* which is so much wanted and can be written only by a scholar fami-

liar with the country and one or more of the Dravidian vernaculars. The collection of papers now offered to the public does not profess to be such a history. It is simply a reissue of essays printed on various occasions at different times, and in some cases now subjected to slight revision. A volume of the kind which is rather materials for history than history itself, necessarily suffers from unavoidable overlapping and repetition, and from a lack of unity. But notwithstanding the defects inherent in an assemblage of detached essays, I can cordially recommend this book as being a readable and generally sound introduction to the study in detail of the history of the South."

Oxford,
February 8, 1911.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

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BOOK I

HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA—GENERAL

CHAPTER I

A HISTORICAL SURVEY UP TO A.D. 700

In attempting to look back upon our own history, the first essential would appear to be the marking of a few of the more salient features, so that we may group round these a number of minor events and incidents. This will give us perspective; and whatever imperfection there may be in detail it will make the whole presentable. If, at this distance, we take a retrospect the history of India of the Aryan immigration would appear, like our own Himalayas at a great distance, all smooth but for a few peaks of commanding height. 'Happy is the nation whose annals are a blank,' said Carlyle, and if we can derive comfort from this seeming blankness, we shall perhaps be in a delusion. I shall attempt, therefore, to present in outline the outstanding features with a view to clothing these later on to make them as presentable looking as we may.

We have to begin with the Aryans in their own homes wherever they might have been and move along with them. This will be partly extra-Indian in character and withal essential to the proper understanding of their doings in India. We shall name this for convenience the Pre-Indian age of the Indo-Aryans *circ.* 3000 B.C. During this age the Aryans are found occupying the country up to the Indian frontier. They are a nomadic-agricultural folk, already differentiated from their Iranian brethren, developing some of the features peculiar to the Indo-Aryans of the Rig-Veda.

The next step in advance takes them across the frontier into India. During this stage of their migration we find them in occupation of the land of the five rivers. It is here for the first time that the Aryans come in contact with the aborginal inhabitants of India and the struggle for possession of the country begins. The more rudimentary civilization of course, gives way to the more advanced and vigorous. It is again in the land of the five rivers that the simple civilization and compact tribal organization take form and are pictured to us in the Rig-Veda. The rich soil and flourishing communities catch the eyes and attract the desires of the neighbouring, but still primitive, cousins of these Indian Aryans. To make room for these new arrivals, not without a fight perhaps, the Indo-Aryans move forward across the rivers to the Doab of the Ganges and the Jumna.[1] All this may be ascribed roughly to the half millennium 2000–1500 B.C.

As the Greek cousins of these Indo-Aryans did, so these latter underwent a similar course of development according to their own environment, geographical and political. In the Gangetic Doab, we find the Aryans developing more powerful communities, which, instead of becoming city-states as in Greece, led to strong monarchies ruling great tribes and vast kingdoms, par-

1. This position assumes that the Aryans were not native to India as some Indian scholars claim. The evidence of the Rig-Veda seems, on the whole, to describe the Aryans in the region between the Hindu Kush and the Sutlej. The question of their original home is yet a matter for difference of opinion which does not rest upon clear or unquestionable evidence either way.

ticularly as the country was more open. It was in these regions that the great inter-tribal wars typified in the *Mahabharata* must have taken place. At least, the incidents referred to in the great epic have their theatre here. Hence this period of history has come to be known as that of the *Mahabharata*. It is here for the first time that the Aryans get into touch, not only with the uncivilized aborigines who are the feature of the Punjab plains, as even the later *Brihat Katha* makes it clear, but also with the civilized Dravidians of India. It is here, as with the Greeks in Attica and Boeotia, that the Aryans change their policy of usurpation to that of amalgamation, which alone was possible under the circumstances. To these events is ascribed the period included in the centuries between 1500–1000 B.C.

From here the further expansion eastwards could not be in the wholesale fashion as heretofore, but had to be in driblets. This expansion takes the form of a few powerful kingdoms farther east than the Doab. What the Kurus (or Kauravas) and the Panchalas were to the Doab, the Kosalas and Videhas were to the further east of those times. It is these regions that the *Ramayana* describes. The period taken up in the expansion (or infiltration) into these regions may have been the quarter millennium 1000–750 B.C.

During these periods the Indo-Aryans were rearing those great edifices of learning and religion, which have given this land of ours all its claims to greatness in the various departments of human activity. The pre-Vedic Aryans brought in their traditions, which they could elaborate at leisure in the Punjab. These, in course of time, were put into shape in the hymns of the Veda, which, as time advanced, required to be

explained by an elaborate commentary. These commentaries are the *Brahmanas*. These in their turn led to the further disquisitions called the *Aranyakas* culminating in the philosophical flights of the *Upanishads*. This transformation, or rather elaboration, has been going on steadily up to the period we arrived at in the last section. This is not all. Certain scientific inquiries had to be made for the proper understanding of the Vedas and the Vedic ritual. Their need was met by the elaboration of the *Vedangas* namely, (1) Kalpa which included geometry so far as it applied to the construction of sacrificial altars, (2) Siksha or phonetics, (3) Chandas or metre, (4) Viyakarana or grammar, (5) Nirukta or study of words, (6) Jyotisha or astronomy. These Vedangas find brief treatment in the Brahmanas or Upanishads and acquire the necessary scientific cast in the age we have come to.

This development leads us on to the so-called Sutra period, because this growing mass of literature required to be put in a shape which could easily be mastered. The alphabet, no doubt, had been invented already (or adapted thoroughly to Indian requirements), though perhaps it was not brought quite into common usage. This period overlaps the next and may be taken to occupy the four centuries between 750 B.C. and say 350 B.C. So far then we have to rely entirely upon such evidence as is available in our sacred literature, and scholars have allotted these to very varying periods.

The Aryan home is placed within the Arctic Circle by Mr. Tilak, and he ascribes a very early period (7000 B.C.) indeed for the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda; while European scholars would bring it to 1500 B.C. Mr. Tilak rests his arugments upon certain

solar and other astronomical phenomena referred to in the earlier hymns which upon his hypothesis find clear explanation. The late Mr. Shankar Balakrishna Dikshit refers certain at least of the Brahmanas to 3800 B.C.; there being a reference in the Satapada Brahmana to the Pleiades being in the Equinox, which is verifiable astronomically. Dr. Thibaut considers that the verse referred to is a late interpolation. So our position here is not very secure, and therefore our chronology respecting this period cannot lay claim to much accuracy. The ultimate downward limit of our period may be taken to be accurate, as it brings in an unlooked for synchronism. Pythagoras,[2] the Greek philosopher, is believed to have learned in India not only his theory of transmigration, but also his theory of numbers from our Sankya system. Drs. Goldstucker and Bhandarkar refer the grammarian Panini to this period, and if this be correct it brings the history of South India into touch with that of the North.*

Taking a fresh starting point, therefore, somewhere in the sixth century B.C. we find ourselves upon somewhat firmer ground as outside light begins to beat in upon us. In the centuries on either side of 750 B.C. the Aryans begin penetrating into the Mahakantara round about the Vindhyas, the memory of which is preserved in the tradition regarding Agustia's advent into the south. If the Ramayana could be trusted to be correct regarding its geographical details, the great forest extends up to the Pampa Saras, which is on the

2. A. B. Keith disputes this. J.R.A.S., vol. 1909, pp. 569 et seq.

* Codrington: Brief notes on the Punjab finds.

north bank of the Tungabhadra near modern Hampi, though the Saras (or tank) must have been forgotten under the name, as the author of the Tamil Ramayana makes it, *Pampanadi.* The advent of Agastia introduces reclamation of the jungle into arable land, and he is the reputed author of the first Tamil grammar. Whoever this Agastia was, Rishi or some one else by that name, he does for Tamil what Panini did for Sanskrit. That he criticizes Panini appears to be in evidence in one of the very few quotations that have come down to us. It would thus appear that the Aryan migration into South India has to be referred to this period of the Sutras.

When the whole of India, north and south, is getting organized, the overgrowth of ritualism, and perhaps of religion becoming too much of a mystery, sets thoughtful people thinking about this very subject. There appear in the sixth century B.C. two great men who have contributed very much to bring about a mighty transformation. It is certainly in the fitness of things that these should have flourished in the spots favoured by nature, where before their time the daring flights of speculation into the mystery of the Unknown reached its grand climacteric under the Indian Pisistratus as he is called, Rajarishi Janaka. These two great sons of India are *Maha Vira Vardhamana,* the founder of the religion of the Jina, and the Gautama Sakyamuni, the Buddha. The new teachings of the latter, and the appeal they made to the people have long been recognized as the potent cause of the development of the languages of the people. This influence from the distant north found ready response even in the distant south, with which communication appears to have been

maintained by way of the sea, while yet the Dandakaranya had not been penetrated by a great highway, the Dakshinapatha. In another way the advent of the Buddha has also been of advantage to students of history. His religion it was that took India from her blissful isolation, and led her to take her place among the world Powers, but this was not as yet.

With the advent of Buddhism comes into prominence the kingdom of Magadha, perhaps semi-Aryan, as it was in the borderland of Aryavarta. The capitals of this kingdom appear to have been Rajagriha and Vaisali, also spoken of in the Ramayana. Bimbisara of the Saisunaga dynasty and his son Ajatasatru were contemporaries of the Buddha. Before the Buddha attained nirvana, Buddhism had obtained a great hold upon the people of India, and Buddhist monks and nuns had gone about carrying the Buddhist gospel.

This age when the two religious reformers flourished, and in which the foundation of the greatness of the kingdom of Magadha was laid is remarkable in many ways. This is the age in which an Indian contingent fought in the battles of Thermopylae and Plataea in Greece, 'in cotton clothes, cane bows, and iron-tipped arrows'. This was possible because of the twentieth satrapy on the west bank of the Indus, formed by the adventurous skill of the Carian admiral of Darius Hystaspes, by name Skylax. The date of the navigation of the Indus by this admiral and the foundation of the satrapy are placed at about 510 B.C. Not far from this period India, then known to the Aryans, was divided into sixteen kingdoms and a number of autonomous tribes. For besides the acepted line of advance of the Aryans, there appear to have been two other streams of migration—one skirting the lower

Himalayas and the other moving down the valley of the Indus. The tribes are found along the mountain borders east of the Ganges, some of them also along the upper reaches of the Punjab rivers. Several of them were governed by their own tribal meetings, held in the hall of the tribe—*Santhagara.*

I mention only one of them, because it was a kingdom previously. I mean the Videhas of modern Tirhut whose King Janaka has already been mentioned. These were a section of the great Vajjian clan and were during this period under the government of a republic, whose headman, as in the case of other republics as well, was called a Rajah, answering to the Roman consul or Athenian archon. It is from one of these clans of northern Bihar that the Buddha himself was born.

The kingdoms were, proceeding from the west in geographical order, Kambhoja with capital Dvaraka, answering to modern Sindh and Gujarat; Gandhara, eastern Afghanistan between the Afghan mountains and a little way to the east of the Indus with its capital Taxila (near Shah Deri); Avanti, the modern Malva with its capital Ujjain; the Assaka (Asmaka or Asvaka) with its capital Potali or Potana on the banks of the Godavari (modern Paitan); the Surasenas with their capital Madhura, the modern Muttra; the Matsyas west of the Jumna answering to the cis-Sutlej Sikh States or Phulkian States; the two Panchalas round about Kanouj and Kampilla; the Kurus occupying the country round about Delhi; Vamsa, the country of the Vatsas with its capital Kosambi; Chedi, one at least of the tribes having had their local habitat in Bundlekhand, the other being located somewhere in Nepal; the Mallas round about Kusinara along the Nepal Tarai; the Vajjians, a confederation of eight

clans of which the chief were the Licchavis of Vaisali and the Videhas of Mithila; the Kosalas whose kingdom during this period included Sravasti in Nepal on the one side and Benares on the other with Saketa in the middle; the Kasis round modern Benares; Maghada round Patna including in it southern Behar up to Bhagalpur on the Ganges; and Anga with its capital Champa not far from Bhagalpur.

It is clear from the above that so far the southern expansion had come up only to the Godavari. This is not inconsistent with the state of things portrayed in the Ramayana, which nowhere mentions an Aryan kingdom nor an Aryan settlement of any importance beyond Janasthana along the upper reaches of the Godavari. The political feature of this period is the struggle for supremacy between the neighbours, the Kosalas and the Magadhas. The Saisunagas particularly under Bimbisara and his son Ajatasatru were successful in expanding Magadha to include Vaisali and the Licchavi country and keeping Kosala well within bounds. It was during their rule that Rajagriha was fortified and the capital changed to Vaisali. It was a successor of Ajatasatru, by name Udayana, who enlarged his predecessor's fort of Pataliputra into the great capital of Magadha. The fall of this great dynasty was, however, at hand and was probably brought about by dissensions within and invasion from without. The invasion of Chanda Pajjota[3] (Pradhyota) of Ujjain must have weakened the

3. This is the father of Vasavadatta, Queen of Udayana of Kosambhi. It was this king who is described in the *Brihat Katha* as Chanda Mahasena. That the two refer to the same king is clear from *Priyadarsika.*

State much and a palace revolution did the rest. The Saisunagas were overthrown and the Nandas came to power. The ill-gotten power lasted for two generations only, and the Nandas, in turn, were overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya.

It is while this revolution in politics was gradually working out in the middle kingdoms that the western frontiers were thrown into confusion by the advent of one of the world's conquering heroes. Starting from Macedonia, the young champion of Hellenism, Alexander the Great, marched eastwards combining with the warlike instincts of the general the insatiable curiosity of the explorer. Meeting with feeble resistance on the way across the empire of Persia, he marched along the left banks of the Kophen (Caubul river) and crossed the Indus somewhere above Attock, with the friendly hospitality of Omphes of Taxila, whose jealousy towards his powerful neighbour Porus threw him into the arms of Alexander. It cost Alexander a great effort of skill and daring before he could take the hill fort of Aornos (identified with Mahaban). This done he marched down the Peshawar plain to the banks of the Jhelum. Here at last he met his match. Porus was after all worsted; but so far compelled Alexander's admiration, as to get his kingdom restored to him. It was probably extended, under the viceroy Philip. Alexander's further advance upon the Magadha kingdom was prevented by a mutiny among his troops, and he had to turn back, never to return. Having been thus baulked in his attempt to bring about Alexander's intervention, Chandragupta was able to levy troops in the Punjab among the several war-like tribes, and brought about the revolution which, thanks to the exertions of the most astute diplomatist of the times

Chanakya (or Kautilya or Vishnugupta), gave him the kingdom of Magadha. The accession of this first Maurya is placed in the year 321 B.C. and provides us with the first reliable date in the history of India. During the first decade of his reign, he was able so far to organise his resources that he was master of Hindustan up to the frontiers. Porus was assassinated in the meanwhile. It was in 305 B.C. or a few years earlier that one of the most promising among Alexander's generals, who had made himself ruler of Asia after his master's death, attempted the conquest of the east. This time the east outmatched the west. Seleucus Nicator (the victorious) had to agree to a humiliating treaty, giving up to Chandragupta Alexander's eastern viceroyalty under Philip i.e. the country of Afghanistan.

After this, Chandragupta's empire stretched from the mountains running across Afghanistan to the Bay of Bengal, and from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas. This vast empire was organized on the time-honoured basis of local autonomy, with the condition attached of providing contingents to the imperial army and of acknowledging supremacy. No other closer arrangement could have been made on account of mere distance alone. The empire might have lasted on, if only the members of such a federated empire understood each other better and had acted up to the agreements entered into, or in the absence thereof, had consulted the common interests of all. This perhaps was too much in advance of the times to expect.

Chandragupta's successor Bindusara followed in the wake of his predecessor and considerably added to the empire. He entrusted the two important frontiers to his two sons, the eldest being viceroy of the north-west at Taxila, while the younger, the more famous Asoka, was

the viceroy at Vidisa (Bhilsa) of the Dakshinapatha.

From Bindusara we pass on with pleasure to his son Asoka, the Constantine of India. Asoka was viceroy of the then most difficult frontier when his father died: Asoka had to assert his claim as against an elder brother, the viceroy of Taxila, and overthrew him at last. Having thus got the throne, he began his reign in the manner of both of his predecessors. His only acquisition to the empire, however, is explicitly stated to be Kalinga, the Mahanadi Delta, and Orissa. The rest of the Dakshinapatha must have been conquered and brought under, while yet his father was alive. Passing over the Buddhist delineation of the character of Asoka, almost as the evil principle incarnate, we find him accepting Buddhism, after his conquest of Kalinga, out of remorse for the bloodshed, on account of which he is said to have given up Brahmanism in which he was born. The merciful doctrines he taught, the hospitals he built both for man and animal, the interest he took to send the Gospel of the Enlightened far and wide, and the pains he bestowed upon the collecting and consolidating of the teaching of the Great One are matters of common knowledge. In spite of the great changes that had taken place, the administration of the empire went on in the time-honoured method, with little change of principle though the personnel changed. This empire now extended in the south into Mysore, and the southern frontier may be regarded as about 12° N. lat. Along the frontiers of this vast empire and particular places within it, he cut on rocks and pillars his own instructions to his officials and people. Besides this, he erected innumerable stupas or topes to hold the remains of the great Arhats. These are the material most reliable for his history. His missionary

enterprise carried the teachings of the Buddha at least to as far as Syria. From his own edicts we learn that he negotiated with five kingdoms along the southern frontier. They were, Chola, Pandya, Kerala, and Satiyaputra in India and Ceylon close to it. At the westernmost extremity of Asia and eastern Europe his influence prevailed. He entered into diplomatic relations with Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy II of Egypt, Magas of Cyrene, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia and Alexander of Epirus. According to Professor Mahaffy, Buddhist monks preached in Palestine and Syria a couple of centuries before Christ. He is said to have sent 84,000 missionaries to different parts of India and dominions beyond. Among them, his brother and sister (or son and daughter) he sent to Ceylon. Having done the best he could to further Buddhism and having ruled his vast empire in the most humane spirit possible, he resigned the responsibilities of this earthly existence to weakling successors.

Asoka was followed by four successors and the dynasty came to an end by the accession to the empire of the Senapathi Pushyamitra, the founder of the so-called Sunga dynasty. He is believed to have assassinated the last Maurya Brihadratha on the occasion of a review of the army. There appears to have been a loyalist in the person of the minister, the Maurya Sachiva[4] of the *Malavikagnimitra*, which after all is better authority for the period, as Kalidasa claims to base his facts upon others' accounts which may have been contemporary, as we have reason to infer. This usurpation was not un-

4. This according to the drama was a brother-in-law of the king of Vidarbha, who demands his release of Agnimitra. The commentary makes Maurya Sachiva almost a proper name.

challenged from outside. Pushyamitra could hardly have secured his position when he was threatened by two great enemies from without—Menander (Milinda of Buddhistic tradition) from across the north-western frontier and Karavela, the Kalingaraja from the south. Having laid waste the country as far east as even Saketa (possibly that in Oudh) and besieging Madhyamika (near Chitor in Rajaputana), Menander retired and no other European attempted the conquest of India from the land side ever since; nor any at all up to the days of Vasco-de-Gama. It is a part of this army, according to Vincent Smith, that was defeated by Prince Vasumitra on the banks of the Sindhu between Rajaputana and central India and not on the banks of the Indus. This appears a needless limitation of authority for one, who thought of celebrating a Rajasuya and who had his son Agnimitra, viceroy of Malva.

Pushyamitra got the upper hand of even the other enemy of Kalinga which appears to have kept at peace with the empire since the conquest of Asoka. Pushyamitra's was the age of the grammarian Patanjali, and from his time there was a revival of Brahmanism. There appears to be no foundation in fact for regarding him as a persecutor. Agnimitra, while yet his father's viceroy had conquered Vidarbha the modern Central Provinces, and placed it under two kings of the same family subsidiary to himself.

Brilliant as Pushyamitra's achievements were, they did not avail much to keep his dynasty long in power. The Punjab and the north-west frontier were in a state of flux, and those pulsating movements began among the great Mongol tribes on the Chinese frontier, which were soon felt on the banks of the Indus. A domestic revolu-

tion subverted the dynasty of the Sungas after three generations, and there was a line of rulers of the Kanvayana family for less than half a century. This in turn was overthrown by the Andhras, a purely South Indian dynasty possibly Dravidian, whose territory occupied the region between Kalinga and the Krishna.

The overthrow of the Brahman Kanvas and the accession of the Andhras in 27 B.C. mark an epoch in Indian history. It opens to our view India south of the Vindhyas which hitherto remained a *terra incognita*. We shall have to treat of Indian history hereafter in three compartments, namely, that of Hindustan up to the Vindhyas, that of the Dakhan between the Vindhyas and the Krishna, and that of India south of the river Krishna.

The age of the Sungas and the Kanvas was to Hindustan the age of Sanskrit revival and there appears to be some historical foundation for the tradition which places a Vikramaditya at the latter end of this age. It was at the same time an age of domestic revolution. The ebb in the fortunes of the kingdom of Asia under the descendants of Seleucus was felt in Central Asia, and it was communicated thence to India. After the successful invasion of the east, Antiochus the Great fared badly in the contest he had brought on himself from the Romans. Under his immediate successors, two kingdoms came into existence, the Parthian under Arsakas and Bactria under its own Greek viceroy. This viceroy whose independence had been recognized tried to extend his territory eastwards and was himself overthrown by a usurper. This latter carried arms up to, and perhaps even beyond the Indus, and was assassinated by his own son. It was his successor Menander who invaded Pushyamitra's dominions and had to draw back because of the movements

among the Sakas who themselves moved because of the Yueh-chi beyond ousting them. It is these Sakas that marched into India and founded kingdoms in the Punjab and the lower Indus, perhaps under the Parthian suzerainty of Mithridatis I. These Sakas appear to have been finally beaten back but gave their name to Sakastan (Seistan). In this enterprise a ruler of Malva distinguished himself. He was the patron of Kalidasa and his name has been handed down to us by a grateful people as that of the saviour of India. There still were Sakas or Kshatrapas on the right bank of the Indus and of these we shall have to speak in the section on the Dakhan.

The Sakas of the Punjab were overthrown by a branch of Yueh-chi about A.D. 50, and with the first rulers of this dynasty this part of India came into touch with Rome on the one side and China on the other.

Third in succession in this dynasty of Gandhara is Kanishka, famous in Buddhist history and one of the most powerful of Indian emperors. Scholars disagree regarding the actual date of the accession of Kanishka and his successors, but all agree as to his greatness. He was more successful in an invasion of the neighbouring parts of Chinese territory, where his predecessor failed and was able to hold his own against the Parthians. His fame rests, however, upon his acceptance of Buddhism and his successful attempts to make the 'middle country' of China accept it. After a successful reign, when his frontiers extended to Pataliputra on the one side and touched the Parthian and Chinese Empires in the west and north and the sea in the south, Kanishka died or was assassinated by a discontented army about the middle of the second century A.D. Two or three of his successors continued

from Peshawar to rule this empire which, up to the very last, appears to have included the country from Muttra on the east to Cabul in the west. When the last of them, Vasudeva, passed away the empire broke up about the first quarter of the third century.

To turn now to the Dakhan. Among the powers mentioned as under the empire of Asoka we find the Andhras, who appear to have been then along the east coast. They develop gradually, expanding westwards so as to occupy all the Dakhan from sea to sea. In the decadence that followed the death of Asoka, the Andhras seem to have had their own share, and they may possibly have helped Karavela of Kalinga, when he invaded Magadha in the middle of the second century B.C. When the Kanvas were overthrown the Andhras extend their power northwards and occupy Magadha, having had their flank protected by the hills and rivers from the Yavana invasions of Menander. During all the transactions described in the last section, the Andhra power in the interior was unaffected; and these had to be active only on the west where the Kshatrapas or the Saka Satraps of the Parthians were pushing their arms southwards. The Andhras had to counteract this and do so by making Paitan an alternative capital to Dhanakataka in the east.

The later rulers among them showed themselves quite successful against these Sakas, particularly Vilivayakura II[5] (the Baleokuros of the Greeks). He was able to beat off the Kshatrapas from the south, where their power went as far down as the Malaya country along the coast. His son followed in the wake of the

5. Called Gotamiputra Satakarni by some nistorians.

father and after two more generations, the dynasty came to an end, about the same time the Kushana rule died out in the north.

On the south-eastern side of the Andhras we see a new power rising, namely, that of the Pallavas, regarded the same as Pahlava or Parthiva (Parthian). The earliest records of these come from places far north of Kanchi which, later on, became the capital of the Pallavas. The Pallavas have not yet come to be a political factor.

South of this region we find a number of petty States, and farther south still the three kingdoms of Chola, Pandya and Kerala and beyond these Ceylon. These Powers appear to have actively helped the Andhras, as each of these States (at least certain rulers among them), claim to have defeated 'the Aryan forces.' A somewhat later Tamilian ruler of Kerala, with his capital at modern Kranganore, claims to have beaten some princes 'on the banks of the Ganges.' These three States had their own local rivalries, and as history opens upon this part of the country, the Cholas are in the ascendant. This ascendancy passed to the Chera or Kerala ruler when we reach the end of this period, that is about the end of second century A.D. This period all known circumstances point to as the era of great Tamil literary activity and the development of the local prakrits—among the latter Paisachi. It is in this language and under the Andhras that Gunadya composed his Brihat Katha.

It is an unfortunate coincidence that in Indian history the century following is enveloped in mist as regards all the three regions into which we have divided the country. When again the mist lifts, the Pallavas

are found dominant in the south; the Chalukyas occupy the Dekhan and the Guptas are prominent in the north. Thus there appears to have been a great interregnum in India, which may be accounted for somewhat as follows. The great Arsakian dynasty of Parthia was making way before the Sassanian Persians. The rise of this new power in Persia put pressure upon the Sakas of Seistan, who perhaps moved eastwards to join their cousins along the lower Indus and Gujarat. This must have thrown the whole western frontier in confusion. From this salient angle the Sakas, among whom there might have been some Parthians, pushed themselves eastward into Malva and southward into the Dakhan. This puts an end to the Dakhan power. A similar incursion into the Punjab would overthrow the Kushana dynasty there. When we come upon the Guptas, we find them just at the place where under the circumstances, we ought to expect resistance to the advance of this aggressive power. The next Dakhan power is the Chalukya, in the south of the Bombay Presidency, about Bijapur. It is also perhaps out of this confusion there arises the 'foreign Pallava' State in the Nellore District. This aggression provokes resistance and the organizer of the general resistance rises up out of the struggle. With respect to South India, the Chera ascendancy is questioned by the united Chola and Pandya, and these wear out each other. This leads to the break-up of one empire into a number of petty principalities, which fall an easy prey to the rising Pallavas.

When the light of day breaks in upon the theatre of our history at the beginning of the fourth century A.D., there is a wedge of the Sakas driven in between

the Dakhan and Hindustan. These Sakas, known in this region as the Kshatrapas, had already overthrown the Andhras of the Dekhan and were in secure occupation of the land of Vikramaditya—Malva with its capital Ujjain. These had been continually here from the beginning of the Christian era and, getting eventually the better of the Andhras, they had become a great Power under the greatest of their rulers Rudradaman. One of the records bearing upon the history of this ruler's reign throws a curious light upon the times. Armies passed and repassed and dynasties rose and fell, but the peaceful pursuits of the agriculturist and the artisan went on undisturbed. The grant has reference to the repairing of a tank, by name Sudarsana, constructed in the reign of Asoka, but damaged owing to a breach. This was repaired under Rudradaman and adequate provision was made for its up-keep in the manner usual in the country, foreigner as he was in that region. But for this sensible continuity of administrative policy, the evil consequences of the rapid succession of invasions would have been immensely more detrimental to the country.

It was in the region set over against Malva that the next great Indian Power comes into being. A certain officer, possibly of the Andhras, by name or title, Gupta had a petty province in and about Kosambi south-west of Allahabad. His son passed away unnoticed also. It was the grandson Chandragupta, who became the founder of a dynasty. His period of rule was certainly a golden age in Indian history. Chandragupta married a Licchavi princes of Vaisali, which gave him such influence and, what is more, such powerful aid that he was able easily to make himself the ruler of what was ancient Magadha. He not only beat back the advancing

tide of Kshatrapa aggression in central India, but also uprooted the power of these Saka rulers. Having made himself so far successful, he founded an era in A.D. 319, known as the Gupta era. Chandragupta's reign was devoted to securing what under the Mauryas was Magadha. Having been happily so successful in this, he had also the discernment to join with him in this work of empire building his eldest son Samudragupta, the *Napoleon of India.*

Samudragupta well deserves the comparison. He was not only a great conqueror but also a capable administrator; and both the father and son were skilled in the fine arts. Samudragupta is described as a 'rupakrit' which scholars interpret as a dramatist. The word ordinarily means a sculptor. He seems to have early conceived the idea of uniting the whole of India into one empire, and this idea he began to put into practice with all the uncompromising zeal begotten of confidence in his capacity. Leaving in the extreme east, Kamarupa (Assam), Davaka (middle) and Samatata (the Delta) independent allies upon his eastern frontier, he conquered the whole of Hindustan excepting the Punjab. (His father Chandragupta carried his conquests up to the Arabian Sea). This done he started on a career of conquest to the south. Starting from Patna, he passed rapidly through the Mahanadi valley down the east coast, coming up to Kanchi in the south where the Pallavas had already made themselves secure. Taking a turn to the north-west, he passed through the Maharashtra country and Khandesh and entered his territory again. From the eleven kingdoms he passed through, he exacted allegiance but otherwise left them autonomous. He then entered into satisfactory political engagements with the

autonomous tribes of the Punjab, Rajputana and Malva; and with Nepal and the tribes along its borders. Not content with this, he not only entered into diplomatic relations with the Kushana rulers of the Gandara and Kabul, but also with the chief Kushana ruler on the Oxus. In the south he received a mission from Meghavarna of Ceylon, who requested permission to build a Buddhistic monastery at Gaya. Having achieved so much, he got his exploits set in the best Sanskrit verse and inscribed it upon an Asoka pillar now at Allahabad. What was mere vanity in Samudragupta is comfort to the historian. He was succeeded by his son Chandragupta Vikramaditya who, through an equally long reign with his father and grandfather, preserved the grand fabric of empire handed down to him and made his reign so glorious that scholars now find it the most suitable to ascribe to the traditional Vikramaditya. With the Guptas, Brahmanism and Sanskrit literature take a fresh start, though Buddhism was not persecuted as such.

If the ambassadors of the Ceylonese king are to be trusted, Buddhism seems to have already decayed considerably. Somewhat later, however, the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian visited the country, and passed across the whole of Hindustan from Taxila to the mouths of the Ganges. His observations are all the more valuable, as they were those of a man who notes them only by the way. If Fa Hian is to be believed Buddhism was not in such a bad way. The whole administration was very creditable and criminal law was mild, capital punishments having been few. There appears to have been nothing harassing in the Government. People enjoyed a large measure of freedom and considerable wealth. Private benefactions were large and the whole

country wore a look of great prosperity. The roads were well looked after and kept clear of marauders; and through all his long journey, Fa Hian was not subjected to any molestation whatever, Buddhist though he was. The Guptas were Vaishnavas, but like Indian monarchs their benefactions were distributed alike among all religions in the country. Tolerance may be a virtue or a weakness; but the most powerful Hindu dynasty was tolerant in the highest degree. Fa Hian spent a number of years in learning Sanskrit and was rewarded by gaining valuable Buddhist works in that language.

In the reign of Chandragupta Vikramaditya, that great scourge of the world, the Huns, broke in upon the Gupta Empire as they did upon the Roman Empire. Skandagupta his grandson not only repaired the mischief done to the empire in the reign of his father Kumaragupta I, but also beat back the Huns. But a later invasion of these made him fall back, and the Huns under Toramana established themselves in Malva, and the country in the north-west, having overthrown the Saka rulers of Gandhara by the way. It was as a result of this mishap to the empire that Gujarat separated under Senapati Bhattaraka, who founded the Vallabhi dynasty which lasted on till they were overthrown by the Muhammadan invasions about A.D. 770. Although the empire was divided the ruler of Malva Yasodharman and the Emperor Baladitya, now confined to Magadha, both defeated Mihiragula, the fiendish son of Toramana. Mihiragula was taken prisoner, but was restored by the magnanimity of Baladitya. He lived to hand down his name to posterity, as an infamous tyrant of Kashmir, a despoiler of temples and monasteries; as

one who cultivated cruelty almost as a fine art. With the continued incursions of these Huns the Gupta Empire comes to an end. Before taking leave of this empire it is but doing justice to a great dynasty of emperors, who not only built an empire, but took great pains to administer it upon the most enlightened principles, despotic as their authority was, to quote a small passage from Fa Hian regarding free hospitals, which were due perhaps to the influence of that humane predecessor of the Guptas, Asoka. These hospitals were endowed by benevolent and educated citizens. 'Hither come all poor or helpless patients suffering from all kinds of infirmities. They are well taken care of and a doctor attends them, food and medicine being supplied according to their wants. Thus they are made quite comfortable, and when they are well they may go away.' Comment would be superfluous. The overthrow of the Guptas brings Indian history to almost the end of the sixth century A.D.

Turning to the Dakhan, during the period, the disintegration that came upon it in consequence of the successful wars of the Malva Kshatrapas continued, and the whole region was broken up into a number of petty principalities. When Samudragupta undertook his great invasion of this region, it was composed of eleven kingdoms possibly more. Even then the western half remained a little more compact having been divided between Daivarashtra and Erandapalla corresponding respectively to the modern Maharashtra and Kandesh. It is from the former that the first powerful dynasty works its way up. During the period of the later Guptas, when they were engaged in that death grapple with the Huns, the Chalukyas gradually occupied the territory of their northern neighbour and pushed down the Krishna

to occupy the country since known as Vengi. Here they come into touch with the Pallavas, with whom they had to maintain perpetual war along the borders.

The farther south was also getting consolidated under the new rulers, the Pallavas of Kanchi. When Samudragupta came to the south, Vishnugopa was the ruler of Kanchi. His successors at Kanchi gradually annexed other Pallava States in the neighbourhood, and expanded southwards, adding the smaller States between the dominions under Kanchi and the Chola and Kerala kingdoms. Along the banks of the Krishna then these rising Pallavas had to keep vigilant, as against the Chalukyas. Their accession marks the rise of Brahmanism in the south, and these Pallavas were great temple-builders and patrons of Tamil literature, for some of the earliest of the rock-cut temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu belong to this period.

When we emerge out of this formative period, States re-form in India, and the whole country falls into three well-marked divisions, namely, the empire of Hindustan under the supremacy of Thanesvara, the Dakhan under the Chalukyas, and the farther south under the Pallavas. These shall be taken in this order, as it was during this period that there were a few Chinese pilgrims, chief among whom was Hieun Thsang. Not only this; we have also more of indigenous historical material to hand; to mention only a few—Bana's Harshacharita, inscriptions of all the three, Nandikkalambakam, the Prabandhas of the Vaishnavas, the works of the Saiva Adiyars, etc.

It will preserve chronological continuity to begin with South India first. The Pallava power from the northern frontier of this region proved a bulwark against the advancing Chalukya power. About A.D. 500, while

the Gupta emperors were engaged in fighting the Huns, the Pallavas had become the chief southern power; while the Dakhan also had become united under Kirtivarman and his brother Mangalisa. When Mahendravarman I Pallava's death leaves the Pallava dominions to his son Narasimhavarman, one of the greatest among the dynasty, the Chalukya Power simultaneously passes to the greatest among them, Pulikesin II. The accession of these princes to power took place about the same time that a certain combination of circumstances brought about the accession of Harshavardhana Siladitya of Thanesvar, later on of Kanouj. We must now turn to this ruler.

Out of the confusion caused by the incursions of Mihiragula, the Hun king of Sagala (the capital of ancient Madra Desa), there arose, in the line of march of the enemy and in the far-famed region of battles where more than once the fate of India was to be decided, a chieftain by name Prabhakaravardhana, who was connected by marriage with the imperial Guptas. Prabhakara beat back the Huns through his two valiant sons, the elder Rajyavardhana and the younger, a lad of fifteen, Harshavardhana. The latter commanding the rear, while his brother marched ahead, was still in the region below the mountains on his way, when he heard his father was taken ill and returned. The elder soon followed, having crushed the enemy and placed the frontier in a condition of safety. Prabhakara died and was succeeded by his eldest son, who heard of a misfortune that befell his only sister Rajyasri married to Grahavarman of Kanouj. The latter had been killed by the ruler of Malva and Rajyasri had been thrown into prison. Rajyavardhana marched upon Malva, and having defeated the king of that country, was on the march

homeward when he was entrapped by Sasanka of Bengal. Rajyavardhana was assassinated by Sasanka and Rajyasri had to escape to the Vindhyan forests to save herself. Harshavardhana appears to have been unwilling to accept the responsibility of rule, but he had to do so all the same under pressure of these emergencies.

His first task was to go in search of his sister, and find where she was, which he soon did and just saved her from death. He then turned to Sasanka and reduced him to subjection. This done, he set to himself the task of rebuilding the empire, as it was under the Guptas. Throughout a comparatively long reign of about thirty years he was constantly engaged in war for having brought the whole of Hindustan under his sway in the first decade. His authority was acknowledged by the Brahminical ruler of Kamarupa (Assam) and the Saiva ruler of Bengal on the one side to the far off Vallabhi and Kashmir at the other extremity. In one direction a limit was set to his arms, and so his achievement fell far short of his ambition, which was probably that of Samudragupta. Harsha undertook an invasion of the Dakhan, but the Vindyan passes were so well guarded by Pulikesin of the Dakhan that Harsha was actually defeated. Like many another great man he recognised the limitation to his own capacity and acquiesced in this defeat, as he never again made any other attempt on this side. Thus having reconstructed the Empire of Hindustan, he turned his attention to maintaining this empire.

It was during the later part of his reign that Hiuen Thsang, the great master of the Law from China, travelled in India. He found the administration of the empire as satisfactory as his predecessor of a couple of centuries ago had done, except that the land and water ways were

that constituted India through all these ages, there stands out one fact, namely, that whenever great empires were in existence, such as the Maurya or Gupta or even that of Harsha, India enjoyed not only internal tranquility and the blessings of a good administration, but also security on the frontiers. Whenever this imperial unity was wanting, it follows as unmistakably that the anarchical elements inside asserted themselves. This state of division invited an invader, and he was readily forthcoming, so that if there is one feature which can be said to be the dominant feature of the history of India during the millenium ending A.D. 700, that feature is the attempt to build a permanent empire. In spite of all these disturbances there still was a good measure of peace and plenty in the country, and what follows, as a necessary consequence thereof, considerable success in making life not only tolerable but comfortable. The literary and artistic achievements of the period are things we may well be proud of; and this has been due entirely to a broad outlook into the future by our ancestors. It is only to be regretted that they did not discover a method of reconciling the opposing principle of local autonomy with imperial unity. This accounts for all the ills that followed.

The history of Hindu India has a unity of its own, if only the material available be used constructively. This unity would become the clearer, if we could but bring together all the available information. It is every day becoming more and more possible, thanks to the exertions of orientalists, to write such a history.

[Address to the *Friends Union, Bangalore* in 1906 the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.I.E., I.C.S., in the chair.]

CHAPTER II

AN INTERESTING FOLK MOVEMENT AND THE LIGHT IT THROWS ON INDIAN CULTURE—THE SATVATAS

One remarkable feature of the religious history of South India is that it gets associated with the cult of *Bhakti* very early in that history; nay, it gets so intimately assimilated to, and interwoven in, its culture that in later times this cult of *Bhakti* is specially associated with South India as its home. This latter feature is explainable historically as in the centuries following the Christian era, *Bhakti* received such a special development here to meet the requirements of a vast population hitherto taken to be entirely alien to that culture and brought under the new school of Hinduism by a modification of older Brahmanism by a strong infusion into it of the peculiar form of theism generally indicated by the term *Bhakti*. *Bhakti* involves devotion, selfless devotion, amounting to self-surrender, and the resignation of the individual to the Supreme Being, Who here is looked upon as a personal Being exercising the active qualities of Mercy, etc., without limit. This became the dominant note of the teachings of a school of poetic seers of whom one section devoted themselves to Vishnu and the other to Siva. These devotees came gradually to be known Vaishnava and Saiva respectively, and founded the two branches of the school of *Bhakti* in the South. *Bhakti* gradually developed in a manner peculiar to the language and the customs of the country, and got ultimately syste-

matised by great teachers who combined in themselves both Sanskrit and Dravidian learning in the first three centuries of the second millennium after Christ, so that it reacted in turn upon the other parts of the country and influenced their religious development. It is as a result of this reaction that in later history South India generally got to be known as the home of *Bhakti*. A closer examination of the cult as it developed within historical times however, shows that for its origins we shall have to look into the cultural history of Northern India, and a careful study of this northern culture proves that the origin of *Bhakti* as a cult is again traceable ultimately to the northern worship of Vasudeva as the god of gods. This cult receives the name of the cult of the Satvatas at least in Southern India. As such it is referred to in the *Narayaniya* section of the *Mahabharata* itself. It is this cult of the Satvatas that seems early to have entered South India and taken its development there along with other forms of Brahmanic thought till at last the pre-Vedic Brahmanism that was carried into the Tamil country by the immigrant Brahmanas got so thoroughly infused with this new cult as to overcome the purely Brahmanical part of the religion and develop into the Hinduism of modern times. It will be convenient to consider the Vaishnava part of it first, leaving the Saiva side of the question for another occasion.

The *Mahabharata* explains the term Satvata and the chief deity Vasudeva according to this cult, in two ways: Vasudeva, the son of Vasu Deva, the Yadava king and the king over the people designated generally as the Satvatas. This is probably the historical explanation. The other explanation is rather of the character of derivation of the names, and explains the term Vasudeva as being

derived from the peculiar character of the Supreme Being as immanent in all created beings and things. In this aspect of the deity the *satva* quality, a combination of strength and mildness dominates. Hence the derivative Satvata is applied to that system of religion and its votaries who worship the Supreme Being in this aspect of its manifestation.[1] The two aspects of the significance of the terms involved, which are thus explained in the *Mahabharata*, are so inextricably intertwined that it is difficult to disentangle the two and explain which is the original and which the derivative significance. On the face of it however it would appear as though the historical part of it connecting Vasudeva with the Kshatriya Vasudeva, and the Satvatas with the tribe of people, the Yadavas, would seem the original, and therefore, the other the derivative significance of the terms. This however is not necessarily the case as it is quite possible that these names, both of the individual and the tribe, were derived from previously known names whatever their origin. This position finds support in the comment of Patanjali on the two *sutras* of Panini which make a distinction between the two significances of the affix that go to give the same form Vasu Devaka.[2] Whether Patanjali adopted the explanation of the *Mahabharata* or the *Mahabharata* made the derivation from Patanjali, it is clear that in the age of Patanjali a divine Vasudeva as distinct from Kshatriya Vasudeva was a recognized entity. We can go a little farther and say that the distinction made by Panini is a

1. *Mahabharata*, Udyog. 69, 3 and 7; and Santi. 351, 12 and 13.

2. *Panini* IV—iii, 98 and iii, 99.

See R. P. Chanda's *Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition*, Mem. A.S. No. V, p. 153.

clear indication that that distinction was known in the age of Panini himself. It becomes then clear that Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's claim that the *Narayaniya* section of the *Mahabharata* is at least as old as, if not older than, the age of the Buddha, has considerable justification. If the divine Vasudeva is a familiar idea, the name Vasu Deva for a person is readily explainable on that basis alone. It is an accepted article of faith of the *Pancaratrins* that the *Vasus* and the other Divine Beings are derivatives of the Supreme Vasudeva. Hence the term "*Deva* of the *Vasus*" would indicate merely the Supreme Being himself, and Vasudeva's son could naturally be described as a Vasudeva. It is just possible therefore that the germs of the cult of Vasudeva worship may reach back to a much earlier antiquity, going back to the age of the *Upanishads,* an age peculiarly of intellectual ferment. It is equally possible that that form of faith got associated with one particular tribe of people, themselves Aryans, though not coming within the fold of the old orthodox Kuru-Pancalas of the holy land of the Sarasvati.

Among the tribes of people who figure prominently in the *Rigveda* are the well-known "*Panca Janah*" of whom the tribes, Turvasas, Yadus, and Purus seem inter-related. According to Professors Macdonnel and Keith,[3] it cannot be regarded as quite certain that this actually constituted the five tribes under reference. According to the same authorities however, the two tribes Yadus and Turvasas are intimately connected, and the two terms Turvasa and Yadu stand alike both for the tribes and the chiefs of the tribes. It thus becomes

3. *Ved. Ind.* I, 315 to 317.

clear that a tribe by name Yadu was in existence in the age of the *Rigveda* and had their home in all probability to the west of the Sarasvati and not far from the river Parushni. According to the *Satapatha Brahmana*[4] the Turvasas, at any rate appear as allies of the Pancalas, and it is likely as Oldenberg conjectures, that they ultimately became merged in the Pancala people. Whether this amalgamation, if it is a fact, involved the Yadus also, is not clear. But in later history, the Yadus, or Yadavas, show themselves to be an important people and according to the *Bhagavata*[5] had the generic name Satvata.

The *Aitareya Brahmana*[6] describes the Satvatas as a people of the South. In describing the *Mahabhisheka* of Indra, *Rudra is said to have inaugurated him in the southern region as Bhoja over the tribes of people Satvatas*. This apparently is the basis of the later tradition embodied in the *Bhagavata* and the people were known by the name Satvatas, while their rulers generally took the name Bhoja. These Satvatas or Satvants are referred to in the *Satapatha Brahmana*[7] as having been defeated by Bharata Daushyanti who took away the horse which they had consecrated for an *Asvamedha*. This does not appear to be a solitary exploit of Bharata against the Satvatas. He is described elsewhere as making regular raids against the Satvatas.[3] This habitual raiding would indicate that the Satvatas were the inhabitants of the

4. XIII, 5, 4, 16.
5. *Bhagavata*, X, 45, 15.
6. VIII, 14, 3.
7. XIII, 5, 4, 21.
8. *Ait. Br.* II, 25, 6. Also Oldenberg's *Buddha*, p. 407, note.

neighbouring territory, at any rate not far off, of the kingdom of the Bharatas. It seems therefore clear that the Satvatas were once inhabiting the region not far removed from the holy land of Kuru-Pancala. If, as was shown already, the Yadus along with the Turvasas merged in the tribe of the Bharatas, and if the Bharatas came to be known later as the Kurus, or got merged in the larger ethnical unit of the Kuru-Pancalas, then it is easy to understand why in the *Bhagavata*, the Yadavas and the Satvatas get to be spoken of as being the same tribe of people.

We have already seen that the Yadus figured among the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Bharatas, and indicated the possibility of their having become merged in the ethnically larger Kuru-Pancala. It is just possible that they moved from the Parushni towards the Sarasvati and settled in the region of Mathura (Muttra), the country associated with the Surasenas of a later time. Throughout, the *Bhagavata* speaks of the Surasenas as the kinsmen (*jnatis*) of the Yadavas, and the same work ascribes the wider dispersal of the Yadavas as due entirely to the oppression of the Surasena king Kamsa during the period of his tyrannical rule. When Kamsa was overthrown by young Krishna, the petty oppression of a tyrant ruler gave place to an uprooting war against these people, the Yadavas, by Kamsa's father-in-law, Jarasandha, the great ruler of Magadha and his allies. This great and continuous war made it absolutely necessary for Krishna to transport himself and his kinsmen across the whole of western Hindustan to Dvaraka, and we may presume that the Yadavas generally also had to disperse into regions beyond the reach of Jarasandha's arms. We have therefore then three active causes that must have made for the

migration of the Yadavas to great distances from the holy land of Kuru-Pancala. (1) The constant and successful raidings of the Bharatas, and Bharata Dushyanti, (2) oppressive and tyrannical rule of Kamsa, and (3) the devastating war of Jarasandha. While the last two are near in point of time, the first is perhaps some generations away into remoter antiquity. The emigration therefore of the Yadavas must have begun much earlier than the age of Krishna, and must have been going on for some considerable time to enable them to move out bodily, in the period of oppression during the early period of the life of Krishna himself. This state of things is what is reflected in the groupings of the southern kingdoms which we can infer from the *Brahmanaic* and *Sutra* literature on the one side, and Buddhistic on the other.

According to these sources, we find five kingdoms in the south of the Vindhyas. The kingdom of the Mahishakas, with its capital Mahishmati (Mandhata); then from the east coast to the west; the kingdom of Kalinga with its capital Dantapura; the kingdom of Vidarbha with its capital Kundinapura, the territory of the Bhojas pre-eminently. Farther westward of it was the kingdom of the Asmakas with their capital at Potali or Potana, the Pratishthana of later times. This kingdom may be described as a Yadava kingdom, as the *Mahabharata* refers to a princess of this kingdom as *Asmaki* the *Yadavi*. Set over against these on the farther southern side was the kingdom of Dandaka which came afterwards to be known as the Dandakaranya or the forest of Dandaka, probably after the incident referred to in the *Arthasastra*, according to which a descendant of this Dandaka destroyed himself, kingdom and family by the forceful abduction of a Brahmana girl. This latter is explained

as the daughter of the Rishi Bhrugu, whose abduction by a descendant of Dandaka (*Dandakyah*) brought on the destruction of the kingdom according to the commentary of the *Kamandakiya Nitisastra*. This kingdom of Dandaka extending as far as the river-frontier of the Krishna, had for its capital a place called Kumbhavati in the Buddhist *Jatakas*. Thus we see that the region between the Vindhya mountains and the river Krishna was politically divided into five kingdoms, of which two at least are clearly described as Yadava kingdoms. The general reference in the *Aitareya Brahmana* to the southern kings being called Bhojas and their subjects the Satvatas, would lead to the inference that all these people were inter-related and were branches of the same ethnical group. The region comprised in the Kalinga later on became associated with the Andhras, Pali or Prakrit, Andha or Andhaka, obviously one of the great divisions of the Yadava tribe, the Andhas and the Vrshnis. The inhabitants of Vidarbha were always known Bhojas and the *Asmaki* princess described *Yadavi*, leaves no room for doubt in respect of these three. The inhabitants of Mahishaka from whom the later Cedi rulers traced their descent, and whose era of a later time beginning A.D. 249 was adopted by the Abhiras of the region, which would correspond to Asmaka, will perhaps support the inference that the people of that region also were ethnically the same as the Yadavas. I have not so far come upon any clear reference on the Sanskrit side to describe the inhabitants of Dandaka as Yadavas also. But Tamil literature to which I shall make reference presently describes these people uniformly as Idaiyar, or shepherds, which leads to the conclusion that they were the same ethnically as the Yadavas.

It thus seems clear from the evidence of Sanskrit literature alone that the Yadavas had already overspread the region of the Dakhan, and spread themselves into different political units across the whole width of the Peninsula almost from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, the Krishna being the southern boundary. It is in this region peculiarly that the official title *Mahabhoja* appears very commonly in the inscriptions of Asoka and of the early Andhras. On the western side of these Bhoja peoples, lay the people known to later history as the Yadavas, and the corresponding official title there is *Maharashtrakas,* the modern form of which is Mahratta. *Aratta* (*a-rashtra*), *Su-rashtra* & *Maha-rashtra* are names that are applied to ethnic groupings extending all the way from the Punjab to almost the frontier of Mysore. This similarity of names perhaps indicates also relationship between the ethnic groups and the notion conveyed by the language of the *Aitareya Brahmana* in describing the *Mahabhisheka* is confirmed in a way by the later designations of the peoples themselves. The western peoples, according to the *Brahmana,* installed their ruler as *Svarat,* which is taken to be synonymous with some form of popular government, i.e. government by the people. *A-ratta* does not perhaps on the face of it convey this significance particularly in its Sanskrit form *Arashtraka.* The Tamil lexicons which describe the name Aratta give it a significance which borders on the setting up of petty rule by tribal chieftains untrammelled by the authority of an over-ruling sovereign (*Rashtraka*). We shall have to revert to this later.

We have already pointed out that the region south of the Krishna was from the point of view of the Tamils, composed of two well-marked divisions. The first, the

larger, extended from Cape Comorin northwards to about the 12th or the 13th degree north latitude, containing the well-known Tamil kingdoms interspersed with a pretty large number of chieftaincies. That is from the point of view of the Tamil, the Tamil country, 'Tamilakam,' the Sanskrit equivalent being Dramidaka, Dramida, and ultimately Dravida. Between this somewhat ill-defined northern frontier and the river Krishna, was a belt of country occupied by people in the hunting stage, and therefore in a lower state of civilization as compared with the Tamils as well as their Sanskrit neighbours, the Ariyans as the Tamils called them. Tamil classical literature, the Sangam works, as they are called, refers to the territory beginning with the southern limit of Dandaka as Ariyadesa, and the frontier belt of country occupied by the "savage" people Vadukar, the Vaduka frontier (*Vadukar-munai*). The region south of this of course is the Tamil land. The normal occupation of the savage people of the frontier is hunting and robbing wayfarers varied by cattle lifting. But even as between the more civilized folk, the capturing of herds of cattle belonging to their neighbours was a recognized item of military art and achievement. 'Another of the ordinary warlike exploits of the various chieftains and kings is the carrying on of successful war against the frontier tribes and keeping them under control. Such is among the recognized duties of monarchs according to the *Arthasastra*. The chieftain who held the frontier post at Tirupati is described as the prince of Kalvar, in ordinary Tamil, Kallar. This term designates nowadays a caste of people, warlike in some respects, and generally described as of a predatory character. It is their chief that held Tirupati wherefrom he had to keep

the frontier tribes in check. At this stage of history, we already have reference to some of the tribal chieftains so far advanced in civilization as to be recognized as civilized kings to be treated with on terms of civilized equality.

From this body of literature which may have a range at the widest of about three centuries we glean that the Tamil land was divided among the 'three crowned kings of the south' the Chola, the Pandiya, and the Chera, and of chieftains whose actual number varies from generation to generation. The fourth monarchy or State referred to in the Asoka inscriptions, namely the Satiyaputra, does not find mention as such in this body of literature. The region where we would naturally look for them is in the possession of a chieftain by name Nannan whose name has been handed down to posterity as the woman-killer. He is described in this class of literature as the ruler of Tulu and Kon-Kanam, the original of the modern contracted form Kon-Kan. Kon-Kanam breaks in Tamil into two words Kol and Kanam, a sort of a no man's land, plundering and cattle-raiding in which were beyond the local jurisdiction or even sphere of influence, of any recognized ruler at the time. In the age of the great kings, of the three kingdoms, there were seven chieftains, and certain early Chera rulers are described as wearing the "garland of the seven crowns." The Tamils are accustomed to describing the kings that achieved an ascendency in the Tamil land as the "ruler" of the "three crowns," the equivalent of which in Sanskrit occurs in some of the Pallava inscriptions in the Sanskrit form "*Trairajya*," on the interpretation of which there was a considerable amount of dispute and discussion in which the protagonist, as in other matters, was the late Dr. Fleet. *Trairajya* is the exact translation of the Tamil *mummudi*, this

having nothing to do with the later Kanarese expression *mummadi*, meaning thrice. The seven chiefs sometimes reduced themselves to five which means that two of them got merged in the neighbouring kingdoms or chieftaincies as did actually happen in the case of the chieftains of Kollimalais for instance. There are references to as many as eleven and sometimes fourteen chieftains.

This brings us to a political distribution that obtained among the Tamils; and this distribution brings them into some kind of connection with the Ariyan tribes inhabiting the Dakhan at the time, and takes us back to the tradition of Agastya's migration to the south. The rulers of various regions in South India are spoken of in this body of literature in two classes, kings (*vendar*) and chieftains (*velir*). These were the only two recognized classes that had title to rule. The first class ruled generally over kingdoms and settled territories. To the latter was assigned the region that had not been brought into settled organization and which required constant fighting, at any rate perpetual readiness to fight, as the essential characteristic. These chieftains in some cases answered to the frontier wardens of the *Arthasastra*, or the *Atavika Samantas* (chieftains of forest tribes) of later history. This classification owes its origin to the followers of Agastya. According to tradition he obtained permission of Krishna in Dvaraka to take with him representatives of eighteen families of rulers and a large number of *kudis* (sects or clans) of cultivators and shepherds with him into the forest region of the south to clear the land of forest and make it country. This implies the distinction that the *vendar* and *velir* belonged to one class, and the inferior *velir* and *aruvalar* as the labouring classes

under them. This further implies the absence of the system of caste which, from all that we know of the Tamils from this body of literature, had not been known to them except through the Brahmanising organization that they received in the Tamil country after the advent of Agastya. Recognized and authoritative Tamil grammars mark the people into classes merely on the analogy of Brahmanical castes almost explicitly stating that the recognized caste divisions were foreign to these people. The modern notion of the eighteen castes which seems to be a common feature of both the so-called right, and left-hand classes seems reminiscent of the eighteen *kudis* from whom, according to this tradition, Agastya brought representatives to the South.

The position and distribution of the Satvatas we have derived from Sanskrit literature, as already detailed above, seem to find confirmation in the early classical literature of the Tamils. One of the acknowledged early Sangam works has a reference to an ancient Cera having captured vast herds of cattle in the Dandaranyam of the Tamils. Dandaranyam is only the Tamil form of Dandakaranyam, and this territory is described by the commentator as a division of Aryadesa. It is however looked upon as a hostile country raiding for cattle in which is a justifiable act of war even of an aggressive character. The poem which, by the way, is the work of a lady "the good Sellai who sang of the crow" (*Kakkai-padiniyar Nach-Chellaiyar*), and the hero of the poem is known to us only by the title the Cera who captured herds of cattle (*Adu-Kotpattu-Seran*). He captured these cattle in Dandakarnyam, drove them over to his port of Tondi and there made them a free-gift to Brahmanas. It seems clear from this that the Dandakaranyam marked the Ariyan frontier in this

age. Certain other poems again of the same character relate to chieftains who are described as belonging to the caste or class of Idaiyar, which term in Tamil means shepherds. But the specific names by which these classical poems speak of them is by name *Andar* which seems to be the Tamil adaptation of *Andha* or *Andhaka*. The transformation from *Andha* to *Anda* perhaps indicates that writing was already known along with its peculiar feature which made no distinction between *dh* and *d*. That the term Andar is applied to these shepherds is in the clearest evidence in one of the poems which describes the early achievement of Krishna in his frolics with the shepherdesses of Gokulam. This has reference to a rather peculiar form of the story that Krishna surprised these young shepherd women in their bath in the river Jumna. He took all their clothing and got up a tall tree which grew on the bank of the river close by. When they were appealing to him plaintively for their clothing being restored to them his elder brother Baladeva appeared. Lest their modesty should suffer violence he bent down the whole tree to cover them from the gaze of his elder brother. These young ladies are there spoken of as *Andar makalir*, the daughters of Andar. If Ptolemy could speak of the Andhras as Andarae, the Tamil might be justified, and the name *Aay Andiran* may have reference to a chieftain of the Andhras almost certainly as the surname is in opposition to that of another chieftain of the name Aay who is described as *Eyinan*, the two names standing for Aay, the shepherd and Aay, the Hunter. These Andar were a people who were apparently possessed of some power, and one of the early Ceras claims great distinction for his achievement against them. They are described there as riding on fleet horses like

the later Mahrattas, and it was a difficult achievement to overthrow them.

These people, the Andar or shepherds, are generally described as hostile to the Tamils and cattle rearing is ascribed to them as almost their sole occupation. One of their chieftains, a particularly troublesome one, occupied some portion of the country between the regular northern frontier of the Tamils and the southern Aryan frontier. He is known by the name Kaluvul. He was attacked several times by the Tamils ineffectively. On one of these occasions as many as eleven chieftains had allied themselves together. On another occasion as many as fourteen of these Tamil chieftains joined against him. He was ultimately overthrown and his citadel Kamur of Kalur was completely destroyed.

These Andar chieftains seem to be included among those whom the Tamils describe as Kurumbar. The term Kurumbar is derived from Tamil *kurumbu* which means the power of a petty chieftain, and is applied in Tamil classical literature to the authority exercised by a usurper. More generally it seems to imply the exercise of subordinate authority under well-recognized limits. The tendency of chieftains exercising that authority seems to have been always to transgress the bounds of their power. It is this tendency that seems to be conveyed by the term *Kurumbu*. This evil tendency was probably the general characteristic of petty frontier chieftains, and hence by extension these came to be described as Kurumbar, a term often times used synonymously with the more inocuous *kuru-nilamannar*, rulers of petty tribes (literally poorer tracts of land). These are given in the earliest Tamil lexicon the alternative designation *Salukki-Vendar*. These petty chieftains had for their characteristic

ensign the boar flag. It is this term that seems to have given rise to the latter Calukya. The territory occupied by these petty chieftains taken together came to be described as *kurumba bhumi* or *kurumba nadu,* and hence a number of Kurumba kings, and a Kurumba coinage of Sir Walter Elliot, though neither of the designations has much exactly to justify it. Of these petty chiefs seven made themselves famous in the age of the Tamil classics and these are described as *Velir* (chieftains) in opposition to *Vendar.* One of these seven famous chieftains is known by the designation Irum-go-vel, and was among the enemies of the Pandiyan 'Victor at Talaiyal-am-kanam.' He seems to have had his territory somewhere about the north-west frontier of Mysore and had for his capital the town known as Araiyam. The well-known Tamil poet Kapilar of Sangam fame describes him as coming of a family of chieftains whose progenitor sprang out of the sacrificial fire-pit of a Rishi in Dvaraka, and from whom he was the forty-ninth in descent. He is described as a *Vel* among *Velir* (chief among chieftains). This origin and description of the chieftain as having been forty-ninth in descent from a chieftain of Dvaraka warrants in another way the spread of the Satvata tribe and of these chieftains from the region of Gujarat downwards. What is perhaps more, it lends the colour of a historical event to, what appears at first sight a mere wild tradition with no historical bottom, Agastya's migration to the south. Whether there was an actual Agastya or not, the migration would seem inferable as a fact from this description of the Mysore chief by itself. It gives to him the character of an *Agnikula* chieftain whether he is connected with a whole body of people among the South Indian populations who nowadays call themselves

Vanniyakula Kshatriyas, or *Pallis* as they are generally described.

This reference to the *Agnikula* brings us to the inscription of the Satavahana queen Nayanika of the sacrificial inscription at Nanaghat. She was the wife of the third ruler who came in the second generation of the Andhra dynasty of rulers. She describes herself as the daughter of Maharatti Kalalayo. The coins of this chieftain found near Chitaldrug in Mysore describe him as *Angiya Kula Vadano* which has hitherto been interpreted as "the raiser of the prosperity of the family of *Anga*", rendering the first part *angiya* as belonging to Anga. It seems much more likely that it is the Prakritic equivalent of *agneya, angi* being a classical Tamil word for fire, the more regular Prakrit *aggi* being a word of common use in Kanarese and in Telugu both alike cognate with *angi.* He undoubtedly was the chieftain of the same family as Irum-ko-vel, and belonged to the *Agnikula* in the same manner as the Irungo-vel did. That makes these *Vels* of the Tamils somewhat near of kin to the Maharatti chieftains directly and the Satavahanas indirectly, and goes someway to support their immigration into the Tamil land from the region of Gujarat, under the lead of Agastya.

There is one other connection in which the Satvatas are described as a distinct tribe. According to Manu[9] the Satvatas are descendants of *Vaisya Vratyas,* i.e. *Vaisyas* who, by neglect of the sacred duties enjoined upon the twice-born became *Vratyas,* described specifically as Satvata.

According to the same authority[10] an *Ambashta* is the son of a Brahmana by a Vaisya woman. A son of a

9. *Manu,* X, 23.

10. *Ibid.,* X, 8.

Brahmana begotten on the daughter of an Ambashta is an *Abhira*. *Sloka* 24 of the same chapter lays it down that 'as a result of adultery between different castes, marriages unpermitted by recognized law, and by neglect of occupation prescribed to each caste, spring what are called mixed castes.' It is perhaps possible to infer from this that the *Vratya* Satvata and an Abhira, as the offspring of irregular union between a Brahmana and a Vaisya, are near of kin to each other; at any rate we find them closely associated during historical times. If the general designation Idaiyar or Andar for the whole body of the Dakhan people given by the Tamils indicate anything, it does signify that to the Tamils they were all ethnically the same people. Two sub-divisions however of these *Vaisya Vratyas* are, according to Manu again, respectively *Acarya* and *Satvata*. Usanas states that these two classes of people subsisted by worshipping gods.[11] This function of worshipping gods, as also the reference to their subsisting by the sale of images which occurs elsewhere, would bring them into some kind of close relationship with the Satanis who are a class of people found in some number in the south, and who subsist by various items of service connected with temples, and by trading in articles connected with Vaishnava worship such as the sale of the material for the caste marks etc. It may perhaps seem a far cry to identify Satani with Satahani, the Prakrit form of Satavahana; but it is a fact that at the present day this class of people speak only Telugu. The chief headquarters of one influential section of them is in the Vizagapatam District, and their

11. Quoted by Govardhana in his comment. on X, 23; Buhler's *Manu;* Sacred Books of the East XV, p. 407.

acaryas happen to be Vaishnava Brahmanas of a sect named '*Paravastu.*' This last name is that of one of the categories of the *Pancaratra agama, Paravastu* being more or less synonymous with *Paravasudeva.* This may require to be worked up more fully before any final conclusion could be arrived at.

The *Vaijayanti* lexicon has three *slokas* referring to the term Satvata. According to the first it is merely an epithet of Balarama or Sankarshana. According to the second[12] a Satvata is the son of a *Vaisya Vratya,* and a Vaisya who was formerly the wife of a Kshatriya. According to the third[13] a Satvata is a person who worships Vishnu, also called Bhagavata. The same lexicon recognizes that there are Brahmanas who also go by the name Bhagavatas as being devout followers of Vishnu. This seems to make a clear distinction between the Satvatas as a people and *Satvata Vidhi,* as a religion. In the eleventh century A.D. which is generally the accepted period of the author of this lexicon there were two distinct classes of Satvatas, namely Brahmana Bhagavatas and Satvatas as such. It is probable that the latter followed the practice of the Satvata worship in the original crude form, while the Brahmana Bhagavatas re-

12. P. 76, ll. 111-114:—
Sā Vaiśyapūrvā Dramiḍam Śūdrapūrvā tu sā Khaśam
Vaiśya Vrātyāt Sudhanvānam Ācāryam Viprapūrvakā
Sudhanvācārya ekā vā maitram sā Vaiśyapūrvakā
Śūdrapūrvā dvijanmānam Sātvatam Kṣatrapūrvikā.

13. P. 80, ll. 207-210:—
Sudhanvācārya Iśānam Śākyacaityādi maitrakaḥ
Bhūtaprēta Piśācāṃstu vijanmā sūti veśma ca
Sātvataḥ pūjayet Viṣṇum ukto Bhāgavataśca saḥ
Santi Bhāgavatāścānye Brāhmaṇaḥ Bhagavatparāḥ.

present the followers of the *Satvata Vidhi* of the *Mahabharata* the roots of which may reach back to the primitive popular worship of the Satvatas. It is probably this double character that is responsible for the view that the *Pancaratra* is *a-vaidic* in Kumarila Bhatta's and even in Sankara's estimation.[14] It is explicitly so described in the *Saiva Siddhanta* literature which is somewhat later in point of time. It is probably the currency that this view gained that called for Vedanta Desika's final vindication of the *vaidic* character of this form of worship by an elaboration of the work of Ramanuja in his *Sri Bhashya.*

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14. In regard to this position cf. Mr. R. P. Chanda's *Indo-Aryan Races,* chapter on Vaishnavism.

CHAPTER III

GLIMPSES OF MAURYAN INVASION IN CLASSICAL TAMIL LITERATURE

In the mass of literature called Sangam literature we get some allusions to the Mauryas and Mauryan invasions of South India which throw new light upon this particular period of history. Among the number of poets whose works are found collected in this volume of literature there are three authors who refer to the Mauryan invasions specifically. One of them is the *Brahmana* poet Mamulanar, the much respected *Brahmana* poet of the *Agastya-gotra,* belonging to the south country; the other is Param Korranar, and the third is Kallil-Attiraiyanar. Mamulanar has got two references in respect of this particular matter, and the other two, one each. The general character of these references is to a distant hill worn by rolling cars of the Mauryas beyond which a young lover is stated to have gone in quest of wealth. His love-lorn sweet-heart at home pining away in solitude for his return, is assured in various ways that, even if he should have got past this hill, he would keep his promise and return on the appointed day. That is the general purport of the passages in the first two authors.

Aham 251 contains the following detailed reference to the Mauryan invasion: "the Kosar of the artificially decorated cars carrying their pennons of victory and flying fast as a gust of wind, at one time destroyed their enemies on the field of battle at Podiyil protected by the hedge of old banyan trees, and made their warlike drums

moan in consequence of the calamity. Even after that fatal defeat Mohur did not submit. The newly installed Mauryas, whose army contained a very large number of elephants, marched down to attack them; and their beautifully decorated cars wore down hill sides making dark passages through which clear water flowed in torrents." This is again described by another poet Palaipadya-perum-Kadungo in these terms: 'the Kosar of Nallur who appeared at Podiyil possessed of old banyan trees, with braying drums and bleating conches, to take tribute.' In interpreting the first, the lead is given to us by the author in the moaning of the drum, a clear indication of a battle and a defeat. This naturally involves a place which is Podiyil. The word could however be broken in Tamil to be equivalent to *Podi* instead of *Podiyil*. Taking it thus, the expression would mean at the "assembly" under the banyan tree. This interpretation is taken to be established by a passage in the *Maduraikkanji* where the author institutes a comparison between the appearance of the ministers at the Pandyan Court and the appearance of the Kosar in the court of Palaiyan of Mohur. The points of the comparison are that the ministers are as unflinching in speaking out their minds as the Kosar, and they were four bodies like the four sections of the Kosar, the poet having separately spoken of the fifth of the five sections of ministers before. There is clearly nothing in the last passage that the reference is to the same incident described by Mamulanar. There is nothing more than a simple comparison to the well-known "Kosar" of unchanging word and the reference to Palaiyan gives the date of the reference to the age of Palaiyan Maran, the enemy of Senguttuvan. Even taking Palaiyan as the family designation of the chiefs

of Mohur, there is nothing to lead us to treat this passage, as having anything to do with the incident described in *Aham* 251. Hence Podiyil has to be taken to refer to the hill of the name, and the incident referred to as not to an incident of contemporary occurrence.

Aham 281 of the same Mamulanar, says in effect that the lover has gone past the limit, marked by the hill worn by the bright rolling-wheels of the cars of Mauryas, who marched towards the south, pushing in front the valiant Vadukar, deft in shooting arrows to fly hissing through the air. The probabilities in this case are that the Mauryan invasion here referred to is the same as the one in the poem 251. The invasion by the Mauryas apparently made a strong impression upon the people of the south, and Mamulanar of the *Agastya-gotra* probably came of a family of settlers in the region where there was a lively recollection of the tradition. This means that a particular hill marked the limit of Tamil land, going beyond which one got into a foreign land and an unknown country, return from which in safety became problematical. The hill under reference marks therefore some well-known frontier hill, a considerable distance from the Tamil land across which the war-chariots of the Mauryas had to be taken at great labour. A tribe of people, foreigners apparently, specifically called Kosar, advanced southwards so far as the Podiyil hill and defeated some enemy there when the chieftain of Mohur declined to submit. In consequence the Mauryas marched upon the territory. In regard to this the point to be noted is that the Kosar, of whom four divisions are known in this body of Tamil literature, were somehow connected with the Mauryas.

There is only one Mohur known in Tamil literature,

of which a chief of the name Palaiyan played an important part against various enemies, most conspicuous among them being Sem-Kuttuvan-Sera. It is to subjugate this Mohur which is the place seven miles north-east of the town of Madura with a fortified temple and some remnants of a comparatively old chieftaincy, that the Mauryas are said to have advanced after the failure of the Kosar. The other poem of this author refers to the southern invasions of the Mauryas. This time the Mauryas came, led forward by the Vadukar, or pushing them in front. In this connection, there is the same reference to the hill worn by the war chariots of the Mauryas. The second author merely refers to the Mauryas and the cutting down of the hill to make a road-way for the war-chariots of the Mauryas. The third author refers similarly to the cutting down of the hill side to make way for the rolling cars. But the word *Moriyar* has a second reading *Oriyar* which the learned commentator on the work has adopted as the reading. On this point it must be noted that a dispassionate and a close examination of the passage shows clearly that the reading *Moriyar* would read very much better, and would be very much more in keeping with the general sense of the passage than the reading *Oriyar*. The passage refers in the first part to the poet's affirmation that he would never forget, while alive, his patron Adan-Ungan. The reason for this determination of his is that the patron is as constant and unchanging in the protection of the earth as the sun itself. In describing the sun as fixed and steady the poet refers to the position of the sun in the middle of the earth sending forth his rays through hill-tops worn by the rolling cars of the Mauryas or Oriyar. There is no particular appropriateness in

bringing in the fabled people Oriyar in their hill of residence, Cakravala. Having regard to the class of works concerned, the other passages under reference in connection almost with the same matter ought to be the best commentary on this doubtful passage.

The four texts that bear definitely upon the Mauryan invasion of the south are, Mamulanar's *Aham* 251 coupled with Perum—Kadungo's *Kurumtokai* 15, Mamulanar's *Aham* 281 and *Maduraikkanji* II. 507-510. These four passages together give us the following facts:—

A people called Kosar advanced south and fought a battle near the Podiyil hill. The chieftain of Mohur did not submit to them apparently because they were not able to inflict upon him a bad enough defeat. The Mauryas then undertook an invasion of the south, apparently for the purpose of making Mohur submit. The invasion of the Mauryas in which they came south pushing the Vadukar in front stated in Mamulanar's *Aham* 281, probably refers to this very same invasion and will not by itself be enough to justify the identification of Kosar with Vadukar. The reference in the *Maduraikkanji* to the four sections of the Kosar appearing in the assembly of Palaiyan of Mohur refers in all likelihood to a different occasion, as Palaiyan was a chieftain contemporary with Mamulanar and belonged to the generation of Senguttuvan who defeated him and destroyed his chieftaincy. It is just possible that the chieftains of Mohur bore the family name Palaiyan. It would hardly be justifiable to make the Mauryan invasion an event which took place in the age of the Palaiyan Maran who defeated a Cola Killi, in Madura[1] and whose fortress was destroyed by Senguttuvan Sera.[2]

1. Nakkirar in *Aham*, 346. 2. *Padirruppattu*.

It therefore leaves no room for doubt that there is an invasion or invasions by the Mauryas under reference, and that in the course of this invasion they had to get across a difficult hill making a roadway for themselves. This hill was at some considerable distance, from the point of view of the Tamilian, and to a love-lorn damsel of the Tamil land going across the hill is as much as Shakespeare's "her husband is to Aleppo gone."

The author Mamulanar refers in the first passage rather familiarly to the wealth of the Nandas. The same author in another passage[3] refers to this wealth of the Nandas as having accumulated in Patali (Patna), but got hidden in the floods of the Ganges in times gone by. The point of the reference in these cases is, as is borne out by a corresponding passage[4] of the same author, in connection with the accumulated wealth of the Seras, that the Nandas had accumulated vast wealth at one time which came to be of no use to them having been hidden in the waters of the Ganges, as in the other as having been engulfed in the earth. We have then in Mamulanar an author who had heard of the wealth of the Nandas and who speaks of the southern invasion of the Mauryas. By way of confirmation the two other authors speak of the invasion of the south by the Mauryas also in equally clear terms except for a difference of reading in one of the two cases.

[Paper presented to the Second Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Calcutta, December 1922.]

3. *Aham.*, 264.
4. *Aham.*, 127.

CHAPTER IV

AGNISKANDHA AND THE FOURTH ROCK EDICT OF ASOKA

In a series of interesting notes which Mr. F. W. Thomas is contributing to the pages of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, this word in the second sentence of the fourth Rock-Edict of the Buddhist Emperor Asoka occurs as number 6 on page 394 and 395 of 1914. Examining the views of Senart, Buhler and Prof. Hultzsch, Mr. Thomas gives it as his rendering of Asoka's *Aggikhamda* that it means nothing else than bon-fire.

This rendering may be accepted as correct in a general sense; but it is capable, I think, of a more particular interpretation as a peculiar kind of bon-fire. There is a kind of bon-fire which is of peculiar appropriateness to festivities of a holy character. In temples in South India there is a particular 'festival of lights' celebrated on the full moon day of the month of Kartika (Solar). This is common with a difference of a day to both Siva and Vishnu temples alike. A tree trunk, usually cocoanut or palmyra according to locality is planted in the ground decorated artificially with buntings and festoons, more or less elaborately according to means. The shape given to it is generally that of a car. As soon as the lamps in the temple, often many thousands in large temples, are lighted after it is dark, this tree is set on fire. This is called in Tamil *Sokkappanai,* in popular parlance *Sokkappānai*. This is composed of two Tamil words *Sokka* the adjective and *panai*. The first may be rendered either pretty or decorated, and the latter palmyra.

This festival is celebrated in commemoration of the victory of Vishnu Trivikrama over the Emperor Bali, whom the former sent into the nether world, having taken up the earth and heaven in two of the " three feet of earth granted to him."

It seems to me that Asoka's Aggikhamda is exactly the Tamil Sokkappanai.

There are references in the Tamil classics to palmyra trunks having been made use of for beacon-lights in ports. A tall tree trunk was planted with a big lamp of fresh clay on top. Such a one is referred to in the *Pattinappalai* in reference to the city of Puhar at the mouth of the Kaveri River. A similar big lamp but without the palmyra trunk is lighted on the Kartika day on the top of the hill at Tiruvannamalai, which can be seen for many miles around.

If the third century analogue of this palmyra lamp (and this seems only too likely before Asoka got into the habit of planting pillars which eventually developed into the *dhvajastambhas* or flag staffs of modern times) be what Asoka refers to by the term *Aggikhamdha*, which the Shahbazgarhi version makes *Jyotiskandha*, what then is the meaning of the second sentence of the fourth Rock Edict ?

Taking the Girnar version of the Edict as the standard for the purpose, the first three sentences make the statements that for centuries ill-treatment of God's creatures, want of affection towards relations and want of affectionate reverence towards Brahmanas and Sramanas had been the order of things. With the adoption of the *dharma* by Asoka all this gave way to a better order of things; the beat of this great ruler's drums is lo!

really the sound of the *dharma*; the sights to be seen under this ruler are the sights of cars, elephants, fire-trees and such other holy sights; in consequence of these the evil practices of the people have given place to good to such a degree as was never before witnessed. This seems to be the logical order of the ideas. The particle *aho* (what wonder?) in itself contains a predicate. The beat of drums calling a war muster is only a call to assemble for the celebration of a holy festival. The *vimana,* elephants, fire-trees and other divine forms are what would be seen in place of the war-chariots, fighting-elephants, fire-trees and other death-dealing implements of war.

Vimana, in its origin, implies an old-world Zeppelin; but processional cars are so called from a fancied similarity of form, these being always constructed on the pattern of the flying-cars of the gods. Hence the name *vimana* for the tower of the inner-shrines of the sancta of temples. These took the place of war-chariots.

Hasti (elephants) are in the one case merely processional and in the other fighting.

Agniskandha (fire-trees) the festival-trees described above in the one case and combustible material prepared and ready to be lighted and thrown at an enemy or into his camp etc., in the other.

Divyani rupani (forms of gods) are holy sights as opposed to the terrible sights of fighting-men and war.

According to the nature of the deity in particular temples and on particular occasions, all the paraphernalia indicated by these terms are to be seen in festival processions in the larger temples of South India to-day. That these were exactly the features of festivals in the early centuries of the Christian era is in evidence in the twin

Tamil classics the *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai,* in both of which is given a rather elaborate description of a festival to Indra. This is a festival lasting for 28 days in all, and seems the one indicated in the *Raghuvamsa* of Kalidasa in the *sloka*:

Puruhūta-dhvajasy-aiva tasya-onnayana-paṅktayaḥ ||
Nav-ābhyutthāna-darśinyo nananduḥ saprajāh prajāḥ ||
(Canto IV, *sloka* 3.)

His (Raghu's) subjects with their children were delighted at the accession of the new monarch as people looking with upturned eyes at Indra's flag do.

The actual form of the *dhvaja* (flag) described in the *sloka* may explain the particular mention of elephants in the edict.

Gajākāraṁ chatustaṁbhaṁ puradvāri pratishṭhitam ||
paurāḥ kurvanti śaradi Puruhūtamahotsavam ||

This is the flag that was hoisted at the beginning of the festival. It had the figure of Airavata (Indra's white elephant)[1] painted on it, and was kept in the temple of Kalpataru (the tree that gave whatever was wished for). The festival to Indra was announced to the people by beat of drum taken from the shrine dedicated to *Vajra,* Indra's thunderbolt. The beginning and end of the festival were announced to the elephant itself at the shrine of Airavata (the elephant of Indra). This intimation is understood to be in token of a request to bring Indra from his heaven.[2] The drum was mounted on the

1. It must be noted that the white elephant is in a way sacred to the Buddha also.
2. *Silappadikaram,* Book V, pp. 141-146.

back of an elephant which carried it round the town announcing the festival and enjoining upon the inhabitants to do what had to be done by way of decoration. The whole town was to be in festive trim. Houses of assembly and halls of learning had to be suitably equipped, each in its way for the occasion. Temples beginning with that of the three-eyed Siva to that of the guardian deity of the market-place had to put on festival array. What is pertinent is all this to the question on hand is that this elephant carrying the big-drum was itself accompanied by 'warriors with bright swords, cars, horses and elephants,' the four proverbial elements of an army.

Oḷiruvāṇ maravarum terumāvum
Kaḷiruṁ sūḷdarakkhaṇ muṟśiyambi
(*Maṇimēkalai,* I, pp. 68-69.)

On the 28 days that this festival was in progress at Puhar at the mouth of the Kaveri not only was it that Indra came down from heaven to preside at the festival, but all the *devas* in attendance on him also descended to earth, leaving the *svarga* empty of its inhabitants.

" *Tivakachchānti śeydarunaṅnāḷ*
Āyiraṅgaṇṇoṇ ṟannoḍāngula
Nālvēṟudēvaru nalattahu śiṟappir
Pālvēru dēvarumippadippaḍaṅdu
Mannan Karikāl vaḷavaṇingiyanāḷ
Innahar pōlva toriyalbinadāhi
Ponnahar varidāppōduvareṅbadu
Tonnilaiyuṇaṅdor tuṅiporuḷādaliṅ."
(*Maṇimēkalai* I, 36-43.)

On the occasion of the propitiation of the thousand-eyed Indra for the benefit of this land, along with Indra

will descend into the city of Puhar the four different orders and the various classes of *devas* as well, leaving the heaven of Indra (*Amaravati*) empty of the *devas* just as this city was when the illustrious Karikala left it.

This passage contains the idea embodied in the *divyani rupani* of the edict. These *devas* in their various degrees will find more or less adequate representation in the festive paraphernalia of temples and festivals. From this it will be clear that the *divyani rupani* need be neither more nor less divine than the other items specified. The passage of the edict under discussion can then be rendered thus:

"But now, in consequence of the adoption of the *dharma* (law of morality) by Devanampriya Priyadarsin, the sound of the drum is, lo! but the sound of the *dharma*, the spectacle presented to the people, processional cars, elephants, bon-fires and others, the representations of the *devas*.

That is, the drum that sounds is no more the war-drum, and the spectacle presented is no more the merciless destruction of God's creatures both in war and in the chase. As a consequence of this change in the conduct of the king, the subjects reverse their previous evil practices to the opposite good ones in accordance with the proverbial *Yathā Rājā tathā prajāḥ* (as the king so the people). This is what exactly is stated in the sentence following. In the edict:—*Yarise, etc.*

The following two verses which Mallinatha quotes in his comment on the verse 3 of Canto IV of the *Raghuvamsa* would go to indicate that the festival to Indra is an old institution; and the way in which the two Buddhist Tamil works treat of this would indicate that this was a cosmopolitan festival in which every one joined.

Ēvam yaḥ kurutē yātrām Indrakētōr-Yudhiṣṭhira
Parjanyaḥ kāmavarshi syāt tasya rājyē na saṁśayaḥ

Yudhisthira, whoever in this manner takes Indra's flag in procession, in his kingdom clouds will pour down, as much as is wished for, of rain. Of this there is no doubt.

Chaturasraṁ dhvajākāraṁ rājadvārē pratishṭhitam
Āhuḥ Śakra-dhvajaṁ nāma paura-lōkē sukhāvaham.

What is quadrangular, in the form of a flag, fixed in front of the palace gate, that they call Indra's flag; it bears on it the happiness of the inhabitants of the city;

The first is from the *Bhavishyottarapurana.*

These explanations in regard to the nature of the festival, the allusion that Kalidasa makes to it as though it were a thing familiar to all, the eclat with which the two Tamil poets describe it and the explanation that the 12th century A.D. Tamil commentary and the later Mallinatha are able to give of its details go to establish the popularity as well as the long vogue of the festival. It would not be surprising if this itself, or something akin to it, had been in existence in Asoka's time and if he himself had contributed to rid it of any element of grossness. Any way there is no mistaking the light that this festival to Indra throws upon the edict under consideration. If this should in the least contribute towards the elucidation of the particular sentence in the edict, the Tamil poets deserve to be gratefully studied.

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CHAPTER V

THE HUN PROBLEM IN INDIAN HISTORY

The Huns were an Asiatic people who, according to accepted history, dominated the world during the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era. Gibbon says of them; " The Western world was oppressed by the Goths and Vendals who fled before the Huns; but the achievements of the Huns themselves were not adequate to their power and prosperity. Their victorious hordes had spread from the Volga to the Danube, but the public force was exhausted by the discord of independent chieftains; their valour was idly consumed in obscure and predatory excursions; and they often degraded their national dignity by condescending, for the hope of spoil, to enlist under the banners of their fugitive enemies. In the reign of Attila, the Huns again became the terror of the world, and I shall now describe the character and actions of that formidable Barbarian, who alternately insulted and invaded the East and the West, and urged the rapid downfall of the Roman Empire.

"In the tide of emigration which impetuously rolled from the confines of China to those of Germany, the most powerful and populous tribes may commonly be found on the verge of the Roman provinces. Their accumulated weight was sustained for a while by artificial barriers; and the easy condescension of the emperors invited, without satisfying, the insolent demands of the Barbarians who

had acquired an eager appetite for the luxuries of civilized life.

"Attila, the son of Mundzuk, deduced his noble, perhaps his regal, descent *from the ancient Huns, who had formerly contended with the monarchs of China.* His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the stamp of his national origin; and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck: a large head, a swarthy complexion, small, deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanour of the king of the Huns expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired."[1 & 2]

The Huns in the East

At the other extremity of their influence at about the same period, a more recent historian has the following:—"Reference has already been made to the Yueh-Chi as having in 163 B.C. dispossessed the Sakas from their habitat in the Tarim Basin. In 120 B.C. the Yueh-Chi drove the Sakas out of Bactria, which they occupied and which remained their centre for many generations. In 30 B.C. one of their tribes, the Kwei-Shang, subdued the others, and the nation became known to the Romans as the Kushan. Antony sent ambassadors to this people and Kushan chiefs appeared in Rome during the reign of

1 & 2. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Methuen's Popular edition, Vol. III, pp. 416-19.

Augustus. Their power gradually waned, and they were finally supplanted by a race known to the Chinese as the Yetha, to the classical writers as the Ephthalites or White Huns, and to the Persians as the Haythal: the new-comers, though of a similar stock, were entirely distinct from the Yueh-Chi whom they drove out. This powerful tribe crossed the Oxus about A.D. 425, and according to the Persian chroniclers the news of their invasion caused a widespread panic."[3]

These Huns seem to have made their appearance first on the eastern frontier of Persia about the year 350 in the reign of the Persian King, Shapur the Great, and, according to Persian historians, Shapur defeated them and made them enter into a treaty with him so far successfully that, when he had to go to war against Rome a few years after, he was supported by an army of these Huns; but soon after the year A.D. 425, when they crossed the Oxus, Bahram Gur defeated them completely and made them cross the Oxus back again for the time being. Though defeated for the while, the White Huns hung like a cloud on the eastern frontier of Persia and constituted the principal pre-occupation of the Persian monarchs who succeeded him. After a prolonged series of operations, Shah Firuz of Persia suffered in A.D. 488 a crushing defeat from the "Khush-Newaz," the High-minded, and he himself fell in the battle. What was worse for Persia, the White Hun monarch imposed a tribute on the Great King who succeeded Firuz, which was paid for two years. It was left to a son of this valiant Firuz, Kobad by name, to destroy the power of these Huns. After a war which

3. *History of Persia,* by Lieut.-Colonel Sir P. M. Sykes, Vol. I, pp. 468-9.

lasted from A.D. 503 to 513, he defeated them, and the White Hun peril which had threatened Iran for so long had passed away.

The Huns in India

It is the Epthalites or the White Huns that figure prominently in the history of India of the same period. Their first appearance, so far as is known to us at present, was in the reign of the early Gupta Emperor, Kumaragupta, whose death took place in A.D. 455. He suffered a defeat at the hands of the Huns, serious enough to shake the foundations of the empire; but the disaster was averted by the energy of his son Skandagupta, who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Barbarians and averted the danger for the time, about the year A.D. 455. The Huns appeared again barely ten years after, about A.D. 465, occupying Gandhara, the North-Western Punjab. Five years after this they advanced further into the interior and Skandagupta's exertions to stem the tide of the invasion were not uniformly successful. Under his weaker successors, they continued their advance till they were completely defeated some years before A.D. 533, either by a combination of Narasimha Gupta Baladitya, the Gupta ruler, and Yasodharman of Malva (either as a subordinate, or more likely as an independent ruler); or each of these inflicted a separate defeat upon these Huns. We have records of two Hun rulers in India, father and son, by name Toramana and Mihiragula. Mihiragula, the Gollas of Cosmos Indikopleustes, is described by Hiuen-Tsang as "a bold intrepid man of great ability and all the neighbouring states were his vassals." He wished to study Buddhism and the Buddhists put up a talkative servant to discuss the Buddha's teaching with the

king. Enraged at the insult he ordered the utter extermination of the Buddhist Church in his dominions. When he recovered from the defeat at the hands of Baladitya, he found that his place was not available to him. His younger brother having taken possession of the throne, he took refuge in Kashmir, and here he repaid hospitality by treachery, and having murdered the king he made himself ruler. Then he renewed his project of exterminating Buddhism, and with this view he caused the demolition of 1600 topes and monasteries, and put to death nine *kotis* of lay adherents of Buddhism. His career was cut short by his sudden death, and the air was darkened, and the earth quaked, and fierce winds rushed forth as he went down to the Hell of unceasing torment.[4]

What the Hindu and Jain sources have to say of him is no less gruesome, and he was taken away to the relief of suffering humanity.

The Huns in Indian Literature—Kalidasa

It is the invasion of the Huns and the particular period of active migration of this nomadic people that scholars have laid hold of in connection with all references that may be found to the Huns in Indian literature. One of these latter references is contained in the *Raghuvamsa* of Kalidasa. Among the many achievements of the hero has to figure, according to accepted canons of literary criticism, a description of his conquest of the four quarters. This forms Book IV of the work. *Slokas* 60—80 of this book give the details of the western conquests of Raghu and his progress northwards till he

4. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, pp. 288-9.

crossed the Himalayas back into the Madhyadesa of the ancients. The geography of this progress is worth careful study. Raghu is brought in victorious career along the west coast to Trikuta, which is west Avanti on the farther side of the Vindhyas. Then he started for the conquest of the *Parasika by the landway.* He left the field of the battle with *the army of cavalry* of the westerners covered with *the bearded heads,* cut off by the crescent darts of his bowman. He magnanimously pardoned the survivors who surrendered to him *with their turbans removed.* The victors rid themselves of the fatigues of the battle by draughts of wine in the surrounding vineyards in which sheets of leather *were spread for seats.* Then he set forward northwards as if he were bent upon *uprooting the northern monarchs.* By rolling on the banks *of the Sindhu (Vanksu)* the horses of Raghu's army not only got rid of the fatigues of the journey but also shook off the pollen of the *saffron flowers* sticking in their manes. The display of his valour on their husbands exhibited itself by the red colour in the cheeks of the *Huna Women.*[5] The *Kambojas* unable to resist his valour bent down before him as did their Walnut (*aksoda*) trees broken by his elephants tied to them. They sent in their tributes *in heaps of gold and herds of horses* repeatedly, pride never entering the mind of Raghu all the same.

Then he ascended the Himalayas, the mountain-father of Gauri, the mineral dust raised by his cavalry appearing to be intended to enhance the heights of its peaks. The breeze rustling among the birch-leaves, and whistling musically among the bamboos, carried the *spray*

5. This is a product of Yuan-Chwang's *Kapisa.* S. Beal's *Si-Yu-Ki,* I, 54 and notes, 190 and 191.

droplets of Ganges water which refreshed him on the way.

The Kiratas who reached his abandoned camps learned the height of his elephants from the marks on the deodars left by the neck-ropes of these elephants.

Raghu fought a fierce battle with the Parvatiyas (the seven *ganas* of Utsavasanketas). Having made them lose the taste for war, he got his *paean* of victory sung by the *Kinnaras.*

Having raised his pile of unassailable glory on the Himalayas as if to put to shame the Ravana-shaken *Kailasa of Siva,* Raghu descended the *Himalayas.*

Criticism of the Reference

The substance of the twenty stanzas of the book given above, gives a sufficiently correct indication of the point of view of the author though three points of view seem possible. In such connections, an author may simply follow a conventional method in which states and parties are alike figments of the imagination; he may equip himself with such historical information as may be available to him and try to project the political condition of the age of his hero; or he may just project anachronistically the political condition of his own age. Which exactly is the actual point of view of the author in any particular case has to be settled upon its own merits in each case, and the decision will depend upon the actual knowledge of the age it is possible for us to bring to bear upon the question. Profoundly well-read in the Epics and the *Puranas,* as Kalidasa apparently was, he does not appear to follow the Pauranic convention in this case. It is well on the surface that he does not quite attempt the historical surroundings of the age of Raghu, as a comparison of this progress with the corresponding section of

the Ramayana or the Mahabharata will abundantly show. It is in all probability, the third course that he has adopted in this case, and has tried to depict the political surroundings of his own age. On this assumption it is that those scholars who have investigated the question have ascribed to Kalidasa the particular historical periods to which they ascribe him, rejecting as untenable the traditional age of Vikramaditya of Ujjain. It will appear in the course of our study of the history of the Huns, that this settlement so far, at any rate, as it rests upon Kalidasa's reference to the Hunas, is anything but the crucial test that it is but too readily taken to be.

The Geographical Data of Kalidasa

Let us examine the test a little more closely. Kalidasa leads Raghu from Trikuta by the landway to Parasika which must be Fars (ancient Persia) from which the name has descended to the whole country. The specific mention of the landway suggests that the usual way was the waterway. If Raghu came from Aparanta (the Bombay Coast), he must have crossed the Vindhyas near the west end and through his own Anupa, and Trikuta must be located in the Western parts of Central India. The roadway must then go across the margin of the desert to Sukkur, and thence by way of the Bolan Pass to the Kojak Amran mountains, winding round them to Girishk, and thence across to South Persia along the Helmand, that is, the region of Persia hallowed by the early activity of Zoroaster and his patron Darius Hystapes. Then follow some points of detail which indicate accurate knowledge of the characteristics of the Persians and the Parthians before them. They were both of them essentially horsemen, and so the Parasikas are described in the poem. When they were defeated, and they resolved to

surrender, the usual custom among them was to take off their turbans, throw them round their necks and appear as supplicants. Whether the term "*Apanita Sirastrana*" conveys all this it would be hard to say, but it seems unmistakably to indicate this peculiarity of the Persians. Both Persians and Parthians were alike bearded men, as the poem says.

Having conquered these, Raghu starts northwards as if to uproot the kings of the northern people—among whom figure only two, the Hunas and Kambojas. As a clear indication of what this north means we are given the specific hint (in *sloka* 67) that the banks of the *Sindhu* were reached. The word Sindhu is more likely to be a misreading, as six manuscripts out of the nine have *Vankshu* instead of Sindhu. The most popular and authoritative commentator among these, Mallinatha, adopting the reading Sindhu, gives the meaning a *nada* in Kashmir, meaning a westward flowing river, according to his own definition. He has been driven to this by the obvious unsuitability of the ordinary significance of the word Sindhu.[6] It is very likely that the correct reading is *Vankshu.* If it is so, what is Vankshu ? This is usually identified with the river Oxus, which is derived from the term *Vaksu* or *Vamksu.* The Oxus is a long river, the sources of which lie not far from the Pamirs, and its course then lay across the whole width of Mid-Asia from the Pamirs to the Caspian Sea. The Vankshu is not the Oxus, however, but is the name of one of the many tributaries which pour their tributes of water into

6. See Nandargikar's Edition of the *Raghuvamsa,* p. 91. Vankshu as such was known to the Indian of Malva in the age of Bhoja. *Ep. Ind.,* II, pp. 189-195.

the actually smaller Oxus to make it the great river. Among four such in the upper reaches of the Oxus, there are two, Wakshab and Akshab, between which lay Khuttal, as it is called by Arab geographers, but Haytal by the ancient Persians, from which the name Ephthalites was given to the later Huns. The Wakshab of the Arabs is apparently the Vankshu referred to by Kalidasa, by far the greatest tributary of the Oxus.

Immediately to the east of this and enclosed in a huge semi-circular bend of the Oxus is the division known by the name Badakshan, 'a country in which rivers carried down gold sands.' To the east of this again and reaching almost to the very source of the Oxus lay Wakh-Khan, which brings us to the very frontiers of Kashmir, but on the farther side of the Karakoram branch of the Himalaya mountains. There is but a narrow strip of country at the foot of the Pamirs between the upper course of the Indus, the sources of the Oxus and those of the Yarkhand river, which in medieval times formed the road of communication between Turkistan and Tibet. The junction of the Wakshab is reached from Balkh by a road going into the territory of Khuttal, a little to the east of the junction,[7] and, if Kalidasa had any roadway in this region in his mind, Raghu's march must have taken the road that Alexander took, up to Balkh and then turned north-eastward from Balkh, through Badakshan and Wakh-Khan, to the frontier of Kamboja, instead of the slightly north-western road which led into Sugd, the Sogdiana of the Greeks. There is then another point for remark in this connection. This itinerary of Raghu seems to

7. Vide *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* by Le Strange, Chap. 'The Oxus.'

mark the outer boundary in the west and north-west of India from the Achaemenian times onwards almost up to the middle of the 3rd century A.D., if not even up to the time of Yuan Chwang (Hiuen-Tsang).

Raghu marched eastwards from the Vankshu apparently till he reached the frontiers of the Kambojas who submitted without a fight. After this it is that he began his ascent of the Himalayas. There is a well-known route for commerce through Ladak and eastern Kashmir into Tibet, but the region was occupied by the warlike Daradas (Dards).[8] Raghu's route according to Kailasa, must have lain further east as there is no mention of these Daradas, and as *sloka* 73 states that his army was refreshed on its laborious mountain journey by the breezes from the Ganges. There is the further reference (in *sloka* 80) to the Kailasa being perhaps in view. He then descended the Himalayas probably by the passes of Gangotri and Kedarnath into the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna. Here ends this part of his victorious progress, Kalidasa transferring him to the banks of the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) immediately on his eastern conquests.

The real question requiring explanation

This detailed investigation makes it clear that at the period of time referred to by Kalidasa in this connection, the Huns were in that particular region on the northern banks of the Oxus, which became characteristically their own in the centuries of their active domination both over Asia and Europe, that is, in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. When they actually did come in

8. For the position of the Dards and Kambojas see Pargiter's Map, *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 332.

there, and whether those that were in occupation of that region before them could by any means be known to the Indians of their days by the name Hun or Huna are points on which light would be welcome.

The Hun in Chinese History

The name Huna can be traced back in Chinese history to the very beginnings of the history of that country. The Hun were a people who occupied the north-western corner of China proper and were known to the neighbouring Chinese under three forms of the name, written differently no doubt but pronounced exactly alike. Their earliest name seems to have been Hiun-Yu, the first part being Hun or Kun indifferently; later they were called Hien Yun, and finally Hiung-Nu, the common sound of all these being Hun. This takes on an affix 'u' in Persian becoming Hunu, Sansk. Huna. These Hiung-Nu were the leaders of the Turkish, Mongolian, and Hunnu peoples, who overran the continent of Eurasia in the centuries above referred to. They referréd themselves to the dynasty of Hia, founded by the great Yu, son of the minister Kun in B.C. 2205. The seventeenth ruler of this dynasty was banished in 1766 B.C. because he was a tyrant. His son Shun-wei migrated with 500 members of the family of Hia to the northern borders of the district of China, and Chinese tradition referred to these as the forefathers of the Hiung-Nu. Dr. F. Hirth says: "Under Huang-Ti, we find the first mention of a nation called Hun-Yu, who occupied the north of his empire and with whom he is represented to have engaged in warfare. The Chinese identified this name with that of the Hiung-Nu, their old hereditary enemy and the ancestors of Attila's Huns. Even though the details of these legendary accounts may deserve little confidence, *there must*

have been an old tradition that a nation called Hun-Yu, occupying the northern confines of China, were the ancestors of Hiung-Nu tribes, well-known in historical times, a scion of whose great Khans settled in the territory belonging to the king of Sogdiana during the first century B.C., levied tribute from his neighbours, the Alans, and with his small but warlike hordes initiated that era of migrations, which led to the over-running of Europe with central Asiatic Tatars."[9] Coming down the centuries, the kingdom of China broke up in the seventh century B.C. into 7 feudal sub-kingdoms: Tshu, Chao, Wei, Han, Yen-Chao and Ts'i, and Ts'in. Of these the northern kingdoms Yen-Chao and Ts'in were neighbours of the Hiung-Nu. In the year 321 B.C. and again three years after, the first six of these kingdoms under the leadership of the Hiung-Nu attacked the Ts'in dynasty. The allies were, however, entirely conquered by the Ts'in, and Shi-Huang-Ti of the Ts'in dynasty became the first universal emperor about the year 246 B.C. This emperor made Hien Yang (the modern Si-Gan Fu) his capital. He abolished the feudal system and divided the country into provinces over which he set governors directly responsible to himself. He was also the author of roads, canals and other useful public works, and having assured himself of order in the interior of his kingdom, he proceeded against his enemies, chief among whom were the Hiung-Nu Tatars, whose attack for years had been disconcerting to the Chinese, and the neighbouring principalities. He exterminated those of the Hiung-Nu that were in the neighbourhood of China and drove the rest of them into Mongolia. Overcoming his

9. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (XI Ed.), Vol. 6, p. 192.

enemies on the other frontier as well, he extended the empire to make it of the same extent as that of modern China proper. As a protection against the repetition of attacks by the Hiung-Nu, he supplemented the efforts of the three northern states by completing the great wall of China along the northern frontier extending from the sea to the farthest western frontier of the province Kan-Suh. This great work was begun under his immediate supervision in 214 B.C. Finding schoolmen and pedants holding up to the admiration of the people, the feudal system that he overthrew, he ordered the destruction of all books having reference to the past history of his empire. But the result of this piece of vandalism was a great deal undone by his successor Hwei-Ti (194—179 B.C.), the contemporary of our Pushyamitra and Kharavela, and of the Bactro-Indian Greek Menander, the Milinda of the Buddhists.

The Huns and the Yueh-Chi

During the last years of Shi Huang-Ti, the Hiung-Nu Shan-Yu, Teu-Man by name, was driven from the throne and murdered by his son *Mao-Tun* in the year 209 B.C. Subjugating twenty-six of his neighbouring tribes, Mao-Tun extended his kingdom from the Sea of Japan to the river Volga. At the head of an army of 300,000 men he recovered from the Chinese all the northern territory inside the great wall, which they had seized from his father. The Han ruler Hwei-Ti (194-179 B.C.), when he ascended the throne, started by giving every encouragement to literature and doing all that was possible for him to undo the destruction brought about by Shi-Huang-Ti. During his reign, the empire enjoyed internal peace, but there was only one enemy on

the frontiers and that was the Hiung-Nu people. They suffered many defeats in their attacks upon his empire; and, thwarted in their attacks on China, they spent their fury upon the kingdom of the Yueh-Chi, which had grown up in the western extremity of Kan-Suh. The Yueh-Chi were all dislodged from their place and driven away to the territory beyond the Tianshan mountains between Turkistan and the Caspian Sea. The Chinese emperor attempted to form an alliance with the Yueh-Chi against the Hiung-Nu and ultimately succeeded. Changk'ien, the ambassador sent on this commission, was able to visit Bactria, which was a recent conquest of the Yueh-Chi and when there, his attention was first drawn to the existence of India. It was during this visit of his that numerous elements of culture, plants and animals were imported for the first time from the west into China. Under Wu-Ti (140-86 B.C.) the power of the Hiung-Nu was broken and Eastern Turkistan became a Chinese colony through which caravans could go forward and backward in safety, carrying merchandise and art treasures from Persia and the Roman market. About the beginning of the Christian era, the Han power was overthrown, and there was civil disorder till a prince of this dynasty was able to make his position secure from about A.D. 58. It was in the reign of his successor that Buddhism was introduced from India into China in A.D. 65 under Ming-Ti. It was about the same time that the celebrated general Pan-Chao went on an embassy to the king of Shen-Shen in Turkistan, and brought under Chinese influence the states of Shen-Shen, Khoten, Kucha, and Kashgar, all on the northern frontiers of Trans-Himalayan India. It was after this period that the northern Hiung-Nu were finally dislodged from their

place. They came and settled in the neighbourhood of the Sogdians, " conquered the Alans, called prior to the Christian era Yen-Ts'ai (Massagetae), killed their king, and captured their country whereby, under the name of Huns, they were the cause of the folk migrations, which have recently been proven by the German Sinologist, Dr. Hirth, in numerous dissertations."[10] The southern Hiung-Nu, on the other hand, later acknowledge the supremacy of China after their last Shan-Yu had abdicated in favour of the Chinese emperor in A.D. 215. When the central power of China grew weak in the third century A.D. owing to its division into three independent kingdoms, often quarrelling with one another, the Hiung-Nu renewed their incursions into the empire in the beginning of the 4th century. The weakening of the Chinese empire naturally was the occasion for the Hiung-Nu, who in their now familiar name Huns, spread themselves from the frontiers of the Roman Empire to those of India.

The Hiung-Nu—Hun Theory

In regard to the Hiung-Nu being the Huns, there were three theories that held the field till within recent times. The first is the Hiung-Nu—Hun theory, the second Hiung-Nu—Turk theory, the third Hiung-Nu—Mongol theory. It is the first, that the Hiung-Nu were the Huns, that has the best authority at present, and the proof of this rests upon several facts other than geographical. In the Latin map of St. Hieronymus, preserved in the British Museum in London, there appears the name

10. *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April 1910, p. 354.

Huniscite in the neighbourhood of the Chinese Empire. This map was compiled between the years A.D. 376 and 420, when the Huns were already in Europe. The appearance of this name on this map is remarkable, though it is scored out on the map itself as it is at present, and "Seres Oppidum" inserted close to it. Scholars now hold that this correction was made by the geographer Orosius (a pupil of St. Hieronymus) whose Geography was translated into English by King Alfred. In this Geography, the compound folk name Huni-Scythae occurs. What is more remarkable is that this name occurs in the neighbourhood of *Ottorokorra* (*Uttarakuru*). It is generally believed now that this Orosius introduced the correction on the map of errors copied either from the Latin map, drawn on the Wall of Polla Hall in Rome, under the orders of the emperor Augustus in 7 B.C., or from the work *Orbis Pictus* of Agrippa, which was in general use. "*The Latin writers therefore of the Hiung-Nu age had really heard of the Hun under the Chinese Great Wall, although they did not know their history.*"[11]

Among Strabo's notices of India, we find the statement that "The Greeks who occasioned its (Bactria's) revolt became so powerful by means of its fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodoros of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander, (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus), conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius,

11. For this and various other points in this matter, I am indebted to the article "Hiung-Nu-Hun Identity" by Kalman Nemati in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April 1910.

son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdom of Saraostus, and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodoros, in short, says the Bactriana, is the ornament of all Arians. *They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni.*"[12]

The Huns: the Fauni of Strabo

In this extract where the boundary of Bactria in her best days is referred to as the *Seres* and *Phryni*, it is now clearly demonstrated that the second word *Phryni* is an error for Fauni, which in the sense of forest-folk, finds support in the Gothic tradition concerning the origin of the Hiung-Nu. The following extract from the Gothic historian Cassiodorus, as preserved in other works, shows clearly that the Huns were forest men born of Hun fathers and Maga mothers:—

"In those days the Hun people, who for a long time had been living enclosed in inaccessible mountain fastnesses, made a violent attack upon the people, the Goths, whom they harassed to the utmost, and finally drove out of their old habitations, which they then took possession of for themselves. This warlike people originated, according to the traditions of hoary antiquity, in the following manner:

"Filmer, King of the Goths, son of Gadaric the Great, who was the fifth in succession to hold the rule of the Getae after their migration from the island of Scandza, and who, as we have said, entered the lands of Scythia with his tribe, got to know of the presence among his people of certain '*Maga women*,' who in Gothic langu-

12. McCrindle's *Ancient India*—Strabo, p. 100.

age are called *Alirumnoe*. Suspecting these women he expelled them from the midst of his race, and compelled them to wander in solitary exile far from his army."[13]

Menander and the Huns

This idea of forest-spirits is found supported by another designation given to these people, namely, Spiritus Immundis, which means demons, and can be equated with the expression Fauni Ficari on the authority of the Church Father, St. Hieronymus. This idea of the Huns being regarded as forest-spirits is in keeping with the notion Daeva (Demon) of the Zend Avesta. That the Hiung-Nu on the Chinese borders, were the people known to the early Latin and Greek writers under the name Fauni, finds historical support from the dating of Strabo's reference to them. According to Strabo's geography Menander extended his borders up to the frontiers of the Chinese empire and the Fauni in the year 190 B.C. The period of Menander would correspond to the reign of Hwei-Ti of the Han dynasty. The Fauni kingdom, of which Apollodorus of Artemita gives an account in his *Parthika,* could be no other than the Hiung-Nu kingdom, which at the time happened to be ruled over by one of their most powerful Shan-Yue, Mao-Tun, the Attila of the Hiung-Nu people. Beyond this mere synchronism, there is the startling testimony that these Hiung-Nu were also known to the Chinese by another name Kuy-Fang, where the first word means as much as a demon, and this designation for the Hiung-Nu occurs in the Chinese text, which says clearly *that the Yin called the people Kwei-fang whom the Han designated Hiung-Nu.* It is also noteworthy that it is

13. *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April 1910, pp. 360-1.

the Second Dynasty that called them by this name. The second word 'fang' probably meant the district. This notion is confirmed in what the early Chinese historian See-ma-Chang has to say about it. "According to See-ma-Chang, the Hiun-Yu in the time of Yao-Shon were called the mountain Young or Hiun-Yu; in the time of Hia, Shon-Wei; in the time of the In dynasty, their *land was Kuy-fang;* in the time of the Chao they were called Hiun-Yun, and in the time of the Han, Hiung-Nu."[14]

It thus becomes clear that the Hiung-Nu of the Chinese were considered by the Chinese themselves at a particular period of their history as something analogous to demons, and this notion got abroad in the folk-name Fauni of Strabo's geography, and in the Gothic tradition regarding the paternal stock of the Huns. Therefore, it may be taken as satisfactorily proved that *the Hiung-Nu and Huns were in the estimation of their neighbours the same people.*

The maternal stock of the Huns—the Massagetae

In regard to the maternal stock of the Huns, the Maga women must have belonged to the Getae, who were also in the neighbourhood of China. All the contemporary historians of the Huns knew them only either as originating from the Massagetae that came later to be

14. A. Q. R. quoted above, pp. 366-67. In this connection attention may usefully be drawn to the title Devaputra or Daivaputra on the coins of the Kushana rulers of the Punjab, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva. The Daivaputras are again under reference in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. Is then the question established that the Ch. Kuy-fang =Ind. Daivaputra=Cl. Fauni or Spiritus Immundis? *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 249.

called the Huns, according to the concurrent testimony of the Greek, Roman and Latin historians, who all state "that the Huns lived among the most dreaded of people, the Massagetae." There is besides the clear statement of Ammianus Marcellinus, who "records that the Huns in every respect were similar to the Alans, who lived in that stretch of country from the river Don to the Indus, formerly known by the name Massagetae." The Chinese called these people before they were conquered by the Hiung-Nu, An-Ts'ai, or according to the present pronunciation Yen-Ts'ai. Therefore then the people, called Massagetae by the Latins and Greeks, were known to the Chinese as An-Ts'ai. The notion of *Maga women* as connected with the Huns seems to have had its origin in the general notion that they were associated with *Witchcraft* and as such were fit mothers for the demon-breed of the Huns.

Indian evidence on the question.

But coming down to the Indian side of the evidence, we have already noticed that in the geography of Orosius, the characteristic Huni-Scythae name occurs in the neighbourhood of Uttarakuru. The term Uttarakuru designated according to the Indian authorities a race of people on the other side of the Himalayas. The *Pauranic* associations of these people give them an unbelievable longevity and ascribe to them other attributes which remove them from the realm of an actual race of people. This notion of their being a legendary people gets only confirmed by the early Greek accounts of them, which describe them as they do the Hyperboreans of the Greeks. The Mahabharata refers to them as quite an earthly people among whom polyandry prevailed in the days of

Pandu.[15] But if we get back to the earlier literature of the Hindus, we seem to be on more historical ground, and the Uttarakuru would be a race of human people, who lived on the other side of the Himalayas. The *Aitareya Brahmana*[16] describes them merely as located beyond the Himalayas. Their country is described as 'the lands of the gods' no doubt, but it is at the same time stated that the disciple of Vasishtha Satyahavya, by name Janantapi Atyarati, was anxious to conquer it. It cannot therefore be regarded as mythical. They are generally mentioned in connection with another people, the Uttara-Madras, who themselves get connected with the Kambojas, as a Kamboja Aupamanyava is described as a pupil of Madragara.[17] There is the further interesting detail in the *Satapatha Brahmana*[18] of a dispute between the Kuru-Panchala Brahmans and of the Northern Brahmans in which the latter got the better of it. These Northern Brahmans are described as having speech similar to that of the Kuru-Panchalas. Their speech was regarded as celebrated for purity, and the Brahmans are described as going to the north for purposes of study. This is confirmed by the Buddhist tradition that Gandhara was famous as a University centre to which even such an exalted personage as Prasenajit of Kosala, the contemporary of Buddha, went for education as a prince.[19] It might also be noted

15. *Adiparva*, Ch. 128.
16. See Haug's Translation, VIII, 14 and 23.
17. *Vedic Index* by Macdonell and Keith, I, 84.
18. XI, 4, 1, 1 III, 2, 3, 15; Eggeling's Translation in the *Sacred Books of the East*.
19. Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, pp. 8, 28 and 203.

here that the *Mahavamsa* refers to the region of the Uttarakuru as one to which some priests were directed to fetch a stone for working the relic chamber of the Great Stupa.[20] We would not therefore perhaps be far wrong if we located this Uttarakuru somewhere in the Tarim Basin in what is known as Chinese Turkistan, so that they would be on the frontiers of China and India and in touch with the Hiung-Nu.

Hiuen-Tsiang's reference to the 'Rats' in the City west of Khotan

That this is the identical location of the Hiung-Nu in the earlier periods of their history, as known to the Chinese, is in evidence in the account of Khotan in the Chinese Traveller Hiun-Tsang's travels. He says there "in old days, a general of the Hiung-Nu came to ravage the borders of this country with several tens of myriads of followers." A body of rats of extraordinary size, who had their habitation not far from Khotan are, according to the story, said to have miraculously overthrown the Hiung-Nu.[21]

It is also noteworthy that to reach this, the traveller had to cross the river Sita, which must be the *Pauranic* Sita, one of the seven holy rivers that took their rise round Meru or Sumeru, the *Pauranic* centre of the earth. It is this river that again seems to be referred to by the classical writers generally by the term 'Silas.'[22] It

20. Geiger's Trans., p. 203.
21. Beal's *Si-Yu-ki*, II, pp. 314-15.
22. Referred to as 'Sailodam' in the *Mahabharata*, II, 42.

seems now clear that the land of the Uttarakuru was in the valley of the Tarim in the north-western margin of what is now known to Central Asian travellers as the Takla Makan desert on the eastern slopes of the out-spurs of the Tianshan Mountains. A mere glance at a map of Asia will show clearly that, in the days of the Hiung-Nu—Hun ascendancy, that basin must have formed the road of communication between China and India, from the middle of the first century B.C. onwards. If the Chinese knew the Hiung-Nu in this locality, it is just possible that the Indians might have heard of them in the same region, and as such it would be untenable to draw, from the occurrence of any reference to the Huna, the inference that it is necessarily made to the Ephthalite Huns.

Conclusion

The Huns may no longer exist, perhaps as a people, but the Hun is not yet dead, and, if according to what Professor Maitland said in one of his addresses, history is lengthening both forwards and backwards, here is an illustration of the backward extension of Hun history. In the days of his dominance, the Hun was universally regarded as the destroyer of civilization and his activities in this evil work were experienced alike all along the frontiers of civilization beginning from the walls of China along the Tarim basin down to the sources of the river Oxus, and along the river Oxus itself to the Caspian Sea, and across the southern coast of Russia through the whole length of the Roman frontier extending from the mouth of the Danube to the lower Rhine, if not to the mouths of the Rhine. It is to the

good fortune of humanity that the principles of civilisation triumphed ultimately all along this frontier.

Additional notes to pages 70 and 71

P. 70. The alternative reading given is Vankshu. Even where the reading Sindhu is adopted the comment is made referring it to that part of the course where it flows westwards.

P. 71. Seven Ganas or clans of Utsavasanketas are stated to have been defeated by Arjuna in the *Mahabharata* II, XVIII, 16.

[The Inaugural Lecture before the Madras Christian College Associated Societies, May 1919.]

CHAPTER VI

THE VAKATAKAS AND THEIR PLACE IN INDIAN HISTORY

INTRODUCTORY

The position of the Vakatakas and their relation to the Guptas find their obscure origins in the Puranas. The Puranas are, unfortunately, for this period, very muddled in their statements and the texts are in many cases inextricably corrupt. The problem, therefore becomes doubly difficult. To extricate anything like an orderly succession of rulers or even dynasties in this confusion, particularly in the period immediately following that of the Andhras would have proved an impossible task almost. Thanks to the efforts, however, of the late Mr. Pargiter, we have the texts of the Puranic dynasties of the Kali Age in a handy form for reference, and the texts, as he has presented them, only go to make the difficulties appear the more clearly. The general trend, however, seems fairly clear; namely, while the Andhras were yet in existence, and in the period of their decadence, a certain number of dynasties extending over a varying number of generations and lasting for various periods of time, gradually made themselves independent, and held rule each in its own particular locality. These various dynasties are described according to localities, and these have all of them reference more or less to the third century A.D., at the end of which there is an obscure Puranic statement of a revolution brought about by a ruler, Visvasphani by name, whose identity is very

far from certain—a revolution political as well as social. He is said to have attempted an empire on his own account, and after achieving success passed out of existence. Then there apparently came the usual break-up; and another series of dynasties find mention, among whom we find the early Guptas included. Their territory is clearly described as adjoining the Ganges and Prayaga, and the country dependent upon Saketa and Magadha being also included therein. It is apparently on this assumption and from the more or less rough estimates of time that we can form from the Pauranic recital that these local dynasties are allotted by Pargiter to the third and early fourth centuries A.D. Gupta history, therefore, must be taken to begin with the position the Puranas thus ascribe to them. Since Gupta and Vakataka histories seem to have been intimately connected with each other, the two will have to be studied in relation to each other for gaining the proper perspective in history. It therefore is of some importance to know when Gupta history actually begins and in what manner.

Chandragupta I of the Guptas is the person who is given the title of Maharajadhiraja in the Gupta records of his successors. There is other evidence besides that he must have been a man of achievement, as otherwise the credit of the foundation of the empire would not have been given to him as such.[1] It is on this general position that the Meharauli Pillar Inscription has been examined in the next following

1. *J.I.H.*, vi, pt. ii.

Part III, in regard to the possible identification of the Chandra of that inscription with Chandragupta I on the basis of the achievement recorded of Chandra in the pillar.

Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Aiyar, who chose for his Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectures the identification of this Chandra, claims greater appropriateness for identifying this Chandra of the Iron Pillar Inscription with a ruler Sadachandra, as he is called in the Pauranic lists, among the dynasties that ruled over Vidisa. There are a number of difficulties to be got over *prima facie* before a case can be made out for this identification. Sadachandra's name occurs at least five generations before Vindhyasakti, and therefore six before his son Pravarasena on the basis of the Pauranic texts alone. The whole of Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar's theory in a nut-shell is this: The ruler Bhogin referred to in line three of the list on page 49 of the Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* is to be identified with the Naga ruler, Bhavanaga of the Bharasivas, and father-in-law of the father of Rudrasena I, grandson of Pravarasena I of the Vakatakas. After him, possibly in immediate succession, came this Sadachandra, with whom the Chandra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription is sought to be identified.

Bhavanaga of the Bharasivas may have been contemporary with Pravarasena I of the Vakatakas, as he must have been an elder contemporary of his grandson. The cardinal synchronism between the Guptas and the Vakatakas is in the marriage of Prabhavati Gupta, the daughter of Chandragupta II with Vakataka Rudrasena

II, the grandson of Rudrasena I. The genealogies would stand as under :—

GUPTAS	VAKATAKAS.	
Chandragupta I	Vindhyasakti	
Samudragupta	Pravarasena I	
Chandragupta II	Gautamiputra	(did not rule; son-in-law of Bhavanaga the Bharasiva)
	Rudrasena I	
	Prithvisena I	
Prabhavatigupta (married)	Rudrasena II	

On the basis of this the Gupta contemporary of Rudrasena I must be Samudragupta, and possibly Chandragupta I himself. Rudrasena's grandfather Bhavanaga may have been more nearly contemporary with Chandragupta I. Sadachandra, who succeeded this Bhogin — Bhavanaga must have come after Chandragupta I. We therefore arrive at this at the very best; —Sadachandra, Samudragupta and Rudrasena I, the Vakataka (or it may be his son Prithvisena), should have been contemporaries. On this chronological basis, could the identification suggested stand?

In regard to Sadachandra, except that the name occurs as one in the list of the dynasties that ruled over Vidisa, the Puranas give us no indication whatsoever of any claim to greatness for him. An attribute like *Chandramso,* even with the reading *Chandrabha* as suggested, is so common an attribute of poetry to lead to anything like a definite

identification because two rulers happen to be described by that term. We really want a little more than this. Even if the name *Sadachandra* is *Ramachandra* or *Vamachandra,* is it likely that a man bearing that name would call himself Chandra ? The modern practice of domestic names is not what one would expect in a solemn document as is that on a *dvajastambha* in a temple purports to be. If Ramachandra is the reading preferred, then we should look for the name Rama, not Chandra. If it is Vamachandra, it is possible that *Vama* is an attribute. But in the choice of these readings, it is matter for grave doubt whether we enjoy the freedom to choose whatever reading we like, the more so when we are dealing with the difficult texts of the Puranas. All Puranas are not of equal value ; all manuscripts of the same Purana are not of equal value either, and before overthrowing a carefully edited critical text, some reason must be given for the change. Pargiter has adopted the reading of the *Vayu Purana,* which is generally more reliable for this period. In respect of names and even dynastic chapters, the *Vishnu Purana* is very abbreviated, and consequently corruption of the text is great. We must, therefore, have some reason of a satisfactory character to prefer one reading to another. In the best of circumstances, it is unlikely that a ruler even in a moment of devotion would describe himself by the pet name Chandra, whether his name be Sadachandra, Ramachandra or Vamachandra, while it would be perfectly in the fitness of things that a ruler having a name Chandragupta describes himself as Chandra as one has often to announce himself by his name (*Sarman* as it is called in Sanskrit) when one

makes salutations of respect to the holy ones or elders even now, the latter half of the name Gupta in this case being regarded as a title like so many others.

Another point of objection is, in the words of the summary, which we hope is authoritative, 'the wording of the Pillar Record differs so widely from the ordinary formula of the Gupta inscriptions and the phraseology is quite unlike that of any of their numerous inscriptions, as has been noted by Vincent Smith.' 'Mr. Allan states that as the inscription was engraved on an iron pillar, considering the stiffness of the material on which the inscription was engraved, it would be difficult to dogmatize on its date from the point of view of epigraphy, and even went so far as to doubt if the inscription belonged to the Gupta dynasty at all.' The position taken here contains two or three points of a specific character. The wording of this record differs from the formulae of the Gupta inscriptions generally. The Gupta inscriptions that we have from which anything like a formula can be made out are all of them of Chandragupta II or later. The famous Harisena Epigraph of Samudragupta itself does not conform to this formula. All of Chandragupta II's inscriptions so far accessible to us do not conform to this dictum. It would, therefore, be too much to speak of a Gupta formula in inscriptions of Samudragupta's time and previously. Of peculiarity in phraseology really so called, there is none. Phraseology will differ according to the author, and the author of this record is certainly not the author, so far as we know, of any other published Gupta record. In point of general literary character it strikes us that it differs no more from other well-known records of Kumaragupta or Skandagupta. In regard to the palaeographical value of it, it no doubt

would be difficult to dogmatize. But Mr. Allan himself has to form general estimates of the value of characters on coins as compared with those on stone and copper-plate inscriptions often. Stone and copper-plate inscriptions are compared palaeographically, and rough estimates of the age of inscriptional characters are formed on them. A cast-iron pillar undoubtedly introduces new material, but by that fact it does not take it away from the realm of possible comparison with copper-plate inscriptions or even stone inscriptions altogether. All that an epigraphist of the experience of Fleet said was that the characters of the Iron Pillar were of about the same age, and were of about the same character as those of Samudragupta Pillar Inscription. These may be a little earlier or a little later, but what perhaps is quite warranted is that these cannot be earlier or later by generations. That is all that is presumed on the basis of palaeography and nothing more. The record admits of the possibility, that it may be that of Chandragupta, father of Samudragupta, or Chandragupta, the son. It may be somewhat later or earlier, but cannot be earlier or later by many generations. That is all the point. The question therefore will have to be how far a historical character like Sadachandra would be from the Samudragupta inscription. A point Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar did not apparently notice is, (he made no reference to it in his lectures, nor is the actual reference found in the summary as it appears), that, if Bhogin is Bhavanaga, he must be contemporary with Rudrasena I of the Vakatakas, and therefore with Samudragupta possibly, or it may be, even with Chandragupta I. Therefore in point of time Sadachandra will not be far removed to make the ascription of the Meharauli Pillar Record to him on palaeographical

grounds impossible. Bhogin's successor, Sadachandra, would then be contemporary with Samudragupta himself, and it would make the pillar inscription of Samudragupta and that of Chandra almost of the same age.

This brings us really up against a great difficulty. Sadachandra is ruler of Vidisa and ruled the territory dependent thereon in Eastern Malva. Just about the time when he must have come to the throne either Samudragupta should be ruling, or his father Chandragupta. If Sadachandra fought a battle against the confederated enemies on the frontier of Bengal, how did he manage to get across the whole of Magadha, the territory dependent upon Prayaga and Saketa and the territory belonging to the Lichchavis which were all of them under the Gupta, Chandragupta I ? This involves the assumption of one of two alternatives, either that the war on the Bengal frontier wās one against the Guptas themselves, or that he first of all defeated and subjugated the Gupta power and marched against other enemies across the Gupta territory.

To make this possibility rather convenient of a war against the Bengal frontier, Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar would postulate that the original territory of Sadachandra and his dynasty was in Anga, and that Vidisa was a new acquisition from the Naga dynasty of which Bhogin was a distinguished member at the time. This would make Sadachandra ruler of Anga and ruler of Vidisa at the same time, which must necessarily involve the possession of Magadha, which is chronologically incompatible, and any other conclusion would be politically and geographically impossible. This position for Sadachandra is achieved by the adoption of another alternative reading by changing *Sunga* into *Ȧnga*. Here the Purana text merely

states in the particular passage that at the end of the dynasty of Sunga rulers 'will come Sisunandi.' Changing *Sunga* into *Anga* here does not take us very far as that statement apparently has no connection whatever either with Bhogin or with Sadachandra except the fact that they all of them belonged alike to those that ruled over Vidisa. Pargiter makes no connection, and there is little warrant for making the connection as the Purana texts stand. The assumption therefore of an Anga ruler extending his territory across to conquer Vidisa from the Nagas and take the territory of Eastern Malva under his rule is an assumption for which no reason or evidence is adduced. The assumption seems historically not warranted, and geographically not easy, and if the Gupta-Vakataka synchronism be accepted, it becomes chronologically impossible. If a ruler of Pushkarana is far for fighting against enemies on the Bengal frontier, a ruler of Anga is in no better case to fight with the enemies across the seven mouths of the Sindhu. We know historically that the territory of Vidisa was ruled over by the Nagas; the extinction of the Naga dynasty of Vidisa does not put an end to the Nagas as a whole. The statement of the Purana text amounts to nothing more than this, namely, that when this dynasty of rulers came to an end, Sisunandi came to rule. To say more than this we have no authority in the Puranic text. Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar admits the chronological possibility of Sadachandra being of the early Gupta period, and once that is admitted these difficulties present themselves.

Another point on which much capital is made in this context is the name Vishnupada, and the hill Vishnupada being near Haridwar or Kailasa. It is a far cry from Haridwar to Kailasa, but probably what is meant

is Gangadvara or Haridwara (are the two the same ?). Nobody questions the mention of a Vishnupada-*giri* (hill) occurring in the Puranas and the epics in connection with this locality. There is a Vishnupada supposed to be on a hill in Gaya ; there is a Vishnupada in Allahabad, and in the *Sraddhas* even in our part of the country, it is mentioned as a place on which food (*Pinda*) is offered to the manes (*Pitris*). Therefore Vishnupada or Vishnupada-giri is not the name of a single locality exclusively whatever be the part of India that it might be in. There is epigraphical warrant that Biyana at the south end of the Delhi ridge goes by the name of Sripadam according to Dr. Fleet on the authority of inscriptions.[2] If one part of the hill be called Sripadam, the possibility of another part being named Vishnupada does not appear to be so hopelessly unwarranted.[2a]

But the crux of the problem, in regard to this particular point, is whether we could regard the pillar as having been removed to the present locality from another place, or as remaining on the original site in which it was erected. It stands now in the courtyard of the Kutub Mosque in Delhi. The courtyard of Kutub Mosque is certainly not the place where it was originally erected. But the ready presumption would be that it was removed by the builders of the Kutub Minar from its original locality wherever it was. Vincent Smith who made a careful examination of the question in his article on the (Meharauli Pillar) in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic*

2. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions,* p. 251, n. 3.

2a. The Ramayana refers to a hill of this name near the source of some of the Punjab rivers. The Mahabharata refers to a holy *Tirtha* of the name, some distance off Delhi on the river Drishadvati.

Society[3] has given it as his conclusion that the pillar is fastened on the floor of the courtyard of Anangapala's temple in the layer which constituted the flooring of the Hindu temple and distinctly underneath the flooring of the Muhammadan mosque, thereby indicating clearly that it could not have been removed to the present site by the Muhammadan builders of the mosque. If anybody removed it from anywhere else, it must have been the Hindu Anangapala who must have done so. Imagine an orthodox Hindu ruler, whether he be a Vaishnava or Saiva, attempting to remove a *dvajastambha* of Vishnu from a Vishnu temple in a particular holy place even for the purpose of re-erecting it in another Vaishnava temple. It seems extremely unlikely that any Hindu ruler would have done it, and it would be difficult to imagine any compelling reason for him to do so unless it be that the temple was already destroyed and the pillar lay in ruins. We can accept a position like this, but would want something like a hint of it in sources of authority. That a Vishnu temple should have been built on a hill called Vishnupada does not necessarily involve the assumption that it was built on the top of it. It should be enough if its site forms a part of what is generally describable as a particular hill. In the circumstances, it seems more likely that the pillar was where it has been since the days of Anangapala, and it may even be possible that the so-called Anangapala's temple is no more than an additional or larger extension to an already existing temple which took its name from the ruler who enlarged and improved it, for which it is not impossible to find instances.

3. 1897, pp. 1-18.

The question whether it is the one or the other or a third depends upon the following circumstances :—

1. The person Chandra, whose record we are discussing, must have been a man of achievement, having, by his own efforts, acquired a vast kingdom, and held rule over it for a length of time.

2. He must have fought two actions against enemies across the wide stretch of India, such as the western frontier of Bengal in the east, and western frontier of Sindh on the western side.

3. The enemies thus overthrown along the western frontier of Sindh are stated to be Bahlikas.[1]

The answer to these questions would depend upon to whom these conditions would apply. Of Sadachandra of Vidisa, we know nothing except what the Puranas say, and the Puranas say actually nothing more than that he was a ruler of Vidisa, probably among the Naga rulers of the locality. That he achieved anything cannot be asserted on the authority of the Puranas, and the Puranas are our only source of authority for the name. In regard to Chandragupta II, the victory against the Bahlikas would be nothing very unusual; perhaps it would be natural, as he carried on an exterminating war against the Kshatrapas and destroyed them ultimately. But then we have a number of records of Chandragupta II and of his immediate successors. None of them mentions the achievement of this great importance in connection with him; nor do we find any mention of it in the other sources available. In regard to Chandravarman of Pushkarana,

1. The Bahlikas were occupying the country stretching west from the Jamna across to Sindh according to the *Markaṇḍeya Puraṇa*.

one may imagine a possible raid across even the Gupta territory in the early period of Samudragupta's reign when there were grave disturbances. But the inscription of his successor, Naravarman, makes no mention of such a great achievement, which it would hardly have failed to do if he were the person. That Chandragupta I of the Guptas built the empire is beyond doubt. That he was anxious for a suitable successor to bear the burdens of this empire is stated in clear terms in the Harisena epigraph. We have statements that the marriage with the Lichchavi princess was of great importance, and that he made that a stepping-stone to the foundation of a great kingdom is quite possible or even probable. We have good reasons to feel that some of the coins usually ascribed to his successors, such as the Chatra coins and the marriage coins are coins issued by Chandragupta I. It is these circumstances of a definite character that gave room for the assumption that it was possibly Chandragupta I who put up the Meharauli Pillar record, the record being named as is usual with epigraphs generally from the locality of their finds.

It would be quite in the nature of things in regard to the newly founded empire if its feudatories attempted to throw off the yoke immediately after the death of the founder. If the succession happens to be an indisputable one and the successor a capable man, the empire would stand; if the succession itself is disputed and the successor a feeble individual, the empire breaks up. In the case of Samudragupta what happened actually, as stated in the Harisena epigraph, is nothing more than this—Samudragupta was chosen for the succession by the father as the most eligible every way in the actual circumstances. There are hints of those that felt dissatisfied

at the choice. Immediately follows the statement that a number of chieftains in the immediate neighbourhood, rulers of separate kingdoms, made a concerted attack on Patalipura and Samudragupta overthrew the enemies. His drastic uprooting of the nine rulers of *Aryavarta* follows as a consequence naturally, as night follows the day. From these circumstances alone the inference would be justifiable that Chandragupta I successfully founded the empire, which in great anxiety he left to a successor of his choice, who justified the choice by overcoming all opposition and putting the empire on a firmer basis than his father left it. Is not that Chandragupta a man of achievement and does he not seem the likeliest man to be identified with the Chandra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription ?

It may perhaps contribute to make the position clear if the passage in the Puranas relating to the rulers of Vidisa were set down here for ready reference. The passage is set down as in the collated text of Pargiter. The translation is not that of Mr. Pargiter, which, in some particulars, does not seem to be quite correct. The notes added relate only to the few points under reference in the course of the above.

TEXT.

Nṛpān Vaidiśakāṁs c' āpi bhaviṣyāṁś tu nibodhata
Śēṣasya Nāga-rājasya putraḥ para-puran-jayaḥ
Bhogi bhaviṣyatē rāja nṛpō Nāga-kul-ōdvahaḥ
Sadācandras tu Candrāṁśo dvitīyō Nakhavāṁs tathā
Dhanadharma tatas c' āpi caturtho Vangarah smṛtaḥ
Bhūtinandas tatas c' āpi Vaidiśē tu bhaviṣyati
Sungānām tu kulasyānte Śiśunandir bhaviṣyati
tasya bhrāta yavīyaṁs tu nāmnā Nandiyaśaḥ kila

tasya ānvayē bhaviṣyanti rājanas tē trayas tu vai
dauhitraḥ Śiśuko nama Purikāyam nṛpō bhavat.
Vindhyaśakti sutas c āpi Pravīro nāma Vīryavān
bhokṣatē ca samāḥ ṣaṣṭim purīm Kāncanakām ca vai
yakṣyate vājapēyais ca samāpta-vara dakṣiṇaiḥ
tasya putrās tu catvārō bhaviṣyanti narādhipāḥ.

TRANSLATION

"Please know the rulers of Vidisa that will come hereafter. The son of Sesha, king of the Nagas, the conqueror of the cities of others, the upraiser of the dynasty of the Nagas, Bhogi, will become king. Sadachandra, part of the moon (*Chandra amsa*); second after him Nakhavan, after him Dhanadharma, after him, the fourth Vangara. After these comes into existence in Vidisa Bhuti-Nanda. At the end of the dynasty of the Sungas will arise Sisunandi; his younger brother by name Nandiyasah. In his line will come these three kings; his grandson through his daughter, by name Sisuka, will be king at Purika. The valiant ruler by name Praviro, son of Vindhyasakti, will enjoy for sixty years the city of Kanchanaka. He will celebrate Vajapeyas, each one completed by the distribution of excellent gifts to the Brahmans. Four of his sons would become kings."

In this the points to which particular attention should be drawn, relevant to the previous enquiry, are Bhogi, who is proposed to be identified with Bhavanaga, is described as the son of no less a person than Sesha, king of the Nagas, otherwise Adisesha, which would imply that he was probably the historical founder of the Naga family. Sadachandra follows him immediately among four rulers. The Purana statement does not

connect him with Bhogi clearly. It may be open to the interpretation that he was his son. On the text of it, we would be entitled to say that he was his successor proximately, perhaps, even remotely. Then follow a series of successors, three, of probably the same family as Sadachandra, and then a Bhuti-Nanda apparently of another family; and then follows a statement that at the end of the dynasty of the Sungas, Sisunandi will be king of Vidisa. From this it is clearly inferable that Bhogin and his successors ruled before the Sungas. There are good historical reasons for believing that the Sungas held rule over this region. The government of Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra, the first Sunga, was in Malva. His grandson, Vasumitra, fought against the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu, which is taken by historians to be the Kali Sindhu in the region of Vidisa. So historically what the Puranas intend saying seems to be that when Sunga rule came to an end in the region of Vidisa, a ruler by name Sisunandi would then rule. If the reading Anga should be adopted, it becomes meaningless in reference to the first line, which declares that the rulers that follow are the rulers of Vidisa. There is no reason, on the basis of the text before us, to assume that either Bhogi or any-one of the five that followed him in succession had any-thing to do with Anga. The adoption of the reading *Anga* instead of *Sunga* will make the text far more obscure than it is and has no justification whatsoever from the point of view of history, as the Purana texts of the Kali Age in the centuries previous to this have nothing whatever to say about Anga, although in one or two places Champa does occur, but in the period immediately following this. After Sisunandi we have

to allow for his younger brother and three others of his family together with his daughter's son, who ruled in Purika, and then comes in Pravira, ruler of this region, as we should understand it in succession to the family of Sisunandi including his grandson. There seems therefore no warrant as far as the Pauranic texts go for the assumption that there was a family of Anga rulers ruling over Vidisa at the same time. If the Purana texts are to be understood as they should be, all these rulers should have come before the Nagas, the Guptas, the Manidhanyas, Devarakshitas, Guhas and Kanakas along with others in Saurashtra, etc., mentioned in the following passage. The equation of Bhogi with Bhavanaga and the consequent position chronologically ascribable to Sadachandra, contemporaneously with Chandragupta I and Samudragupta which is the inevitable result of Mr. Venkatarama Aiyar's argument, would go against the statement of the Puranas themselves. That interpretation must be regarded bad, which makes consecutive texts contradict themselves.

THE VAKATAKAS IN GUPTA HISTORY[4]

It is now more or less generally accepted that a dynasty of rulers, described by the title Gupta, ruled from A.D. 319-20 onwards for about two centuries acquired an imperial position early in their career, and maintained that high position for the greater part of the period till it was overthrown by the irruption of the Huns into the territory of India. There are certain points in their early history which seem incapable of elucidation without a correct understanding of the

4. By permission of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

position of the Vakatakas in relation to this imperial dynasty. It will be the purpose of this paper to show what influence the Vakatakas exercised on the history of the early Guptas.

Early History of the Guptas

It is generally accepted that there was one Maharaja Chandragupta who founded this great dynasty, though the dynastic pedigrees add two names before him, that of his father Ghatotkacha and his grandfather Maharaja Srigupta. It is also generally accepted that this Chandragupta was able to advance to the higher position of emperor by a marriage alliance that he contracted with the powerful clan of the Lichchavis, a princess of which clan, Kumaradevi, he married. It is generally regarded that he had a comparatively short reign extending over no more than about fifteen years as a maximum, and that it was really his son Samudragupta who, by a series of conquests, advanced the dynasty really to the imperial position.[5] His conquests, so-called, fall into a number of divisions. Of these, he defeated, and destroyed the power of, nine kings of Aryavarta whose names are mentioned. He is said to have put under tribute five border kingdoms, three in the east and two in the north, as also nine other tribes, as they seem, in the south-west. His chief title to conquest, however, lay in his expedition to the south in which he is regarded as having marched as far south as Kanchi in South India, conquered eleven kings of the south and set them free. Having been successful against all these kingdoms and states, he got into diplomatic relation with

5. *Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith, 3rd edition, ch. xi.

six more distant monarchs, of whom five have to be located on the north-western frontier, while the sixth is mentioned specifically to be the monarch of Ceylon.[6] He celebrated an *Asvamedha* sacrifice in commemoration of his vast conquests; and memorials of the celebration of this imperial sacrifice have come down to us. His son and successor extended these conquests in the south-western direction overthrowing the last remnant of the Saka power under the Kshatrapas, and carried the Gupta territory to the western sea. It was some time in the reign of his son and successor that the Hun invasion broke in, and, after varying fortunes, ultimately subverted the ruling power. In this resume of the history of the Guptas the Vakatakas appear nowhere, and for all that we see in the details accessible to us from the Gupta records, the Vakatakas appear not to have existed at all. Notwithstanding this apparent omission, there is this significant fact that the list of Samudragupta's southern conquests does not include any part of the Dakhan proper. Erandapalli and Daivarashtra, two places located by Dr. Fleet in Western Dakhan indefinitely, have since been satisfactorily identified with places on the east coast region of Kalinga,[7] and that makes Samudragupta's southern invasion march down by way of the coast and return, it may be, by a different route but along the same region, so that the southern conquests mean really no more than the conquest, as far as it went, of only the northern portion of the Madras Presidency. Why is the whole of

6. Fleet, *G.I.C.I.I.*, vol. iii, No. 1 and V. A. Smith, *opus cite.*

7. *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 109; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xii, p. 212.

the Dakhan omitted from this southern list? No part of it could be included in the lists of his other conquests except perhaps in reference to the people of Abhiras whom he is said to have put under tribute. But even the Abhiras as such do not figure prominently in the historical records of the period that have come down to us beyond this single reference.

The Vakatakas

The Vakatakas as such are not known to us except by their inscriptions. Of these, we have about half a dozen, of which two at least happen to be stone inscriptions in the caves of Ajanta; the rest of them are copper-plate grants. According to the most complete stone inscription, that of the Ajanta Cave XIV,[8] the following is the genealogy of the Vakatakas:

1. Vindhyasakti.
2. Pravarasena I, son of (1).
3. Rudrasena I, son of (2?).
4. Prithivisena, son of (3).
5. Pravarasena II, son of (4?).
6. (*Name omitted*), son of the previous king.
7. Devasena, son of the predecessor.
8. Harisena, son of the predecessor.

According to the most complete copper-plate grants the Vakataka genealogy would stand as follows:—

1. Vindhyasakti (not mentioned).
2. Pravarasena I son of (1).
   Gautamiputra, son of (2) married the daughter of Bhavanaga, the ruler of the Bharasiva family (did not rule).

8. *A.S.W.I.*, vol. vi, 124 *ff*.

3. Rudrasena I, Gautamiputra's son and grandson of (2).
4. Prithivisena I, son of (3).
5. Rudrasena II, son of (4), married Prabhavatigupta, the daughter of Devagupta, or Chandragupta II and Kubheranaga.
6. Pravarasena II, son of (5), otherwise Damodarasena.
7. Narendrasena, son of (6), married Ajjhitabhattarika, a princess of Kuntala.
8. Prithivisena II, son of (7).

A comparison of these lists shows that, in the Ajanta cave inscriptions, there are two names omitted, those of Gautamiputra, son of Pravarasena I, and Rudrasena II. It is possible to explain the omission of the first name as due to the fact of his not having ruled, while the omission of the second does not admit of that explanation. In the present state of the document, it is even possible to say that the first name is gone. In regard to the omission of the second, however, the only possible explanation seems to be that it is due to the carelessness of the transcriber from the written document to the stone. Otherwise, it is almost impossible to understand that a document, not many generations removed from Rudrasena II, should commit such a blunder as to make the grandson the son, as in the case of Pravarasena II. Assuming therefore, that the first is omitted in this inscription because he did not rule, and the second is omitted through the inadvertence of the sculptor of the inscription, the genealogy from Vindhyasakti to Pravarasena II may be held to be in substantial agreement in all the Vakataka documents that have come down to us, both

on copper-plates and on stone. After Pravarasena II, the Ajanta inscription contains the name of a son who came to the throne in his eighth year and ruled well. His son was Devasena and his son Harisena according to the same record. The name of Pravarasena II's son is now obliterated in the record. The Balaghat copper-plates of Prithivisena II[9], however, describe the son of Pravarasena II as Narendrasena by name, and states the fact that 'the Lakshmi of the family was forcibly drawn to him by his possession of great good qualities.' He married a Kuntala princess by name Ajjhitabhattarika, and by her had a son Prithivisena II who apparently intended to issue the actual record. Thus we have in succession to Pravarasena II, one list of three generations and another of two; while it is possible that the son and successor of the Pravarasena II was only one if we could assume that the name that is omitted in the Ajanta inscriptions is that of Narendra of the Balaghat record. The only difficulty in this equation would be whether the forceful drawing of the Lakshmi of the family by Narendrasena is not in some contrast to the eight-year old child who succeeded Pravarasena II who ruled well. The actual difficulty does come in when the Balaghat inscription says that it is Narendrasena's good qualities that forcefully drew to him (*apahrita*) Sri of the family. This seems almost to imply a disputed succession which ended in favour of Narendrasena. In other words, Narendrasena succeeded to the throne of his father either after a war, or as the result of a demonstration almost amounting to war. On this assumption the accession of the other son of Pravara-

9. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, No. 36.

sena II in his eighth year would become impossible apparently as he could have succeeded only after Narendrasena and Prithivisena II. This assumption would give to the two reigns of Narendrasena and Prithivisena the comparatively short period of less than eight years which seems impossible in the circumstances. If, in spite of the contrast involved in the 'forceful drawing of the prosperity of the family' to Narendrasena, we assume Narendrasena as the name omitted in the Ajanta inscription, it would perhaps make a more legitimate arrangement to the genealogical succession to assume that Prithivisena was the elder son of Narendrasena and Devasena another son, it may be by a different wife, making Prithivisena and Devasena brothers. The omission of the name Devasena in the Balaghat record would then be natural and the omission of the name Prithivisena II in the Ajanta cave inscription could be explained as due to his being not in the regular line of succession of Harisena and Devasena. In neither of these cases, however, is the proper weight given to the expression which describes the character of Narendrasena's succession to the position of his father as recorded in the Balaghat plates. According to Professor Kielhorn, Narendrasena, 'from[10] confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortunes; his commands were honoured by the lords of Kosala, Mekala, and Malava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess.' This interpretation goes too far in clearly indicating a disputed succession, and taken along with the succession of the

10. The reading of the original text is corrupt and therefore uncertain.

other son in his eighth year of age, would seem inevitably to involve the inference of Professor Kielhorn that Narendrasena probably took the kingdom from an elder brother, or, at any rate, occupied the throne as against an elder brother. Assuming this to be the correct state of affairs, the genealogy of the family would stand as exhibited in the following table :—

- VINDHYASAKTI
  - PRAVARASENA I
    - GAUTAMIPUTRA (did not rule)
      - RUDRASENA I
        - PRITHVISENA I
          - RUDRASENA II
            - DIVAKARASENA
              - PRAVARASENA II
                - (Name gone in the Ajanta inscription.)
                  - DEVASENA
                    - HARISENA
                - NARENDRASENA
                  - PRITHVISENA II

Synchronisms between the Vakatakas and the Guptas

This list of rulers is of no value to us unless it is possible to establish that either all of them, or at least some of them, were contemporary with the Guptas. Apart from general considerations we are in possession of a specific detail which brings Rudrasena II into contemporaneity with the well-known Gupta ruler, Chandragupta II. Vakataka inscriptions mention that Rudra-

sena II, son of Prithivisena I, married a princess by name Prabhavatigupta, daughter of a Maharajadhiraja Sri Devagupta, and the offspring of this marriage was Pravarasena II. It is fortunate that a grant of this very Prabhavatigupta, as regent of her son who had the princely name Divakarasena, has become available to us. It is not yet published *inextenso*, but the account of it given in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912 by Professor K. B. Pathak[11] leaves no doubt as to her identity. She describes herself as the daughter of Chandragupta II and Kubheranaga, and became the crowned queen of the Vakataka Rudrasena.[12] Her son is described as the Yuvaraja Divakarasena. This grant describes the Gupta genealogy of her parents and brings it down only to Chandragupta II, thus making it certain that Prabhavati, the daughter of Maharajadhiraja Sri Devagupta, was the daughter of Chandragupta II, making Devagupta and Chandragupta the names of the same person. This just confirms what is recorded in the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G.E. 93 (A.D. 412-13). The grant has the following expression:—

> *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandraguptasya Dēvarāja iti priya nāma* (dhēyālamkṛ tasya) *tasya sarva guṇa sampattayē yāvat chandrādityaṁtāvat pancha bikshavo bhunjatām, etc.*

This grant made by a feudatory officer provides that five bikshus be fed, as long as the sun and the moon last, in

11. Pp. 214-215. Since published by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the *Epig. Indica* xv.

12. Since confirmed and put beyond doubt in the Riddhapur Plates; published by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, No. 4 (June 1924).

order that king Chandragupta who bore the name Devagupta, may have possession of all estimable qualities. The six letters that are chipped off after 'nama' are supplied by the emendation within brackets most satisfactorily, and give a reasonable rendering while the ingenious emendation of Dr. Fleet makes it rather difficult to accept the position. The elder interpreter Prinsep seems correct in this particular. He puts it beyond a doubt that Devagupta was the earlier name of Chandragupta II as Damodarasena was the princely name of Pravarasena II. This is also confirmed by the recent discovery of another copper-plate grant issued by Queen Prabhavatigupta in the year 19[13] of the rule or authority of the Vakataka Maharaja Pravarasena II. This obviously refers to Pravarasena II, who, in this grant is given the name Damodarasena-Pravarasena, which means that his princely name was Damodarasena, while he assumed the title Pravarasena when he ascended the throne. Prabhavatigupta had two sons; Divakara-

13. The Poona Grant of Prabhavatigupta, by Y. R. Gupte. The preliminary reading of this grant was made by Mr. Gupte and a paper on the subject was read before the Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandal, Poona. A short note on it was published also in the *Indian Antiquary* in vol. liii, p. 48. This has since been published in the *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, pp. 53-63. The Riddhapur plates makes Queen Prabhavati the daughter of Chandragupta II and gives the complete Gupta genealogy down to him and give her as sons Damodarasena and Pravarasena which may mean they were two sons or only one with two names. There seems to be no reason to regard either name as applying to Divakarasena, the other son of hers whose grants of the thirteenth year are known as having been issued by the Queen in her son's name.

sena and Damodarasena, and she was regent for the first and in all probability for the second as well. She describes herself in this grant as the daughter of Chandragupta and the chief queen of Maharaja Rudrasena of the Vakatakas as also the mother of Maharaja Damodrasena-Pravarasena.[14] The grant itself was issued from Ramagiri or Ramtek in the Central Provinces.

Prabhavatigupta, therefore, was the daughter of Chandragupta II whose contemporary, though a younger contemporary, Rudrasena II must have been, so that Prithivisena I was in all probability the contemporary of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Rudrasena's must have been a comparatively short reign following as it did the long reign of Prithivisena, as Prabhavatigupta declares herself to be the regent for her son in the grant referred to above. It thus seems likely that Chandragupta I was, in all probability, a contemporary of Pravarasena I, and his grandson and successor Rudrasena I. Samudragupta's reign must have been coeval with that of Rudrasena I (in part) and Prithivisena I. Chandragupta II must have ruled simultaneously with Prithivisena I in the later period of his reign and Rudrasena II, possibly even during the regency of Prabhavatigupta.

The Vakatakas in Literature

The Vakatakas as such are not known to literature. This name for the dynasty occurs only in Vakataka inscriptions. In literature they seem to be generally referred to otherwise. Of course, there are so many alternative designations derivable from the people of the

14. *Ind. Ant.* for February, 1924, p. 48.

country, that it is easy, to understand why they are referred to by other names. The general name of the country is Vidarbha and the general designation of the people Bhojas. There is very good literary authority, reaching back to the *Aitareya Brahmana*, that the rulers of the region went by the name Bhoja. Kalidasa refers to the region by the name Vidarbha in his *Malavika Agnimitra*. In the *Raghuvamsa*, particularly in the chapter bearing on the *svayamvara* of Indumati, he uses the name Bhoja and its derivatives. But in connection with the subsequent marriage he uses Krathakaisika for the people. He seems apparently to use the name as one word. But the *Vishnupurana* and the *Harivamsa*, strangely enough, speak of the Bhojas as descended from Vidarbha who is given three sons, Kratha, Kaisika, and Lomapada.[15] Of these, the first is described as the ancestor of the Bhojas, the second the father of Chedi, the founder of the Chaidya family the later Chedis of Bundelkhand. Passing over the slight difference between the *Harivamsa* and the *Vishnupurana* in this regard, the two families, the Bhojas of Vidarbha and the Chedis of Bundelkhand are regarded as belonging to the same family of rulers. Hence if they are referred to generally as Bhojas in literature there is some justification for it. But then why should the rulers of the dynasty be so particular as to describe themselves Vakatakas ? The one possible explanation seems to be that the term Bhoja was the name of the people as a whole, while Vakataka might be that of a comparatively narrow clan or even a ruling family which probably came into importance after

15. The geographical data of the *Raghuvamsa* and the *Dasakumaracharita* by Dr. Mark Collins, Appendix B, pp. 54-56.

the *Vishnupurana* received its final form. This position seems to receive support from the tradition embodied by Ramadasa in his comment *Ramasetupradipam* on Pravarasena's *Setubandha Kavyam.* In commenting on *sloka* 9 of the first *asvasa,* he explains the expression 'abhinavarayaraddha' as begun by the newly installed king Pravarasena, and explains it by saying that Pravarasena was, according to some, Bhojadeva. In other words, it was the general opinion of scholars that Pravarasena was the king of the Bhojas; Ramadasa apparently accepts this interpretation, and puts it more clearly in the introductory passage where he states it clearly that the great poet Kalidasa composed this work *Setubandha Prabhandam* for the Maharaja Pravarasena, ordered thereto by Maharajadhiraja Vikramaditya. This idea is embodied in one of the verses of his introduction where he brings into comparison Kalidasa's writing of this *kavya* under the orders of Vikramaditya with his own composition of the commentary under the orders of the emperor Jallaladindra (Jalalu-din-Akbar). If this tradition should be correct, the work *Setubandham* is the work of a Bhoja king Pravarasena who apparently was in residence at the court of Vikramaditya where the great poet Kalidasa also was among the honoured members. This seems, therefore, to indicate that Pravarasena, the nominal author, was no other than Pravarasena II, and that the Vikramaditya referred to there, is no other than his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II Viktramaditya. It seems to fix definitely Kalidasa as the contemporary of this great Gupta emperor.

This position of contemporaneity between Chandragupta II, Pravarasena II and Kalidasa seems to receive unlooked-for confirmation from another source. There

is a verse quoted by Rajasekhara which refers to a colloquy between two persons. What is said by the first person is thoroughly changed in significance by the change of a single word, or one or two words of a verse. The verse reads as follows:—

> *Asakalahasitavāt kṣāitānīvakāntyā*
> *Mukuḷitanayanatvādvyakta karnōtpalāni* |
> Pibati *madhusugandhīnyānāni priyāṇām*
> Tvayi *vinihitabhāraḥ Kuntalānām adhīśaḥ* ||

(Change *pibati* into *pibatu* and *tvayi* into *mayi*, involving change of a single letter in each case.)

The latter half of the *sloka* by the change of the affix of the verb and the first part of the first word of the second line transforms what was a statement of a fact into a permission. This illustrative stanza quoted by Rajasekhara in the *Kavya mimamsa*[16] is also quoted by other rhetoricians such as Kshemendra in his work on *Auchitya Vicharacharcha*, and by Bhoja in his *Alankara* work *Sarasvati Kanthabharana* and his other work on *Sringara Prakasika*. I am informed by Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati, that a manuscript of this last work, recently discovered, refers these stanzas to a work of a royal poet Devagupta by name, and is given as a colloquy between this royal person and Kalidasa. If this should turn out correct, the tradition recorded by Ramadasa would have a foundation in authoritative sources. It would then be very likely that Ramadasa merely stated the fact that he found authority for among the rhetoricians.

16. *Gaikward's Oriental Series*, vol. i, p. 60.

It establishes the further point that to men of letters the Vakataka Pravarasena II was a Bhoja king, and could be so described without fear of being misunderstood. The fact that the home territory of Vakatakas was intimately associated with Bhojakata, the city built in the vicinity of the *Pauranic* capital Kundinapura by Krishna's brother-in-law Rukmi, goes only to confirm the identification that the Vakatakas were Bhojas, Vidarbhas, and even Krathakaisikas as well. The name Vakataka, therefore, could be no other than the peculiar clan name or the family name of the dynasty that came into prominence in the fourth century after Christ.

SAMUDRAGUPTA AND THE VAKATAKAS

It is clear from what is stated above that in the reign of Chandragupta II, the Guptas and the Vakatakas were in intimate family alliance, and it seems very likely that Chandragupta entered into a marriage alliance with the Vakatakas with a view to securing his flank as against the Saka Satraps of the West whom he apparently resolved to uproot. The war between Chandragupta and the Satraps was a somewhat prolonged affair in the course of which, the chief queen of Chandragupta fell into the hands of the Saka ruler, and Chandragupta had to make a dangerous effort to recover her from the hands of the enemies, as a recently discovered drama 'Devi Chandraguptam'[17] seems clearly to explain what is indicated in a well known statement of Bana. What exactly was the

17. *Vide* a note on this by the late Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati in the *Indian Antiquary* for July 1923. This work is ascribed to Visakadatta, the author of the *Mudrarakshasa* in a ms. of the work found in Gujarat according to the *Puratatva*, v. i. 47.

political relation between Samudragupta and the Vakatakas is not made equally clear to us. So much, however, is certain that Samudragupta's southern invasion kept clearly and deliberately outside the frontiers of the territory of the Vakatakas. The Vakataka territory under Prithivisena extended from Bundelkhand in the north to Kuntala, the Mahratta country and the neighbouring part of the Nizam's dominions. All this vast extent of country seems to have been quite out of the list of conquests of Samudragupta. The Vakatakas are not even brought into the list of those who got into diplomatic relations with them. The only inference possible seems to be that the relationship between the Vakatakas and the Guptas was so well established in his time that Samudragupta had nothing whatever to fear in that direction. In other words, they were already so established in a relation of friendly alliance, perhaps even subordinate alliance, that Samudragupta could go on with his projects elsewhere without having to reckon them among those who were likely to make a hostile move. Hence, he could boast of having celebrated the *asvamedha,* long since not performed (*chirotsanna*) i.e., in all probability, not performed in true imperial fashion. If the powerful neighbours, the Vakatakas, were independent and hostile, he could hardly make this statement. How did this relation between these two powers come about ?

CHANDRAGUPTA I AND THE VAKATAKAS

There seems an indication how it came about, in the records of the Vakatakas. The late Dr. Buhler was unduly sceptic about Pravarasena I and the Vindhyasakti of the Vakatakas being the same as Pravira and his father

Vindhyasakti of the Puranas, as he worked apparently, with imperfect texts of the Puranas. With Mr. Pargiter's carefully collated texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age before us, we are in a far better position to make the identification. But that apart, Vakataka records claim for Pravarasena the performance of several sacrifices, all of which seem more or less to form a series of ceremonies constituting the full *asvamedha;* and whatever were the actual achievements to which he lays claim, the records do not give us the details. He assumes the title '*Samrat*', undoubtedly an imperial title. His son is given only the name Gautamiputra and did not rule, and when his grandson Rudrasena I ascended the throne the title '*Samrat,*' for some reason or other, seems to have been given up. At any rate, in all the Vakataka records that have come down to us, the credit of the celebration of the imperial sacrifice and the title '*Samrat,*' are given only to Pravarasena I; and even the greatest of his successors Prithivisena I does not lay claim to either. Is this not a significant omission and is not the omission of this '*samrat,*' as a title by the successor of Pravarasena I a clear indication of a change of political status ? At the time when Chandragupta I, perhaps as a result of his Lichchavi alliance, set forward on his imperial career, he must have found the Vakatakas perhaps the only rivals in that ambition. He must have taken advantage of something adverse that must have befallen the Vakatakas at the death of Pravarasena to compel them to enter into a subordinate alliance with him. It might even be that he was himself mainly responsible for the adversity that brought about this subordinate alliance, though we do not find it stated or even indicated either in the records of the Guptas or in those of the Vakatakas. Rudrasena I,

the successor of Pravarasena, dropped the title as a result of this agreement, and stood aside letting Chandragupta pursue his imperial career. It is only an assumption of a treaty or something similar between the two that could really account for the part that Chandragupta I actually played in advancing the Gupta dynasty to an imperial position, and the passive acquiescence of the Vakatakas, who, under Pravarasena I, seem to have started on a similar career. More light on this obscure beginning would be welcome; such light as we have, seems to lead us to this particular inference. Chandragupta was responsible for the foundation of the Gupta empire. The Vakatakas made it possible for him to do so by desisting from hostility and even by actually countenancing the effort. Was there a large motive in the foundation of the empire, and did contemporaries see any general advantage in the gradual rise of Chandragupta I to this position? This is a question it would be difficult to answer at present, though an answer to it does not seem altogether impossible. The position ascribed to Chandragupta above would put a new complexion altogether upon the career of the founder of the Gupta empire and would raise other side issues which will receive further treatment in another context.

The Vakatakas and the Decline of the Gupta Empire

The death of Pravarasena II appears to have introduced a change in the political relationship between the Guptas and the Vakatakas. The succession as given in the Ajanta inscription of Varahadeva does not let us into the secret. The Balaghat copper-plates, however, give a clear indication that there was a disputed succession, and Narendrasena occupied the throne either by a

coup d' etat, or what is less likely, as the result of a successful war. What is really significant in this record of his son, Prithivisena II, is that Narendrasena's authority is said to have been acknowledged by the lords of Kosala, Mekala, and Malava, the region over which Chandragupta II extended his authority comparatively early in his reign and maintained it inviolate by his matrimonial alliance with the Vakatakas and the uprooting war against the Kshatrapas of Gujarat and Kathiawar. Kosala, Mekala, and Malava among the three will include all the Vindhyan region extending from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the south-east, north-westwards, at least as far as the Aravalli hills, and it may be, even beyond. As far as we can make out from the Gupta records, Kumaragupta's accession to the throne was a peaceful one and perhaps during the early years of his reign he enjoyed peace also. It is from the inscription of his son Skandagupta that we hear of disturbances in this region from the tribes of Pushyamitras whom Skandagupta successfully brought back into allegiance according to his records. Did the Vakataka Narendrasena bear any part in this disturbance along the outermost frontier of the Gupta empire ? Prithivisena II, the successor of Narendrasena, is credited in the same record, with 'having raised his sunken family.' What was the sinking of the family due to, and in what particular did he manage to raise it ? If the severe defeat administered to the Pushyamitiras by Skandagupta, which is supposed to have destroyed their power and brought them back into obedience, involved the submission directly or indirectly of the Vakatakas Prithivisena might as well, then have recovered at any rate partly, the important position which his family occupied in the days of his predecessors, from

Pravarasena II backwards. He would have found occasion for this in the irruption of the Huns on this very frontier of the Gupta empire. It will thus be seen that the Vakatakas bore their own share in bringing about the decline of the Gupta empire. In the whole period of the struggle of the Guptas against the Hunas, the Vakatakas must have been left more or less to themselves, and this enabled Prithivisena II and his successors to rehabilitate themselves to a very considerable extent and that seems what is indicated in the records of the time of Harisena and his father Devasena. Harisena's is the last reign of which we have any knowledge, and then the region which is peculiarly the dominion of the Vakatakas passes into the hands of the new dynasty of the Chalukyas. The Vakatakas thus provide as it were a bridge that fills the gap between the Andhras and Chalukyas in the history of the Dakhan.

Conclusion

From the available facts both from the Vakataka and Gupta records and as also from certain references in literature, it seems clear that both the Guptas and the Vakatakas started on an imperial career and had very soon to give up rivalry, apparently for some good reason. Chandragupta was allowed to proceed, the Vakatakas standing aside. This position the Vakatakas maintained without change, through all the changing fortunes of the history of the Guptas, and thus let the Gupta empire go on in its glorious career unmolested by them. We are not in a position to form an idea of the motives that led to this self abnegation on the part of the Vakatakas, but the fact seems clear all the same; and let us hope that further research will throw light upon the matter. When,

however, the Gupta empire had reached the summit of its glory after the overthrow of the Western Satraps, the Vakatakas seem to have joined in a movement which pulled the first stone out of the splendid structure, and thus contributed to bring about a struggle which, with the advent of the Huns, finally put an end to the great empire of the Guptas. In the struggle against the Pushyamitras by Skandagupta on behalf of his father, Vakataka influence, if not the actual support of the Vakatakas, seems clearly visible behind the position of these tribes. Although for the time Skandagupta succeeded, that frontier marked the weak spot where the hostile attack of the Huns had the best chance of success. When, finally, the empire got steadily pushed back this seems the region that most readily detached itself from the empire. Thus then, it seems demonstrable that the Vakatakas played more or less a decisive part in the critical periods of the history of the early Gupta empire.

THE VAKATAKAS AND THEIR PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF INDIA.[1]

Among the many periods in the History of Hindu India which have remained obscure to a degree, notwithstanding the great progress that has been made in the study of the early history of India in recent years, the period from the disappearance of the Andhras as a great power to the rise of the Guptas remains perhaps one of the darkest yet. So much is this the case that the begin-

1. Eighth Course of Special Lectures in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, 1923.

nings of Gupta history, one of the most brilliant periods in Indian History, is still wrapped in obscurity. This obscurity can be relieved somewhat by a careful study of what is known of the Vakatakas from Pauranic, inscriptional and other sources so far as they have been made recently accessible to us in a form suitable for historical use. The name Vakataka does not appear in any of the other sources of the Indian History of the period than the inscriptions of the particular dynasty to which they refer. This has so far left the Vakatakas of the inscriptions alone and isolated from the known dynasties of the Puranas and other inscriptions as well. Hence their importance in history has been neglected to the detriment of correct historical perspective even of the achievements of the most brilliant sovereigns of the Gupta empire.

The Vakatakas in Inscriptions

Of the Vakatakas themselves there are a number of inscriptions accessible to us now of the greatest historical value. Of these, a number are copper-plate grants, the typical of which may be taken to be the Chammak[2] grant of Pravarasena II and the Balaghat plates[3] published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

The most important inscription, unfortunately a very mutilated one, is the great Ajanta inscription[4] of one of the feudatories of this dynasty. According to this last, the genealogy of the Vakatakas would stand as follows:—

1. Vindhyasakti.

2. *A.S.W.I.*, iv, p. 116 *ff* and *F.G.I.*, *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 235 *ff*.
3. IX, p. 267 *ff*.
4. *A.S.W.I.*, iv, pp. 124-8.

2. Pravarasena I, son of (1) ?
3. Rudrasena I, son of (2) ?
4. Prithvisena, son of (3)
5. Pravarasena II, son of (4) ?
6. (Name omitted), son of (5)
7. Devasena, son of the predecessor.
8. Harisena, son of the predecessor.

According to the most complete copper-plate grant, the so-called Balaghat plates of Prithvisena II, the genealogy begins with

1. Pravarasena I.
   His son, Gautamiputra, who married the daughter of the ruler of the Bharasiva dynasty, Bhavanaga, (did not rule).
2. Rudrasena, Gautamiputra's son, and grandson of (1).
3. Prithvisena, I, son of (2).
4. Rudrasena II, son of (3), married to Prabhavatigupta, daughter of Devagupta or Chandragupta II and Kubheranaga.
5. Pravarasena II, son of (4), otherwise Damodarasena.
6. Narendrasena, son of (5), married Ajjhitabhattarika, a princess of Kuntala.
7. Prithvisena II, son of (6).

A comparison of these lists shows that in the Ajanta cave inscriptions there are two names omitted, those of Gautamiputra, son of Pravarasena I, and Rudrasena II. It is possible to explain the omission of the first name as due to the fact of his not having ruled, while the omission of the second does not admit of that explanation. In the present state of the documents it is even possible

to say that the first name is gone. In regard to the omission of the second, however, the only possible explanation[5] seems to be that it is due to the carelessness of the transcriber from the written document to the stone. Otherwise it is almost impossible to understand that a document not many generations removed from Rudrasena II should commit such a blunder as to make the grandson the son, as in the case of Pravarasena II. Assuming, therefore, that the first is omitted in this inscription because he did not rule, and the second is omitted through the inadvertence of the sculptor of the inscription, the genealogy from Vindhyasakti to Pravarasena II may be held to be in substantial agreement in all the Vakataka documents that have come down us, both on copper-plates and on stone. After Pravarasena II, the Ajanta inscription contained the name of a son who came to the throne in his eighth year and ruled well. His son was Devasena and his son was Harisena according to the same record. The name of Pravarasena II's son is now obliterated in the record. The Balaghat copper-plate of Prithvisena II, however, describe the son of Pravarasena II as Narendrasena by name, and states the fact that 'the Lakshmi of the family was forcibly drawn to him by his possession of great good qualities.' He married a Kuntala princess by name Ajjhitabhattarika and by her had a son Prithvisena II, who apparently intended to issue the actual record. Thus then we have in

5. It is just possible to assume that Rudrasena II did not rule; but this assumption will be in direct opposition to the explicit statement of these records that Prabhavati was the crowned queen of Rudrasena II.

succession to Pravarasena II one list of three generations and one of two, of which it is possible that the son and successor of Pravarasena II was only one if we could assume that the name that is omitted in the Ajanta inscriptions is no other than Narendra of the Balaghat record. The only difficulty in this equation would be whether the forceful drawing of the Lakshmi of the family by Narendrasena is not in some contrast to the eight years old child who succeeded Pravarasena II and who ruled well. The succession of a boy eight years old would be quite possible under normal circumstances, and there is nothing at all improbable in his having ruled well. The actual difficulty does come in when the Balaghat inscription says that it is Narendrasena's good qualities that forcefully drew to him (*apahrita*) the Sri of the family. This seems almost to imply a disputed succession which ended in favour of Narendrasena. In other words, Narendrasena succeeded to the throne of his father either after a war, or as the result of a demonstration almost amounting to war against an elder brother. On this assumption the accession of the other son of Pravarasena II in his eighth year would become impossible apparently as he could have succeeded only after Narendrasena and Prithvisena II. This assumption would give to the two reigns of Narendrasena and Prithvisena the comparatively short period of less than eight years which seems impossible in the circumstances. If, in spite of the contrast involved in the 'forceful drawing of the prosperity of the family' to Narendrasena, we assume Narendrasena as the name omitted in the Ajanta inscription, it would perhaps make a more legitimate arrangement of the genealogical succession to assume that Prithvisena was the elder son of Narendrasena, and Devasena

another son, it may be by a different wife, and making Prithvisena and Devasena brothers. The omission of the name Devasena in the Balaghat record would then be natural and the omission of the name Prithvisena II in the Ajanta cave inscription could be explained as due to his being not in the regular line of succession of Harisena or Devasena.

In neither of these cases, however, is the proper weight given to the expression which describes the character of Narendrasena's succession to the position of his father as recorded in the Balaghat plates. According to Professor Kielhorn, Narendrasena, 'from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune; his commands were honoured by the lords of Kosala, Mekala, and Malava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess'.[6] This interpretation goes too far in clearly indicating a disputed succession, and taken along with the succession of the other son in his eighth year of age, would seem inevitably to involve the inference of Professor Kielhorn that Narendrasena probably took the kingdom from an elder brother, or at any rate occupied the throne as against an elder brother. Assuming this to be the correct state of affairs the genealogy of the family would stand as exhibited in the following table, taking the elder brother to be the son whose name is gone in the Ajanta inscription.

6. *Ep. Ind.* vol. ix, p. 269. The reading of the original text is corrupt and therefore uncertain.

VINDYASAKTI
|
PRAVARASENA I.
|
GAUTAMIPUTRA (did not rule).
|
RUDRASENA I.
|
PRITHVISENA I.
|
RUDRASENA II.
|
DIVAKARASENA
|
PRAVARASENA II (Damodarasena.)

(Name gone in the Ajanta incription).	NARENDRASENA
DEVASENA	PRITHVISENA III
HARISENA	

Political History of the Vakatakas

The first point that arises in the political history of the Vakatakas is whether the Vindhyasakti of the Puranas was a Vakataka or not. It was pointed out above that in the genealogies of the Vakatakas that have come down to us it is only the genealogy in the mutilated Ajanta cave inscriptions of Varahadeva that mentions the name Vindhyasakti at the head of the list. Vindhyasakti is there described as a *dvija* (twice-born) equal in the prowess of his arms to both Indra and Upendra, and 'as the banner of the family of the Vakatakas.' He is also given credit for great achievements against the rulers of the earth. The other inscriptional records that have come down to us do not mention the name Vindhyasakti in the list. It was Dr. Bhau Daji who made the first attempt to identify Vindhyasakti of the Ajanta inscription

with the Vindhyasakti of the Purana. This identification was objected to by Dr. Buhler and others that followed him on two grounds: (1) Vindhyasakti is described as a *dvija* in the Ajanta inscription and not a single name in the *Kailakila* list agrees with those of the Vakatakas; (2) all the manuscripts of the Vayupurana so far consulted give the name of his son as Pravaira and not Pravara. These objections have since lost a considerable amount of their force. According to the collated texts given by Mr. Pargiter in the *Dynasties of the Kali Age* Vindhyasakti followed the Kailakilas, whether they be Yavanas or others, notwithstanding the statement in the *Vishnupurana*. The possibility of corruption of Pravara into Pravira is so easy that it would be going too far to make that the decisive test on a question like this. The name Vindhyasakti occurs in the *puranic* lists in two connections. First it occurs in the list of the local dynasties who rose to importance during the period of decadence of the Andhra power. There Vindhyasakti is supposed to have followed the Kilakilas or the Kolikilas. It occurs for the second time among the rulers of Vidisa. There the son of Vindhayasakti by name Pravira would, according to the Puranas, enjoy the rule 'for sixty years' and, 'will celebrate great sacrifices giving abundant largesses.' There follows the further statement that four of his sons would be kings. Taken together these statements indicate that Vindhyasakti succeeded to the possessions of the Kolikila Yavanas whoever they were, and probably had a long reign. Or, it is possible to interpret this statement that he came into possession of the earth after it had been in the possession of the Yavanas for ninety-six years. This does not give us any indication as to what exactly was the territory of Vindhyasakti. It

merely gives us to understand that he acquired the territory in the occupation of the Kilakilas. The next passage has reference to the rulers of the territory depending on Vidisa. After a series of names, Pravira or Pravara, it is said, would enjoy the city of Kanchanaka. In other words it was he that acquired the territory depending upon Vidisa which he did not inherit from his father. Since our authority for the statement that Vindhyasakti was a Yavana has lost a considerable amount of its force, the difficulty about Vindhyasakti beng described as a dvija in the Ajanta record need not prove an insuperable obstacle to the identification of the two Vindhyasaktis. The rest of the description in the inscription, mutilated though it be, would be in keeping with the achievements of a petty chief who had by his own exertions raised himself to considerable political power. There is one expression in the mutilated record which seems to let us into the secret of this identification. According to the transcript of Pandit Bhagavan Lal Indraji as edited by the late Dr. Burgess, line three of the Ajanta inscription reads:—

> *Purandarōpēndrasamaprabhāhavah*
> *svabāhuvīryy* (*ārjita*) *sarvalōkaḥ*
> * * * * *kānām*
> *babhūva vākāṭakavaṁśakētuḥ.*

I would prefer to read the second half of the first part of the line.

> *Svabāhuvīryyārttitaśatrulokaḥ.*

But this is not very material to the discussion. We want a word ending in *ka* for the '*kānām*' which obviously is the latter end of the word, a genitive plural. It

seems to me obviously to stand for Vindhyakānām, and I would read this part of the line.

Rājā Mahēndraiva Bhuvi Vindhayakānām.

This would give us the detail that Vindhyasakti who was the banner of the Vākāṭakas came of the family of the Vindhyakas. It seems to be the name under which the family of Vindhyasakti and Pravira is described in the Puranas. The first line of the passage under the dynasties of the third century A.D., in Pargiter's text reads

Vindhyakānām kulē' titē.

This must refer to the dynasties described in the previous section. We seem therefore to have very much more support for the identification of the two Vindhyasaktis than these learned scholars who studied these inscriptions in a previous generation have had. We seem to arrive however, by adopting this conclusion, at a new difficulty with the statement 'when the family of the Vindhyakas had become extinct' in the next passage. This means that when Pravara had ruled for sixty years in Kancanaka and four of his sons, not necessarily after him, the family became extinct. This could only refer to the extinction of the rule of the family in the Vindhya regions. This one could understand from what appears in the copper-plate grants in regard to the Vakataka Pravarasena I. According to these copper-plates, the illustrious Pravarasena celebrated the *agnistoma aptoryama, ukthya, sodasya, atiratra, vajapeya, brhaspatisava,* and *sadyaskara,* and four *asvamedha* sacrifices. He is further given the title '*samrat*'. The detailed list of sacrifices given in this recital of them seem to be details of the sacrifice from day to day leading to the final *asvamedha*,

as described in the *Satapatha Brahmana,* and therefore it amounts to no more than the celebration of the *asvamedha* sacrifice of which he is said to have celebrated four. The assumption of the title '*samrat*' or his accession to a '*samrajya*' could only mean that he acquired new territory, or that he got into possession of such extensive territory that he had kings under him, and it may be that four of his sons had the title 'Maharaja' and ruled over various portions of his territory thus entitling him to the higher dignity of '*samrat*'. According to these inscriptions none of his sons appears to have succeeded, his successor on the throne, according to them uniformly, being his grandson by Gautamiputra, by name, Rudrasena. That means, therefore, that none of his sons survived him. What is more significant, this successor Rudrasena I, drops the title '*samrat*'. Does it not mean that some calamity befell the family at the death of Pravarasena, and that when his grandson ultimately succeeded to the territory of his grandfather what came to him was nothing more than the original family possession, i.e., the territory round Bhojakata, the territory peculiarly of the Vakatakas? This seems what is actually intended when the Puranas state 'when the rule of Pravarasena became extinct in the territory of the Vindhyas.' In other words, the authority of Pravarasena's family ceased to be a force in his newly acquired possessions, of which perhaps the most important was the territory of the Vindhyas. There seems, therefore, to be nothing irreconcilable between the statements contained in the Puranas regarding Vindhyasakti and Pravarasena, and the more detailed statements that we get from the inscriptions of the Vakatakas. There is a further fact which appears in the inscriptions which seems equally

significant also. In speaking of Rudrasena I, much is made of his maternal grandfather Bhavanāga of the Bharasiva family. In the Vakataka inscriptions as a whole, it is only twice that we are given information about the maternal grandfathers or fathers-in-law of the members of this dynasty. Such information is given to us in connection with the two Rudrasēnas. In the case of the second Rudrasena, as it will appear later, the person that is brought into connection with the dynasty is acknowledged to be one in a superior position, and in all probability the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I must have been an equally important person from the point of view of the Vakatakas to be given the distinction of a description such as he is given. The plain meaning of that would be that some great calamity befell the empire of Pravarasena I, and that this Naga chieftain rendered valuable assistance in saving for the family an important block of the territory which belonged to the Vakataka empire.

The real explanation of this will depend upon the actual chronology of the family. The late Professor Kielhorn, careful and judicious epigraphist though he was, has offered it as his opinion that the Balaghat record of Prithvisena II[7] 'may be assigend with probability to about the second half of the eight century A.D.' From what we know of the records of the regent-queen Prabhavatigupta, the late Dr. Buhler seems to have come far closer to the fact in assigning the Ajanta inscription[8] to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. We may now say definitely on the strength of the Prabhavatigupta in-

7. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 270.
8. *A.S.W.I.*, vol. iv, p. 138.

scriptions, and from other confirmatory evidence from literature, that Rudrasena II was the son-in-law of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. We have already pointed out that the long reign of Prithvisena I must have been contemporary with a considerable part of Chandragupta II's, and possibly the whole of Samudragupta's reign. Chandragupta I therefore must have been the contemporary of Rudrasena I, and perhaps even partly of that of his predecessor, his grandfather, Pravarasena I. It thus becomes clear that the calamity that befell the Vakataka dynasty on the death of Pravarasena I was an event contemporary with Chandragupta I and his rise to imperial power. Has the rise of Chandragupta to an imperial position any connection with the fall of the Vakatakas from that position to that of rulers of a kingdom merely? The two events seem to have had a vital connection, and the connection is partly exhibited in what was stated above regarding the actual possessions of Vindhyasakti and Pravarasena I. From what we know of early Gupta history these facts stand out, that the Guptas before Chandragupta I were rulers of Magadha, i.e. the territory close to the Ganges depending upon Prayaga, Saketa, and Magadha according to the Puranas. The Lichchavi alliance which is referred to as a matter of great importance in inscriptions and even coins as of vital importance to the rise of the Guptas, must have brought in a fresh accession of territory and influence. Thus early in his career Chandragupta must have risen to a position of great importance as a king with all the resources that would enable a man of genius to rise to an imperial position. The only obstacle in his way must have been another powerful aspirant to the empire in Pravarasena I of the Vakatakas. In accordance with

historical, and even *Sastraic* precedent there cannot be two emperors in almost the same region at the same time. Either Chandragupta must stand aside or the Vakataka Pravarasena. The latter having achieved a position would not perhaps willingly surrender it. If he died, as he did after a very long reign and leaving a grandson to succeed to the throne, that would be the occasion for the new aspirant to make the most of his position. That seems to be what exactly had happened. The Vakatakas must have been hard pressed and Chandragupta must have gained the upper hand either by actual war and conquest, or by the slow extension of his influence and absorption of territory. Whichever was the actual line that Chandragupta adopted, the fact seems clear that he aggrandized himself at the expense of the Vakatakas under Rudrasena I. Nothing else can satisfactorily account for the dropping of the much-prized title '*samrat*' by Rudrasena I, the successor of Pravarasena I, and the assumption of the imperial dignity by Chandragupta I.

From the above it would seem clear that Vindhyasakti and Pravarasena of the Vakataka inscriptions are identifiable with Vindhyasakti and his son Pravira of the Puranas who are clearly referred to as Vindhyakas. The career of these two, father and son, must have followed the complete extinction of the Andhra power, and must have reached a stage of advance towards the establishment of an empire in the comparatively long reign of Pravarasena I. The petty state of the Gupta according to the Puranas must also have started on a career of expansion under Chandragupta I. From what is known of the history of the Gupta the inference seems justifiable that the Lichchavi alliance of this Chandragupta contributed in an important degree to this expansion. This by itself

could not have led to the assumption of a higher title by Chandragupta I. This must have been followed by some signal achievement of the rising monarch, and that achievement seems indicated in the lowering of the prestige of Pravarasena's successor. It would therefore be a justifiable conclusion that the rival imperial ambitions of the Vakatakas and the Guptas got settled in a manner apparently satisfactory to both the parties, and perhaps in the best interests of the country at the time. What these last were will be discussed in another connection. What is clear so far is that the high position achieved by Pravarasena suffered an eclipse either at the very end of his reign, or as the direct result of his death, and when the Vakataka state emerged under his grandson, it did so with diminished lustre.

The Revival of the Vakataka Power

Rudrasena I's reign seems to have been a comparatively short one, wedged in as it were between the long reign of his grandfather Pravarasena I and that of the equally long one of his son and successor Prithvisena I. It was already pointed out that Rudrasena succeeded to the possessions of his grandfather much reduced in prestige and that he was able to come to that position possibly through the good offices of a powerful family of Naga chieftains known in these documents as Bharasivas, whose modern representatives, according to the late Dr. Buhler, are the Bhar Rajputs. However this might turn out to be, the Bharasivas played a decisive part in the restoration of the Vakatakas. Rudrasena's successor, according to all the available documents, was Prithvisena I. These inscriptions ascribe to him certain features as sovereign. Prithvisena is said to have been

possessed of all the great qualities that his ancestors Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena had possessed, and is said to have ruled righteously and well. Further he is said to have succeeded to the elements of royalty which had been steadily growing in prosperity for a hundred years, the elements so indicated being, *kosa* (treasure), *danda* (army), *sadhana* (other instruments of royalty), *santana* (descendants), and is said to have had a number of sons and grandsons as well. He is said to have followed in his rule the example of Yudhishthira. This recital of his qualities and rule indicates a long reign of prosperity, and, if we add to this what we glean from other records, even of an extensive kingdom. The Ajanta inscriptions seem to give him credit for the conquest of Kuntala, which is the south-western portion of the Dakhan, perhaps then passing from the possession of the Naga Chutus into that of the Vakatakas, to pass over again into that of the Kadambas. That is at one end of the Vakataka territory. Almost at the other end diagonally, Prithvisena's authority seems to have been recognized in the region of Bundelkhand as the short records of a Vyaghraraja in Nachneka Talai show.[9] These two records are of a feudatory chieftain Vyaghraraja who is said to have done something in the reign of Prithvisena. Whether this is the Vyaghraraja of the Mahakantara of the Samudragupta inscription is as yet open to doubt—possibly he was. But, in any case this is a clear indication that the authority of Prithvisena was recognized diagonally across the whole plateau of India from the north-east corner in Bundelkhand to the southwest corner in Kuntala. The feature that Prithvisena succeeded to the possessions

9. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. lv, p. 225 (Dec. 1926.)

which have been continually augmenting for a period of hundred years seems to find its echo in the seal of his successors *'kramapraptanrpasriyah'* which seems to be more or less in contrast with *'tatparigrhita'* of the Gupta inscriptions. While therefore the Vakatakas boasted of a regular lineage of rulers from father to son in unbroken succession, the Guptas always made it a point that each ruler was chosen by his predecessor, as a worthy successor. The repetition of this feature in their official records by both the dynasties seems clearly to indicate a feeling of rivalry which however had been kept under control from considerations of political prudence. The long reign of Prithvisena I must have corresponded to that of Samudragupta and in part of Chandragupta II's reign. So far, all the Vakataka rulers claim to be zealously devoted to the worship of Siva. But the son and successor of Prithvisena I is described as one devoted to the worship of Chakrapani (Vishnu). It is this Rudrasena, the successor of Prithvisena I, the devout worshipper of Vishnu, that took for his crowned queen Prabhavatigupta, the daughter of Devagupta[10] and Kubheranaga. One particular feature in this is that all the successors of Pravarasena among the Vakatakas call themselves simply Maharajas, while this Devagupta whose daughter Rudrasena II married ,is described as a Maharajadhiraja. This is a clear recognition that whoever Devagupta was he occupied a position of higher political status than the Vakatakas, and the marriage of the Vakataka ruler with a princess of the family of Devagupta must have been regarded as an alliance exalting to

10. Named Chandragupta II with his usual titles in the Riddhapur plates of Queen Prabhavati. *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xx, No. 4 (June 1924).

the Vakatakas. The way that the records make the statement has a similar tendency.

Chandragupta II and the Vakatakas

The problem of this Devagupta remained unsolved for a long time since the Gupta inscriptions were edited by the late Dr. Fleet. It was Professor K. B. Pathak of Poona that gave an account, in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912, of a copperplate charter issued by Prabhavatigupta, as the regent of her minor son Divakarasena, as he is called in the record, who is probably an elder brother of Pravarasena II, known to us from other records. Dr. Fleet definitely committed himself to the opinion that this Devagupta was a different person from Chandragupta II as he has indicated in a note to the Sanchi inscription where the name Devagupta occurs.[11] On page 33 of the Gupta inscriptions he has a note that Prinsep translated this passage where the name Devaraja occurs so as to make the Devaraja another name of Chandragupta II. While admitting the possibility of the correctness of this statement, he filled up the unfortunate lacuna of six letters in the line in such a way as to give it the interpretation that Devaraja was the name of the minister. The line reads,

ardhēna mahārājādhirājasya Chandraguptasya Dēvarāja iti priyanāma . . . tasya sarvaguṇasampattaye yāvacchandrādittyau tāvat pañchabhikṣavo bhuñjatam.

The sense of the passage is quite clear that five 'bhiksus' were to be fed perpetually from out of half the

11. Fleet actually suggested the identification of this Devagupta with the ruler of the same name in the dynasty of the later Guptas, *F.G.I.*, No. 46, p. 215.

income from what was given in order that somebody may be possessed of the wealth of all good qualities. The grant of course is made by a subordinate ruler, and the natural interpretation would be that he made it for the possession of all the good qualities by his king. The idea of doing it for a minister would seem on the face of it somewhat peculiar though not impossible. It is generally for the spiritual or the moral benefit of the parents and the donor that a grant of this kind is made. It can equally appropriately be for the benefit of one's sovereign. But to consider that a subordinate governor made a donation like this in favour of an amatya seems an unusual procedure when the sovereign is also brought into close connection with the donor. Apart from that, the reading suggested is,

Dēvarāja iti priyanāma (amātyo bhavat)y (ē) tasya.

The words supplied do not seem very particularly appropriate, so far as the lacunae are concerned. It strikes me from the plate given that there is no letter lost just before *tasya* and the lacuna after 'nāma' can be supplied by the words

dhēya-alaṅkṛtasya

so that the whole will read,

nāmadheyālankṛtasya tasya

which would simply mean Chandragupta who bore the first name or the affectionate name Dēvarāja.

The Prabhavatigupta grant gives the genealogy of the regent-queen in her own line, and brings the Gupta genealogy to Chandragupta II. She describes herself, as in all the Vakataka grants, as the crowned queen of Rudrasena II and the daughter of Maharajadhiraja Deva-gupta and Kubheranaga. The prince's name occurs in

this grant as Divakarasena; but we know from other Vakataka grants that she had another son, Pravarasena II. We seem then to be led by this grant of the regent Prabhavatigupta to the identification of Devagupta with Chandragupta II, establishing by means of this identification the contemporaneity of the Vakataka Rudrasena II with Chandragupta II. We may go farther and state that Rudrasena II was the younger contemporary, and therefore Chandragupta II must have been partly the contemporary of Prithvisena I as well.

It was already stated that Prithvisena's was a long reign. That coupled with the regency of Prabhavatigupta for her son, makes the inference probable that Rudrasena's was a short reign. Chandragupta's having been a comparatively long reign, it is equally probable that it ran into a part, it may be even a considerable part, of Pravarasena II's reign. Whatever may have been the actual relationship between Prithvisena I and Chandragupta II, there can be no doubt that Chandragupta's influence dominated in the reign of Rudrasena II, the regency of Prabhavatigupta, and a considerable part of the reign of Pravarasena II. That this was so can be proved by certain details of literary evidence recently made available. The Prakrit Kavya *Setubandha* has long been recognized as the work of a Pravarasena. So it is described in one of the introductory *slokas* of Bana's *Harsha-Charita*. The work itself contains a reference in Book I, verse 9, that it was begun by a recently installed monarch and received a critical revision by a great poet, and thus attained ultimately to the great fame that it did, the author being classed with such great literary luminaries as Kalidasa, Gunadhya etc., in the estimation of Bana. The commentary on the work compiled by a member of

the Jaipur family in the court of Akbar, named *Ramasetu pradipam*, explains this newly installed monarch as a Bhojadeva 'according to accepted tradition.' Ramadasa, the commentator, elaborates the position further by stating it that the work was composed by Pravarasena who was in the court of Chandragupta, and received the critical revision of the master-poet Kalidasa at the instance of the emperor Vikramaditya. This statement is embodied in a verse of his introduction to the commentary where he states it broadly that 'he composed the commentary at the instance of emperor Jallāladindra (Jallalu-din-Akbar) just as Kalidasa wrote the work at the instance of the emperor Vikramaditya.' This makes the position absolutely clear so far as Ramadasa was concerned that Vikramaditya, Kalidasa, and Pravarasena were contemporaries. How far is this literary tradition historically correct? Ramadasa lived in the sixteenth century A.D. We can carry the tradition seven centuries back from him at any rate. Rajasekhara in his *Kavyamimamsa* quotes a verse to illustrate the complete change of meaning by the slight alternation of a word or two in a verse. The meaning of that verse is 'the king of Kuntala having laid the burden of administration upon you disports himself with drink in the company of sweet friends.' This very verse is quoted in Bhoja's *Sarasvati-Kanthabharana* and in his *Sringaraprakasa* (prak. ix). In the latter work the author states it that Kalidasa was sent on an embassy to a Kuntala king. When he returned from the mission he made his report to Vikramaditya who sent him on the mission in the verse quoted, which is,

Asakalahasitatvāt kṣālitānīva kāntyā
Mukuḷitanayanatvādvyaktakarṇotpalāni

Pibati *madhusugandhīnyānanāni priyāṇām*
Tvayi *vinihitabhāraḥ Kuntalānāmadhīśaḥ*

A change of *pibati* into *pibatu* and *tvayi* into *mayi*, involving the change of only one letter in each case alters the meaning completely.

Vikramāditya construed the 'tvayi' with 'pibati' and charged him with making a report of ambiguous import. According to Rajasekhara the change of 'pibati' into 'pibatu' and 'tvayi' into 'mayi' alters the sense completely, and that was presumably what was suggested as an emendation by Vikramaditya. Kshemendra in his *Auchitya—Vicharacharcha* quotes the same verse and ascribes it to a work of Kalidasa which he cites as *Kuntesvara-dautya* which seems to be obviously a mistake for *Kuntalesvara-dautya,* from the expression in the verse itself. We have seen already that Prithvisena I lays claim to having conquered Kuntala among other places, and we pointed out that it was probably from the Chutu-Nagas, the successors of the Satavahanas, that he conquered it. There is nothing in the evidence accessible to us so far, that the whole of his territory such as it was, did not descend to Rudrasena II. There is very good reason for assuming that Rudrasena's territory descended quite intact to Pravarasena II. Since we know from the Gupta records the whole of the region of Malva had passed into the hands of the Guptas, Kuntala must have been perhaps the most important portion of the territory of the Vakatakas under Rudrasena II, and his son Pravarasena II. Hence it would not be inappropriate to describe Pravarasena II as Kuntalesa or Kutaladhisa. If according to Ramadasa, Pravarasena lived in the court of Vikramaditya along with Kalidasa, and if he was a king who could be described, as he does, as a Bhojadeva, the

author of the *Setubandha* must have been the Vakataka Pravarasena II. The question now is whether the Vakataka monarch could be rightly described as Kuntalesa. We have already pointed out it would not be inappropriate so to describe him. There is evidence that he was actually so described, in a verse[12] in the *Bharatacarita* which describes the author of the *Setubandha* as Kuntalesa. It thus becomes clear that the tradition embodied in the commentary by Ramadasa has at least good literary support, and confirms what is inferable from epigraphical evidence, namely that Pravarasena II is the Kuntalesa referred to, and that he was the author, actually or nominally, of the Prakrit classic *Śetubandha*. This would make Kalidasa, Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya and Pravarasena II contemporaries, and the date according to the Mahavamsa of Ceylon for Kumaradasa may seem to confirm the tradition that Kumaradasa, the author of Janakiharana, was a contemporary of Kalidasa also. The Mahavamsa date of Kumaradasa cannot be regarded as beyond question. The diplomatic relationship into which Ceylon was brought with Samudragupta would make a friendship between the Ceylon monarch and Chandragupta Vikramaditya not improbable, and if Kalidasa travelled as far as Kuntala there is nothing to prevent his having gone to Ceylon on another occasion. Ramagiri in the Central Provinces seems to have been one of the capitals at the time and the reference to

12. *Jaḍāśyasyāntaragādhamārgane*
alabdharandhraṁ giricauryavṛtyā |
Lokeṣvalaṅkāntamapūrvasetum
babandha kīrtyā saha Kauntaleśaḥ ||
Bharatacarita, Canto I (lxxxvi of the Trivandram Śanskrit Series).

it in Kalidasa's Meghaduta may be in compliment to the Vakataka monarch. We can therefore take it that the reign of Chandragupta II was, for a considerable part of it, contemporary with that of Pravarasena II as well. The administration of the large kingdom of the Vakatakas was neglected to a certain extent in the reign of Pravarasena II, but remained intact through the dominating influence of Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya.[13]

The Vakatakas and the Kshatrapas

From all that we know from the Vakataka records so far accessible to us, the territory of the Vakatakas must have lain adjacent to that of the Kshatrapas in Surashtra and varying portions of the Konkan. The history of the Kshatrapas, as far as we know at present, can be studied only from their coins, and Professor Rapson's study of the subject in the *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* is an illuminating contribution on the subject. According to his investigation based on the study of the Kshatrapa coins, the period extending from A.D. 305 to A.D. 348 is marked by great changes in the political history of the Kshatrapas, one clear indication of which is the office of Maha-Kshatrapa being in abeyance during the period. In the first part of this period there were two Kshatrapas, and in the later part Kshatrapa coinage ceases altogether.

13. For the literary reference compiled in this paragraph I am obliged to the late Mr. A. Rangasvami Sarasvati, B.A., in the first instance, and to Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A. Reference may be made to the forthcoming edition of a Drama by name 'Kundamala' ascribed to Dinnaga by the latter, who discusses in the introduction the age of Dinnaga and arrives at the conclusion that Dinnaga, Nicula, Kalidasa and Kumaradasa were contemporaries.

From these facts Professor Rapson proceeds to make the following observations. 'All the evidence afforded by coins or the absence of coins during this period,—the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the Maha-Kshatrapas and afterwards of both Maha-Kshatrapas and Kshatrapas, seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the Western Kshatrapas were subject to some foreign invasion; but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful, and must remain so until more can be known about the history of the neighbouring peoples during this period.' It must be noted that the period has reference to A.D. 305 to 348, and so far as Kshatrapa history is concerned there is a change of dynasty, which means that the older dynasty ceases and a collateral dynasty sets itself up in its place. The latter does so with inferior rank of a Kshatrapa and not of the higher Maha-Kshatrapa, and in the latter part of the period coins cease entirely, indicating that perhaps there were not even Kshatrapas. This cessation of even the inferior position of the Kshatrapas relates to the period A.D. 332 to 348. What does this indicate? The period A.D. 305 to 348 would include in the first half, the period of expansion of the Vakataka power under Pravarasena I. Pravarasena I achieved greatness, according to the Puranas, by extending his authority into the territory of the Vindhyakas which was dominated by Vidisa, in all probability the capital city. This progress of Pravarasena must have contributed at least to the narrowing of the territory held by the Kshatrapas, if not to its utter extinction. If therefore we could regard that the first part of this period corresponded to the latter part of the reign of Pravarasena I, we could understand the power

of the Kshatrapas narrowing to make the assumption of the title Maha-Kshatrapa impossible. They had in all probability to abandon Malva which constituted the central block of their territory. It may even possibly be that Pravarasena conquered the territory of the Kshatrapas and put an end to the ruling dynasty; and there was a revival of this dynasty possibly at the end of his reign, or in the disturbances following his death, and therefore corresponding to the reign of Vakataka Rudrasena I. This period would at any rate correspond to the reign of Chandragupta I. The latter half of this period A.D. 332 to 348 would fall in the reign of Chandragupta I and his son Samudragupta. It would correspond to the period of Prithvisena I among the Vakatakas more or less. Samudragupta among his conquests claims to have subdued a certain number of kings in the region at least of Eastern Malva. Prithivisena's authority extended into Bundelkhand according to the Nachne-ki Talai inscriptions of Vyagra. If this Vyagra could be held to be the same person as Vyagraraja of Mahakantara reduced to vassalage by Samudragupta his reduction must have taken place in the region of Prithivisena I. That, together with the expansion of Samudragupta's authority over various tribes, including the Sanakanikas and the Abhiras, must have brought his authority quite close to the Vindhya mountains, and have contributed narrowly to reduce the extent of territory of the Kshatrapas. Prithivisena, on the other hand, claims credit for having conquered Kuntala. It was likely that for what he lost perhaps in the north, he compensated himself in the south. They must have naturally brought about a reduction of the dominions of the Kshatrapas south of the Vindhya mountains. This seems the explanation of the

gap in the coinage of the Kshatrapas and the abeyance of the title Maha-Kshatrapa during the period.

We come upon another period of break between the years A.D. 351 and 364 marked by a similar political disturbance; and this period perhaps marks the expansion of Vakataka authority under Prithivisena I, whose reign was a long one according to the Ajanta inscription. The so-called Uparkot hoard gives striking evidence in this connection. There were ninety Kshatrapa coins in this hoard, all of them belonging to the reign of the ruler Rudrasena III, who called himself Maha-Kshatrapa Svami Rudrasena. According to the Rev. H. R. Scott, who examined this hoard carefully, all of these coins belonging to the years from 270 to 273 of the Saka era, that means, A.D. 348 to 351. He makes the following observations in regard to this. 'Many of these coins, especially those of the last years, are in mint condition and therefore unworn. From these facts we may fairly conclude that the hoard was secreted at the end of the first period of Rudrasena's reign, and most probably it was because of the revolution which then took place, rendering life and property insecure, that the money was hidden.' Another peculiarity of this period, noted by Professor Rapson, is the introduction of certain lead coins with humped bull on reverse and the Chaitya, crescent and the sword on the obverse. Since they belong to the period of the absence of silver coins, it is possible that these are the introduction of a new dynasty. Professor Rapson surmises that the foreigner who introduced this must have come from a region where coins of lead had been in use. It is just possible that this is connected with the extension of power of the Vakataka Prithivisena I in certain parts of whose territory lead

coins were in currency under the Andhras. The successor of this Rudrasena III is like him a Maha-Kshatrapa Svami Simhasena, his sister's son. The only date known about him is read 304 with the alternative possibility of 306. That would mean either A.D. 382 or 384. One peculiar distinction that Professor Rapson noted between the two varieties of coinage of Simhasena is that in one, his title appears Raja Maha-Kshatrapa, and in the other it is Maharaja-Kshatrapa. The latter transformation, he considers, may be due to the Traikutaka title Maharaja. It might as well be due to the Vakataka title Maharaja, as every Vakataka ruler excepting Pravarasena I had this title. If this change was due to the imposition of his authority by a foreign ruler it might just as well be the Vakataka monarch as the Traikutaka. We know of the great Vakataka monarch at the time who extended his territory by conquests, and we have no knowledge of any Traikutaka ruler about the same period. There is a process of Sanskritization introduced in the coin legend of these rulers, which might be due to the same cause. There are two rulers whose names we know, the first from a single coin of his, the second from the coins of his son and successor. They have the usual style both of them of Maha-Kshatrapa, and the same prefix to their name Svami, and have to be assigned to a date (Saka dates) between 304 or 306 and 310, which would be A.D. 382 or 384 to 388, which is the last known date on Kshatrapa coins.

The Gupta Conquest of the Kshatrapas

The year Saka A.D. 310 or 388 is the last known date of the Kshatrapas according to their coins. The earliest known date of the silver coinage of the Guptas,

in the region which was peculiarly the territory of the Kshatrapas, comes almost twenty years later and it is generally taken, on the strength of this numismatic evidence, that the Gupta conquest of the west must have taken place some time about A.D. 409 or somewhat later possibly. As Professor Rapson has already pointed out, this period is somewhat narrowed by the existence of the Udayagiri inscriptions of date 82, A.D. 401-2. There is another undated inscription which the late Dr. Fleet ascribes to Chandragupta II,—the inscription only mentions Chandragupta without further distinctive epithets, —which is a record of the excavation and dedication of a cave to Sambhu (Siva) by order of a certain Virasena, otherwise called Saba, one of the ministers of the king. The minister is described as the minister for peace and war, a man of learning and a native of Patalipura. This inscription at Udayagiri indicates the extent of Chandragupta's authority, and brings it quite close to Ujjain, the capital of Malva and the headquarters of the Kshatrapas. The last line of the inscription gives us clearly to understand that the minister and the king were both there on an expedition of 'conquest of the world.' The process of conquest therefore of this region must have been gradual. We find already in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta mention of the Malvas among the various tribes whom he conquered. We have already pointed out that the Vyagraraja of Mahakantara probably refers to the same chieftain as the Vyagra of the Nachne-ki Talai inscriptions. Probably the region Mahakantara of this inscription stands for 'the eighteen forest countries' of the Parivrajaka Maharaja Hastin.[14]

14. *F.G.I.*, (*C.I.I.*, III), pp. 13*n*., 113, and 116.

On this side therefore Samudragupta's conquests seem to have begun with the region of modern Bundelkhand and extended south-westwards indefinitely as far as Malva at any rate. The tribes mentioned in his group, Malavas, Arjunayanas, Yaudheyas, Abhiras, and Sanakanikas, all of them seem referable to this region. Chandragupta's inscriptions in the locality do not make us feel that they were new conquests. They seem much rather to have been settled conquests in his time. It would be much more reasonable to regard this region as having been acquired by his predecessors. We have already noted that the title Maha-Kshatrapa falls into abeyance from A.D. 305 and the coinage of the Kshatrapas ceases from 332 onwards up to 348, the title being revived possibly somewhat earlier than Saka 270. If therefore the narrowing of the limit of the complete cessation of the position Maha-Kshatrapa be allowed so far as to cover half the period, the period A.D. 332-40 would be a period of complete cessation of the authority of the Maha-Kshatrapas. How could that have come about? That could only be by the deprivation either of all, or of the great bulk, of the territory of the Kshatrapas. If the whole of Malva had been taken from them, even temporarily, it would account sufficiently for the cessation of the title. The probabilities therefore seem to be that the wars between the Kshatrapas and the Guptas began almost with perhaps Chandragupta I himself, if the Meharauli Pillar Inscription is his, and the Bahlikas across the seven mouths of the Sindhu could be regarded as the Sakas and the Parthians of the region. At any rate it is not possible to refer the Sakas of the Harisena inscription, who were among the people whose ambassadors waited, with various items of tribute, to

pray and obtain from Samudragupta the charters imprinted with the Garuda seal for the enjoyment of territories which were their own, to any other than the Sakas of this region. The reference to their obtaining a charter with the Garuda seal may have reference to a recent conquest or to a conquest some time before. In either case the Sakas must have been conquered before the date of this record and had then obtained a charter permitting them to rule over their territory. This may account for the revival of their power after A.D. 340, which the resumption of the title Mahakshatrapa, according to the coins of the Kshatrapas, would seem to bear witness to. What is said therefore in the Udayagiri inscription of Chandragupta's coming there on a world-conquest must have reference to a renewed war which itself must have been a prolonged affair. The statement that we find made in Bana's *Harsha Charita* that the last of the Kshatrapas got killed while courting another man's wife in the enemy's territory, by the injured husband in the guise of a woman, is supported by a newly discovered drama by name 'Devicandraguptam.' According to this, Dhruva Devi, the Queen of Chandragupta, fell into the hands of the Western Kshatrapas and became a prisoner. As a prisoner she was courted by the Kshatrapa[15] king whom, in the guise of the queen herself, Chandragupta killed. The commentator Sankara Kavi's explanation of the incident is borne out by the drama in every detail except that the commentator mistakes the queen for the brother's wife of Chandragupta.[16] This

15. Nirnayasagara edition, p. 223; *vide* article in the *Indian Antiquary* for May 1923 by Mr. A. R. Sarasvati, B.A.

16. I suspect the reading of the comment, as printed, is an

probably happened in the campaign on which he had come according to the Udayagiri inscription, which may refer to a time somewhat earlier than that of the other Udayagiri inscription referring itself to the year 82, which would be A.D. 401-2, while there is the possibility that the inscription may after all refer to Chandragupta I. The interval of a little over twenty years noticed by Professor Rapson between the last Kshatrapa coin of *saka* 310 and the first Gupta coin of ninety or more, i.e., A.D. 409 or later, need not be a bar to this, as a monarch would issue his own coinage in a conquered territory only after it had been brought finally into a settled government and the need for coinage actually had arisen, which must be a matter of some time; and this probably refers merely to the conquest of Surashtra, not Malva. It would seem therefore that both the Vakatakas and the Guptas contributed to the gradual reduction of the territory and the power of the Kshatrapas. Their final extinction was due to the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II.

The Vakatakas and the Decline of the Gupta Empire

The death of Pravarasena II appears to have introduced a change in the political relationship between the Guptas and the Vakatakas. The succession as given in the Ajanta inscription of Varahadeva, does not let us into the secret. The Balaghat copper-plates, however, give a clear indication that there was a disputed succession and that Narendrasena occupied the throne either

error, and that *bhratriyajam* ought to read *bhartrijayam*. If this should turn out correct, the Sakas or Kshatrapas under reference must have already been reduced to vassalage by the Guptas. The drama Devichandraguptam makes Sankararya quite correct.

by a *coup d'etat* or, what is less likely, as the result of a successful war. What is really significant in this record of his son Prithvisena II is that Narendrasena's authority is said to have been acknowledged by the lords of Kosala, Mekala, and Malava, the region over which Chandragupta II extended his authority comparatively early in his reign, and maintained it inviolate by his matrimonial alliance with the Vakatakas and the uprooting war against the Kshatrapas of Gujarat and Kathiawar. Kosala, Mekala and Malava among the three will include all the Vindhyan region extending from the coast of the Bay of Bengal in the south-east, north-westwards at least as far as the Aravalli hills and it may even be beyond. As far as we can make out from the Gupta records, Kumaragupta's accession to the throne was a peaceful one and perhaps during the early years of his reign he enjoyed peace also. It is from the inscriptions of his son Skandagupta that we hear of disturbances in this region from the tribes of Pushyamitras[17] and Patumitras, whom Skandagupta successfully brought back into allegiance according to his record. Did the Vakataka Narendrasena bear any part in this disturbance along the outermost frontier of the Gupta empire or did he also suffer with the Guptas from this rising of the tribes ? Prithvisena II, the successor of Narendrasena,

17. This reading of the inscription has been called into question on a re-examination of the record in the process of obliteration through decay. It seems, however, justifiable to retain the reading as the Pushyamitras are associated with this region in the Puranas and the Harisena epigraph of Samudragupta. The modified reading *yudhyamitran* seems quite incompatible with the attributes in the record, and the fact that the other enemies are specifically described.

is credited, in the same record, with 'having raised his sunken family.' What was the sinking of the family due to and in what particular did he manage to raise it? If the severe defeat administered to the Pushyamitras and Patumitras by Skandagupta, which is supposed to have destroyed their power and brought them back into obedience, involved the submission directly or indirectly of the Vakatakas as well, Prithivisena might then have recovered at any rate partly the important position which his family occupied in the days of his predecessors from Pravarasena II backwards. He would have found occasion for this in the irruption of the Huns on this very frontier of the Gupta empire. It would thus be seen that the Vakatakas bore their own share in bringing about the decline of the Gupta empire. In the whole period of the struggle of the Guptas against the Huns, the Vakatakas must have been left more or less to themselves, and this enabled Prithivisena II and his successors to rehabilitate themselves to a very considerable extent, and that is what seems to be indicated in the records of the time of Harisena and his father Devasena. Harisena's is the last reign of which we have any knowledge, and then the region which is peculiarly the dominion of the Vakatakas passes into the hands of the new dynasty of the Chalukyas. The Vakatakas thus provide as it were a bridge that fills the gap between the Andhras and the Chalukyas in the history of the Dakhan.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

An interesting criticism on the two Vakataka papers printed above was sent to me by my friend, Mr. Y. R.

Gupte, who did me the favour to send it on to me for consideration. With his approval, it was published in the *Journal of Indian History,* vol. vi. part iii, pages 399 to 408. He raises certain points in it for my consideration, and it would be well that I give the matter the consideration that my friendly critic seeks for it. For the whole of the article reference may be made to the *Journal of Indian History.* The minor points are passed over, as some of them have been sufficiently met by the few notes that I have added to the article. The following points, however, are of greater importance and require consideration. They will, therefore, be considered in their order :—

(i) The first point is the general question, what exactly was the homeland of the Vakatakas, and what their capital or capitals were. If the identification of Vindhyasakti with the Vindhyasakti of the Puranas should be accepted, as my friend seems to be inclined to, their home territory must have been in the region of the Vindhyas. This is, to some extent, supported by the statement in the Puranas that Pravira, son of Vindhyasakti, became ruler of the region of Vidisa in succession to the dynasty founded by Sisunandi after the death of the last of the Sungas. The Riddhapur plates of queen Prabhavati state that the plates were issued from the feet of the God at Ramagiri, which would imply that Ramagiri was one of those places which formed the royal camp (Vijayakataka), and may have been possibly an alternative capital. Some of the grants purport to have been issued from a place called Pravarapura, which the older epigraphists tried to identify with the Barabar hills in Bihar. But the identification of the places mentioned in the Chammak grant and other grants of these rulers

together with the fact that we have now good reason for regarding them as Bhojas, makes their association with the territory of Berar and the capitals Kundinapura and Bhojakataka of the Puranas very probable. It is from that central position that they made their advances both north and south at different periods of their history. With our present knowledge of the history of the Vakatakas it seems to be in keeping with all that we know of them if we take them to be rulers of the ancient kingdom known as Vidarbha, which is Berar, at one time in a somewhat extended sense.

The next point to which he draws attention is the question as to why we regard Chandragupta I as the founder of the Gupta Empire and the position of the Vakatakas in relation to this new empire. There is not very much that could take us farther than we have expounded the problem in section ii of the Gupta Supplement already published in vol. v, part ii of this journal. The Pauranic statements that the dynasty of the Vindhyakas came to an end after Pravarasena may give us some support. According to them, the Vindhyaka dynasty came to an end and three rulers, who were Bahlikas, ruled for thirty years apparently the territory, at least a considerable part of the territory, associated with their name*......It is not merely the Bahlikas, but a number of other rulers that established themselves in various localities, some of which at least must have been in the territory of Pravarasena. This gives an indication of the break-up of the empire of Pravarasena, of which, again, a hint is given in the Puranas when they state it that four of his sons ruled under him as rulers of men.

* See page 50, *Dynasties of the Kali Age of the Third Century.*

So the standing aside of the Vakatakas while the Gupta ruler built up an empire is not dependent entirely on the dropping of the title 'samrat' by his grandson and successor Rudrasena I. The dropping of that higher title and the gratitude with which the assistance of his father-in-law, Bhavanaga of the Bharasivas, are referred to alike point to the fact that the empire of Pravarasena was in a bad way, and when through the good offices of Bhavanaga it recovered a part of his territory, it could not come up to its old dignity.

The next point that calls for remark is the identification of Erandapalli and Devarashtra. Dr. Fleet when he published the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription identified this place with a place in Maharashtra, and perhaps Khandesh, for which Mr. Gupte finds support that he notes on page 402-3 of the *Journal of Indian History,* vol. vi, part iii referred to above. While on the details given by Mr. Gupte himself there is good reason for identifying Devarashtra with the Satara District of the Bombay Presidency and Erandapalli with Erandol in East Kandesh, the omission of any reference to Prithvisena the Vakataka, who must have been contemporary with Samudragupta, and in whose territory, direct or indirect these must have lain, makes the assertion that his invasion went so far west as that rather difficult. There is besides the fact to be noted that if he went so far west as that he must have come into contact with the Kshatrapas, and his further progress in his return march should have been either through their territory or that of the Vakatakas proper. The latter course would have been possible, but in the absence of any direct indication, we must leave the question open.

Rudradeva of the Harisena Epigraph

Here the point arises whether the Rudradeva of the Harisena epigraph of Samudragupta is not Rudrasena I, Vakataka, as suggested by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the proceedings of the First Oriental Conference held at Poona. This Rudradeva is there referred to as one among the nine rulers of Aryavarta. It is after defeating these that Samudragupta is said to have come into touch with the 'Forest kingdoms.' This is hardly in keeping with the position of the Vakataka territory noted above. It is quite open to doubt besides that Rudrasena could be referred to as Rudradeva in official records, as the Vakatakas called themselves invariably as *Senas* and not as *Devas*.

The next point is the reference to the Pushyamitras in the Bhitari Pillar inscription of Skandagupta. I was aware of Professor Divekar's suggested reading *Yudhyamitra* in place of *Pushyamitran* the conjectural reading of Dr. Fleet. Making all possible allowance for wrong reading by Dr. Fleet, it still seems impossible that, in the context, the reference intended could be so general as merely enemies which alone would be the meaning if the amended reading be adopted. The reading *Pushyamitran* seems warranted historically, apart from the epigraphy of it, by the fact that the Pushyamitras are referred to in that region in the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription and the Purana references also seem to locate them in about the same region. Three enemies of Skandagupta are referred to specifically, and this cannot help to make a general and indefinite reference, such as the new reading would involve. Hence it strikes me it would be better to read *Pushyamitran* having regard to the fact that one cannot be sure of correctness, even

when Professor Divekar read the inscription on the pillar itself.

The next point to which he calls attention is the identification of Chandra in the Meharauli Pillar Inscription. Mr. Gupte seems inclined to accept Mahamahopadyaya Haraparasad Sastri's identification of Chandra as Chandragupta II. The difficulties in the way of my accepting that position are explained fully in the Gupta Empire below. Section ii.

The next point in regard to the sons of Prabhavatigupta whether they were actually three or two, it seems to me better to take it that queen Prabhavatigupta had two sons rather than three, Divakarasena, a record of whose thirteenth year issued by the queen we have, and Pravarasena II, whose earlier name may have been Damodharasena. What he refers as halting and doubtful in my paper consists in this :—I suggested a possibility and indicated a difficulty in accepting the position, which only means that on the facts before me I am not prepared to state that Divakarasena and Pravarasena were the same, and till some new fact is discovered to upset it, I propose taking Damodharasena as the earlier name for Pravarasena II. It seems unlikely that the queen ruled as regent for thirteen years on behalf of one son, and then was regent for another son, Damodharasena, and yet lived on to issue a grant in the reign of her third son Pravarasena II in his twenty-first year. It seems, therefore, better to regard Damodharasena as the princely name of Pravarasena II.

It is an interesting point that Mr. Gupte raises that the power actually passed from the Vakatakas to the Chalukyas through the other dynasty, that of the Nalas. This requires to be worked up separately, and we shall

await the publication of the grant in the *Epigraphia Indica* perhaps by him. It is very likely that the territory of the Vakatakas passed over to some other dynasty, may be a feudatory dynasty, from whom the Chalukyas obtained possession of it. As the Nalas are mentioned as an important dynasty overcome by the Chalukyas in this region, it is very likely that they inherited the territory from the Vakatakas. That remains to be worked up.

Mr. Gupte deserves our gratitude for having drawn attention to these points, and it is to be hoped that the position will now be clearer than it was before.

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CHAPTER VII

STUDIES IN GUPTA HISTORY

I.—The Guptas in the Puranas

According to the *Puranas*, of which the Matsya and the Vayu are of the first importance for this purpose, the Andhras constituted a dynasty of thirty rulers in succession and ruled for a period which varies, to a certain extent, in the different authorities; 460 in the Matsya and 456 in the Vayu; but as the number of the members of the dynasty is not given uniformly in all of them we may take it roughly that the dynasty ruled for a period of nearly five centuries. The dynasty then, would have come to an end about the end of the third century A.D., as we have good reasons for believing that the Andhras made themselves independent about the end of the third century B.C. The *Matsya Purana* seems to have been composed under the Andhras, and there is manuscript authority for regarding that it was composed in the ninth year of Yajna Sri Satakarni.[1] This statement in five of the manuscripts is that 'Yagnasrih Satakarni actually is in the ninth year of rule'; but the manuscripts generally continue the list to the end of the dynasty and even include the local dynasties that held sway while the Andhras were still the nominal ruling power. According to the *Matsya Purana*

1. *Nava varṣāṇi Yagñaśrīḥ kurutē, Sātakarṇikaḥ* (*Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age*).

which gives the list in the most complete form a number of dynasties held rule over various localities and for varying periods, while yet the Andhras were in possession of their kingdom.[2] These are described as dynasties of 'servants of the Andhras.' Of these local dynasties, seven generations of Sri Parvatiya Andhras ruled for fifty-two years, possibly for 112 or 102 years.

10 Abhiras ruled for	67	years
2 Gardhabhilas ruled for	72	,,
18 Sakas	183	,,
8 Yavanas ruled for 87 or	82	,,
14 Tusaras 107 or	105	,,
13 Gurundas or Murundas ruled for	200	,,
and 11 Hunas	103	,,

Whatever may be the value of these Puranic statements in regard to the actual number of rulers and the duration of the reign of each, the list is still of great value as exhibiting the political division of India in the third century A.D. Most of the dynasties mentioned in these lists of the *Puranas* figure in inscriptions and could be located on a map from inscriptional references. It will be found that the so called Andhrabhrityas held rule in the region of Sri Parvata (Sri Sailam in the Kurnool District). The Abhiras had their authority in North Konkan extending into the interior as far as Barar and taking into their territory Kathiawad and part of Gujarat. The Gardhabhilas were in the

2. *Āndhrāṇām samsthitē rājyē*
ṭēṣām bhṛtyānvayā nṛpāḥ
saptaiva Āndhra bhaviṣyanti.
Pargiter, *op. cit.*

interior in the region of the Aravalli Hills occupying the southwestern portion of Rajputana. We know that the Saka dynasty held sway over various regions of India, one of their headquarters was Mathura (Muttra) on the Jumna. Another of their chief possessions was the region round Taxila (Peshawar) and a third, the region of Sindh extending further southwards indefinitely. The Yavanas had their territory in the valley of the Kabul extending further westwards to Bactria; and in their best days, their authority extended as far perhaps as the frontiers of Magadha at least. The Tusaras or the Tokharis, by which term the *Puranas* perhaps mean the Kushanas, held authority in the Punjab including Afghanistan, and in the very best days of their empire had an extensive territory which reached as far east as Saketa or Pataliputra. The Murundas are generally held to be the native name of some tribe or other of these dynasties of the Kushanas and are referred to in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta; along with the above details is made the statement that when these should cease to rule 'the Kila Kilas or Kola Kilas will succeed'. The *Vayu* and the *Brahmanda Puranas* offer the additional information in regard to these last that they would rule for ninety-six years, and then Vindhyasakti would become ruler. From this we are justified in drawing the inference that before the Andhra dynasty came to an end, perhaps some considerable time before, these local dynasties came into prominence and continued to rule for the varying periods of time ascribed to them; and from the general circumstances of the recital it is hardly necessary to make any special distinction in favour of the Kila Kilas or Kola Kilas. We may perhaps take

them to be a feudatory foreign dynasty like some of the other dynasties, and Vindhyasakti's succession may have been to the territories held by these Koli Kilas. What is a point of importance in the whole is that Vindhyasakti comes at the end of this period or rule, say approximately a century after these feudatory dynasties began a movement for making themselves independent of the Andhras.

Vindhyasakti's name appears in another connection in the same context in the Puranic recital. In the dynasties that held rule over the territory of Vidisa, the well-known capital of East Malwa, came at the end of the rule of the Sungas, whose territory it was pre-eminently, a ruler by name Sisunandi. His younger brother went by the name Nandiyasas. In his family were three rulers. This statement means that a dynasty of five rulers successively ruled the territory dependent upon the capital Vidisa from the end of the rule of the Sungas in that region. A grandson, by the daughter of Nandiyasas, is said to have ruled from a capital Purika, and this perhaps refers merely to a contemporary rule of this grandson and his name need not be taken in the regular line of the rulers of Vidisa. After this dynasty of five members Vindhyasakti's son, named Pravira, in the *Puranas*, 'would rule' according to the same authority for sixty years the city called Kanchanaka. Of this ruler, it is said, that he celebrated several sacrifices called Vajapeya and distributed liberal gifts at the end of these to Brahmans. This part of the list winds up with the statement that four of his sons 'would rule as kings.' There are good reasons for holding this Vindhyasakti and his son Pravira to be respectively Vindhyasakti and Pravara-

sena, the founder and his successor of the Vakataka dynasty. Vindhyasakti, according to the Ajanta inscription was 'a twice-born[3] man on earth (named) Vindhyasakti; whose strength grew in great battles......whose valour when he was angered could not be overcome even by the gods....mighty in gifts. He whose majesty was equal to that of Indra and of Upendra (Vishnu) who by the valour of his arm gained (the whole world), became the banner of the Vakataka race....He covering in battle the sun with dust clouds raised by his horses' hoofs, making his enemies....carried them to become prone to salute. Having conquered his enemies, living like the king of gods he strenuously exerted himself (to gain) spiritual merit......' The Chammak inscription[4] of the Vakataka Pravarasena II gives an elaborate description

3. Compare with this—
Dviradēndra gatischakōra nētraḥ
paripūrṇēndu mukhaḥ suvigrahaścha |
Dvija mukhyatamaḥ kavirbabhūva
prathitaḥ Śūdraka ityagādhasatvaḥ ||
Ṛg Vēdam Sāma Vēdam gaṇitamathakalāṁ vaiśikīm hasti sikṣām
Gñātva Śarvaprasādādvyapagata timirē chakṣusī chōpalabhya |
Rājānam vīkṣya putram parama sadudayēn āśavmādhēna chēṣtvā
labdhvā chāyuḥ śatābdam daśadina sahitam śūdrakōagnim praviṣṭaḥ ||
Samara vyasanī pramāda śūnyaḥ kakudam vēdavidāṁ tapōdanaścha
Paravāraṇa bāhuyuddha lubdhaḥ kṣitipālaḥ kila Śūdrako babhūva. ||

4. F. G. I., p. 235.

of this family[5] and in regard to Pravarasena I it recites a very large number of *yagas* (sacrifices) which he celebrated, among them figures the Vajapeya as well. The *Puranas* use the term Vajapeya in the plural. The inscription merely recites the various kinds of sacrifices which perhaps all of them were capable of being described by the general term Vajapeya. It gives this Pravarasena the title *Samrat* a title somewhat similar to *Adhiraj* or emperor. Pravarasena I's great grandson Rudrasena, the second of the name in the dynasty, married Prabhavatigupta, daughter of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Dēva Gupta*. This last is another name of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya who had, by his queen Kuberanaga, a daughter Prabhavatigupta, according to a recently discovered copper plate grant of this very Prabhavatigupta. She married Rudrasena II, the Vakataka, and issued the grant as Regent of her young son Divakarasena as he is there called[6] in the thirteenth year. Accord-

5. 1. Vindhyaśakti.
2. Pravarasēna son of 1.2 (*a*) Gautamiputra, son of 2 married Bhavanāga, (daughter of the Bharaśiva dynasty).
3. Rudrasēna I, grandson of 2, through 2 (*a*).
4. Prithvīsēna I, son of 3.
5. Rudrasēna II, son of 4 (married Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Dēvagupta or Chandragupta II and Kubēranāga.
6. Pravarasēna II, Dāmōdarasēna, son of 5.
7. Narēndrasēna, son of 6 (married a princess of Kuntala).
8. Prithvīsēna II, son of 7.
Balaghat copper plates of Prithvīsēna II, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, No. 36.

6. K. B. Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, pp. 214-5. *Epigraphia Indica,* vol. xv, Dikshit and Pathak.

ing to the Chammak grant of Pravarasena II of the Vakatakas quoted above, which is a grant by this queen's son himself in his eighteenth year, he gives himself the name or title Pravarasena II. So the name of Pravarasena II may have been Divakarasena and his title as ruler Pravarasena II.[7] While therefore Divakarasena gets to be equal to Pravarasena II we can without much hesitation take it that the Devagupta of the Vakataka inscription is another name of Chandragupta II. This identification of Devagupta with Chandragupta II becomes now equally clear—although Dr. Fleet, editing the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II, doubted an interpretation similar to this of Prinsep, and suggested that Devagupta might be the name of a minister of Chandragupta II—from the newly discovered Prabhavatigupta grant which gives the Gupta genealogy only up to Chandragupta II and furnishes the information that Prabhavati was daughter of Chandragupta II and Kuberanaga. According to the Pravarasena grant Prabhavati was the daughter of Devagupta, and therefore Devagupta must have been another name of Chandragupta II undoubtedly. The late Dr. Fleet's doubt whether Devaraja was the name of Chandragupta himself in the Sanchi inscription, seems somewhat unreasonable from the text itself. The grant is made by a subordinate officer for the possession of all

7. A more recent discovery of a grant of this Prabhāvati in the nineteenth year of her son Pravarasēna II gives him the name Dāmōdarasēna. Divākarasēna must have been an elder brother. The issue of the new grant by the queen in the nineteenth year of her son's reign is significant in the light of the evidence of literature regarding Pravarasēna's rule.

good qualities by the Maharajadhiraja. There is only one word of six letters gone from out of the grant and the context suggests the substitution of a word which would make the names Chandragupta and Devagupta synonymous with very little violence to the sense; while the supply of the words suggested by Dr. Fleet would do violence to the context as it seems. It becomes therefore clear that Chandragupta II bore another name Devagupta which, according to that inscription, was the pet name of the sovereign. Chandragupta being therefore equivalent to Devagupta the father of Prabhavatigupta, and therefore the grandfather of Pravarasena II of the Vakatakas, Chandragupta II and Rudrasena II, his son-in-law, become contemporaries, and allowing for five generations from Rudrasena II backwards at the rate of twenty-five years, or even say twenty years, we want a century from the date of Chandragupta II to come to Vindhyasakti. The Sanchi inscription of date 93 of the Gupta era, and Vindhyasakti's date would be, say, roughly the half century before the foundation of the Gupta era; in other words Vindhyasakti would be a ruler of the end of the third century A.D. Vindhyasakti therefore must have held rule according to the Puranic statement in Vidisa, at any rate his son Pravarasena I did. Vindhyasakti might have been ruler of the Vakataka territory to which his son added possibly the territories depending upon Vidisa, and this part of the Puranic list exhibits Pravarasena as perhaps something of a conqueror who could celebrate the famous sacrifices permissible to conquerors to celebrate.

Then the *Puranas* follow with a list which Pargiter holds to be that of the dynasties which held sway in the

third century A.D. Of this dynasty, as of the dynasty of Vidisa, the *Matsya Purana* has nothing to say; that means the *Matsya Purana* received its completion before these dynasties came into existence. The *Vayu Purana,* the latest redaction of which must have taken place probably in the reign of Chandragupta II or just a little later, gives these lists which are supported by the *Brahmanda Purana* and which are summarized in the *Vishnu Purana* another of the authoritative early *Puranas.* Among the dynasties that held rule in the third century which are supposed to have followed the end of the family of the Vindhyakas, came three Bahlikas who held rule for thirty years. Then there was at least one ruler of the Mahishas, whose capital was Mahishmati on the Narbada; there were the tribes of the Pushyamitra and Patumitra with thirteen rulers. There were seven rulers of Mekhala reigning for seventy years. In Kosala there were nine powerful rulers called Meghas; the Naishada monarchs, coming of the family of Nala, valiant and strong, will rule till the termination of Manu'. Along with this will appear in Magadha one ruler a very valiant man by name Visvasphani. He 'will uproot all the kings and will set up as kings in various kingdoms various castes of people such as Kaivartas, Panchakas, Pulindas and Brahmanas.' This Visvasphani of great strength, as great in war as Vishnu himself, in appearance like a eunuch, would uproot the Kshatriyas from the earth and entrust the duty of Kshatriyas to others. Having satisfied the gods, the fathers and the Brahmans at the same time, he 'will go to the banks of the Ganges and hold his body subdued, and after resigning his body (apparently to the care of the Ganges), he will reach the world of Indra.' This passage indicates a further shifting and division of poli-

tical power in India in the third century A.D., at the end of which arises a Magadha monarch whom these *Puranas* called Visvasphani, who, if the Puranas speak true, made himself overlord of all these by uprooting the existing monarchs, and appointing others in their places, and thus perhaps made an effort at bringing about a united India which the Guptas successfully did later. If this Magadhan ruler came at the end of the period he must have been ruler about the same time as Vindhyasakti or his son Pravarasena I. Are either of these two and Visvasphani the same person? If so, why should the *Puranas* refer to them with such different names? Further research must clear the point.

Apart from this question to whom the name Visvasphani refers, the general trend of political affairs derivable from the narration in the *Puranas* can be stated somewhat as follows:—When the decadence of the Andhra power began the more powerful of the feudatories of the dynasty made themselves gradually more and more independent of their suzerain, so that, when the suzerain dynasty went out of existence, these feudatories stood out each as an independent power in its own territory. The working out of this process of political disintegration might have extended over well-nigh a century. At the end of this period one ruler of Magadha, and perhaps another of Vidisa, made an effort each to bring under his authority as many of his neighbours as it was possible for him to bring under his control either by measures of peace or by war. The Magadha ruler probably was Visvasphani. Starting from his inherited kingdom of Magadha he extended his authority both east and west it may be north-west, and made himself something of a suzerain over the central and eastern portions of Hindus-

than. Vindhyasakti starting from the region about the middle of the Vindhya mountains probably extended his authority to take into his territory the region dominated by Vidisa, and it may be his son Pravarasena I who extended his territory farther, so that, at one time not very long after, the authority of the Vakatakas extended from the northern parts of Bundelkhand right down to the region of Kuntala in the south. According to a statement in the Puranas the work of Visvasphani, whoever he was, if he was a historical personage, consisted in the destruction of the political independence of feudatory powers and in the imposition of the authority of a central power over them. When that mission of his was accomplished he gave up his body probably to the possession of the Ganges and reached the world of Indra, the reward of valiant work on earth.

At the commencement of the fourth century therefore, the part of India which comes within the purview of the *Puranas* had reverted to the position of being divided among a number of independent rulers who might have been dependent upon Visvasphani before, and the *Puranas* recite therefore

1. A dynasty of nine Nagas at Champavati, with an alternative Padmavati, which is perhaps more likely.
2. Seven Nagas ruled in Mathura.
3. A dynasty of Manidhanya held the territory of the Nishadas, Yadukas, Saisitas and Kalatoyakas.
4. Kosala, Andhra, Pundra and Tamralipta and Champa were ruled over by dynasties called Devarakshita.
5. Kalinga, Mahisha and the region dependent on Mahendra were under the rule of the Guhas.

6. Sri Rashtra and Bhokshaka (Bhoja ?) were under the dynasty of the Kanakas.

7. The region of Surashtra, Avanti, Abhira, Sudra, Arbuda and Malava 'will be ruled by unbrahmanical Vratyas, very like Sudras.'

8. On the banks of the Indus, in the territory of the River Chandrabhaga and Kuntidesa, and in the territories of Kashmira will rule Sudras, Vratyas and Mlechchas 'of unbrahmanical lustre.'

These rulers will all rule simultaneously 'niggards in graciousness, untruthful, very irasible and unrighteous.'

Among this group figure the descendants of the Guptas ruling over the region on the banks of the Ganges dominated by the cities of Prayaga and Saketa, and the territory of the Magadhas. It will thus be seen that the Guptas ruling over this territory were one among nine states, among whom Hindusthan and a considerable portion of the Dakhan was divided. Scholars are divided in opinion in regard to the particular period to which this definition of the Gupta power is referable. Some of them hold it as referable to the period upto the conquests of Samudragupta, and others would rather refer it to a period when the Gupta power was on the decline after the period of Skanda Gupta. Having regard to the context where the reference occurs in the Puranas, and to the possible date of the *Vayu Purana*, which is the chief authority for this particular portion, it would be more reasonable to take it that this position of the Guptas has reference to the period when, for the first time, they emerged into political importance. For one indication we get something like a hint that in uprooting the Kshatriyas and putting others in their stead Visvasphani disregarded the distinctions of caste. The title Gupta in the Indian caste system is the

title of the Vaisyas as a class. Whatever their caste, the Guptas must have occupied a subordinate position in the region indicated in this Puranic list. That they did so, we have evidence of in the statement of the Chinese traveller I-Tsing who was in India from about 670 to practically the end of the century. He stayed for about ten years in the University of Nalanda and has made a note of 'a great king (*Maharaja*) Sri Gupta (Che-li-ki-to), who built a temple near Mrigasikhavana for some Chinese pilgrims, for whose piety he had regard. This temple the ruins of which were still known in I-Tsing's time as the Temple of China, was endowed by the king with twenty-four large villages; the foundation of the temple took place about 500 years before the writer's time.'[8] 'This would give this Maharaja Sri Gupta, a date somewhere about the end of the second century more or less. Without making a strict interpretation of the chronological detail given in I-Tsing we may regard this Maharaja Sri Gupta as perhaps the earliest known ruler of the Gupta dynasty referred to in the *Puranas* as having held sway in the region on the banks of the Ganges. But whether he was identical with the Maharaja Sri Gupta, the grandfather of Chandragupta I is a point upon which opinions differ. Without being too particular in regard to the prefix 'Sri', it need make no difference by the addition or omission, as it generally follows the designation 'Maharaja', it is just possible he was identical with this Maharaja Sri Gupta, the father of Ghatotkacha, or a somewhat earlier

8. Beal, *J.R.A.S.*, 1882, p. 571.
Chavannes *Memoirs, sur le Religeux, etc.*, of I-Tsing, pp. 82-3, note 3 (quoted in Allan's Coins of the Gupta Dynasties in the British Museum, p. 15).

ancestor of his even. I-Tsing's reference has to be interpreted as referring at least to the fifth century anterior to him, if not exactly 500 years, and that would mean a date before A.D. 270. The century A.D. 170 *to* 270 would be the period in which this famous ruler must have lived. The Gupta at the head of the dynastic list will have to be referred to a time subsequent to A.D. 270. It would perhaps be safer to regard this Maharaja Sri Gupta as an earlier Gupta, possibly the grandfather of the Gupta at the head of the dynastic list figuring in inscriptions. The Pauranic statement therefore in regard to the rule of the Guptas on the banks of the Ganges in the third and the fourth centuries may then be regarded as a historical fact, having reference to the third century A.D. The objection that there would be two Guptas very near each other need not be held to be insuperable. Instances could be quoted of two rulers of similar names having been very near each other in point of time.

If the statement in the *Puranas* regarding the rule of Magadha, etc., by a dynasty of the Guptas (Gupta Vamsajah) could be held to mean anything, it must be a number of rulers by the name 'Gupta' who should have ruled, whether the term 'Gupta,' according to Manu, was the caste designation or no. Taking this along with the statement in the *Puranas* about the achievement of Visvasphani that he removed the right to rule from the Kshatriyas and gave it to others like Kaivartas, etc., the possibility of Vaisyas with the designation 'Gupta' having come into possession of Magadha does not seem in the least unlikely. So, regarding the Maharaja Gupta of Magadha early in the third century as stated by I-Tsing, there is nothing to make him a historical impossibility.

II.—The Founder of the Gupta Empire

If the line of reasoning adopted above be correct, there must be some distance of time between this Gupta and the Maharaja Sri Gupta that figures at the head of the dynastic list of the imperial Guptas. The second Gupta and his son Ghototkacha, with the possibility of a shortened form 'Kacha' must have been Maharajas, or feudatory rulers of the territory lying close to the banks of the Ganges depending upon Allahabad and Saketa in addition to the province of Magadha. Something therefore must have happened at the end of the reign of Ghatotkacha, either before the accession of Chandragupta I or soon after, that has raised him to a prominence which made him assume in addition to his ancestral feudatory title that of Maharajadhiraja which is indicative of paramount power. The inscriptions of the Guptas generally provide us with one detail and that was the marriage alliance between him and the Lichchavis as an event of considerable importance. Vincent Smith was apparently wrong in believing that it was this marriage that gave him Patalipura. He must have been already ruler of Patalipura as a ruler of Magadha, and the marriage connection with the Lichchavis must have been of importance for some other reason obviously. If we accept the Pauranic statement, there is no reason to reject it on the face of it, that the territory depending upon Allahabad and Saketa and Patalipura were already ancestral possessions of Chandragupta I, the Lichchavi connection, which seems undoubtedly to indicate that Kumaradevi was probably the heiress of the territory of the Lichchavis, must have brought him the territory of the Lichchavis and put him in possession of the consolidated territory which took into

it the whole of the modern province of Bihar and a considerable block of territory up to the banks of the Ganges which now constitutes the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. This would have been a very important and powerful salient from which to issue and march westwards to bring under his control the feudatory states such as Padmavati, Mathura and Malva and territories farther west. It is some such achievement by him and the consequent annexation of territories, that must have changed the feudatory monarch into, at any rate, according to his own assumption, an imperial ruler. There seems to be other indications hitherto not appraised at their full value, of such a transformation under Chandragupta I. The so-called *Chatra* coins of the Guptas seem in all probability, to have been the issue of Chandragupta I to begin with. This was apparently imitated and improved upon by his grandson who followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, and rounded off the Gupta territorial possessions by extending them westwards to the sea itself. These coins are described in two varieties by Mr. Allan of the British Museum. One coin illustrated as C. 1 of plate VIII from the collection of Sir William Hoey shows one variety of the *Chatra* type. There seems to be so far a few other specimens of this variety in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. This variety apart from the noticeable distinction in the figure of the monarch and the umbrella bearer contains the obverse legend Chandragupta merely, with the reverse legend Vikramaditya. The second variety also has the same reverse legend, but the obverse legend is a longer one copied apparently from one of the several legends of Samudragupta, and does not contain the name Chandragupta. The character of the obverse legend and the

noticeably distinct character of the features would perhaps warrant the assumption that the Hoey specimen was issued from the mint of Chandragupta I. The only objection to it is that so far we have not come upon other specimens of any coin of Chandragupta I. This is hardly an argument. If the coins of Guptas that have so far been found are all of them ascribed to others there will be nothing left to ascribe to Chandragupta I. That Chandragupta issued coins of his own would only be in keeping with the position of one who from a feudatory Maharaja rose to the position of an imperial ruler. These coins of the *Chatra* type as also the coins ascribed to Samudragupta are generally taken by numismatists to have been formed on the model of the Kushana coins of the last of the great Kushanas, Vasudeva. There is no special reason why Samudragupta should have imitated them rather than his father Chandragupta I. But, if his Lichchavi alliance meant anything, it must have brought Chandragupta I's territory into touch with the territories of the Kushana Vasudeva. If the idea dawned upon him of signalizing his accession to an imperial position by the issue of a coinage, here was material for him to copy. It would not be unreasonable therefore to take it that Chandragupta I issued his coinage, and if that is so, the one variety rather than any other which would be appropriate would be the *Chatra* type. The umbrella of sovereignty is an ordinary notion of the Indian as symbolical of elevation to a ruling position, and the single umbrella is equally symbolical of an imperial position. For the monarch therefore that gave himself, the title Maharajadhiraja, the first *Adhiraja* among the Guptas, it would be prefectly natural to issue the first coins of the Guptas, and he had the originality to invent the *Chatra* coin indi-

cε is accession to the newly won imperial position.
e Lichchavi connection had been mainly res-
poı ɔr this, it is not difficult to understand that in
all ıe associated with himself the queen whose
mar. th him set him forward on his imperial
caree goddess Lakshmi on the reverse with a
fillet . ;ht hand is again an additional support to
this c It seems therefore best to regard
Chandı as a conqueror who, starting from the
matrimı isition of the territory of the Lichcha-
vis, mac forward advance and acquired the
territory ıy reducing the neighbouring rajas to
subservieı to the extent of assuming an im-
perial posi tles with some justification in the
eyes of his ıries.

The so- ·iage type of coins ascribed by
Mr. Allan t upta, must from this point of
view, be ascri dragupta I as has been done by
the late Vince nd others. This variety of
Gupta coins co e obverse the representation
of both Chandra umaradevi with their names
marked, and on t nimbate female figure seat-
ed on a throne be a lion lying quietly with
the legend 'Lichcl is unanimously admitted
that this type of co s some prefer to call it,
celebrates the marrı lragupta and Kumara-
devi, at the same tin ıting the union of the
Lichchavis with the N ər Chandragupta. It
is not clear why the gc n named 'Lakshmi'
with the lion lying cou ıanner indicated in
the coins. I have not b ne upon anything
that would associate the ı hmi, as her vehi-
cle. The simple legend l seems rather to

indicate that the nimbate goddess is a personified representation of the Lichchavi people, and the lion is perhaps a totemic or other representation of the same people. If the goddess were the goddess of the Lichchavis and the lion their totem or other symbol, it would mean that the coin was intended to celebrate the alliance of the Lichchavis brought about by the marriage of the Gupta ruler with the heiress of the Lichchavis. This position however is not accepted by numismatists, and the difficulties in the way of their accepting it is set forth with great clearness and ability by Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum. 'That they commemorate the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumaradevi and the union with the Lichchavis is certain, but to the numismatist there are certain difficulties in the way of their attribution to Chandragupta I; the commonest coins of Samudragupta, the son and successor of Chandragupta I, are of the type to which Vincent Smith has given a name 'Spearman' or 'Javelin' but which may more correctly be called 'the standard type.' (See Section 74). It is evident that Samudragupta's standard type is a close copy of the later coins of Kushan type, such as have been described by Cunningham (Num. Chron. 1893, pl. VIII 2-12 and pl. IX); practically the only alteration apart from the legends, are on the obverse, where the Kushan peaked head dress is replaced by a close-fitting cap, while the trident on the left gives place to a *Garuda* standard (*Garuda-dhvaja*), the emblem of Vishnu. The king's name is still written vertically; this custom, which was to survive till the end of the dynasty, is to be traced back through the later Kushan coinage to Chinese influence in Central Asia. The reverse type is even more slavishly copied

as we find portions of the back of the throne on the Saka coins reproduced along with the symbol. The Samudragupta coins are one step removed from this prototype by the addition of the figure of the queen on the obverse and the substitution of a lion for throne on the reverse, though the now meaningless trace of the back of the throne remains the resemblance to the late Kushan coins is still quite marked; it may safely be asserted that Chandragupta I did not strike any coins of the standard type; if he had they must have been commoner than the 'medallic' pieces ascribed to him and would have survived; but none such are known. Samudragupta did not receive from his father's coinage his standard type. It must be his earliest type as it is closest to the Kushan original. How are we to account for the return to a relatively slavish imitation of Kushan device after the comparative originality of his father's coin? There is no evidence that the late Kushan or Saka coins circulated in the Gupta territory at this time; they belong to the north-west and are rarely found outside the Punjab. Were the Gupta coins, actually derived from the Kushan coins, one would expect the latter to be present in finds of Gupta coins, just as we find silver coins of Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I with their prototypes the coins of the western Kshatrapas. We must therefore place the origin of the Gupta coinage in a period when the Guptas had come into closer contact with the later great Kushans whose eastern Punjab coinage they copied. What historical knowledge we possess points to this variety being, not of the reign of Chandragupta I, but of that of Samudragupta to whom the 'Shahis, Shahanu Shahis and Sakas surrendered the enjoy-

ment of their territories'; and the numismatic evidence quite supports this.

The criticism involves a number of assumptions each of which has to be carefully considered before the whole position could be regarded as acceptable. The first assumption is that the coinage of the Guptas is modelled on that of the later Kushans, particularly those of the most Hinduized Kushan, Vasudeva. The specimen copied is even indicated as that particular variety of Kushano-Sassanian coins called the *Ardachsho* type. The second assumption is that this imitation of the Kushano-Sassanian coin is possible only when the Kushan territory came into either subjection or some kind of political association with the empire of the Guptas under Samudragupta. There is besides the assumption of a process of evolution in coin type, the evolution necessarily taking the form of a crude beginning and gradually rising to perfection of imitation. And lastly the process of this evolution is examined in regard to the particular called by numismatists 'Ardachsho' throne on the reverse of the coins. Each of these may be examined separately with a view to the conclusion that it may lead us to.

In the absence of other known coins in the region of Magadha, the assumption of imitation of the Kushan coins may not be so unwarranted; but it is hardly necessary to assume that the rulers of Magadha or the inhabitants were utterly ignorant and unused to currency of any kind. What is actually to the point here is, the adoption, or rather the adaptation, of a particularly attractive coin type, for the needs of the rising empire. Without going into the question how far Indian currencies are all imitations, and whether there were no coinage known in India of an indigenous type, the possibility

may be readily admitted that the coinage of the Imperial Guptas was modelled on that of the later Kushans.

It does not, however, follow as a matter of necessity that this imitation was impossible unless the Guptas were either in possession of or in some kind of intimate political contact with, the territory of the Kushans. Numismatists, and among them Mr. Allan, admit that the imitation does not proceed beyond the mechanical workmanship of the coins, and give credit for originality to the Guptas for the various devices and the legends that go with them. This admission certainly leads to the conclusion that for the idea of a suitable coinage which would embody in a visible form the newly acquired possession of the Guptas, and even give an idea as to the means by which this exaltation of the local dynasty was achieved, Chandragupta I or Samudragupta, whoever was the author of the marriage type of coins, must be given credit, and the same ruler must be held responsible for all the details of the devices and legends, admitting of imitation only in respect of the shape, size and the mechanical character of the workmanship, and perhaps even a general idea of the representation of royalty and divinities on the coins. This is the most that could be conceded in the circumstances. Since the idea of celebrating the marriage is an idea of the Guptas admittedly, the representation of the king and queen must be their own; and the idea that the influence and the prestige acquired by the Lichchavi alliance must be somehow indicated, should also have been theirs. In order to do this with the idea formed already, it is hardly necessary that one should be actually in the region where the Kushan coins were in circulation, or that the Kushan coins should have been largely in circulation in Magadha at the time. One

specimen would have done the business and that specimen could have been obtained even from a neighbouring foreign country. The real point of importance is who was it that was anxious that this historical event should receive some kind of embodiment with a view to circulation in the expanding territories of the empire. It is clear that Chandragupta I should really have had more enthusiasm for the issue of such a coinage than Samudragupta. It is not quite impossible that Samudragupta might have issued the coinage, but at the time of issue Chandragupta I must have died and it is possible that his queen consort was also dead. Samudragupta's motive therefore for perpetuating this alliance cannot be regarded as quite so clear as it must have been in the case of Chandragupta I. After all there is nothing against the possibility of Chandragupta I having come into contact with the Kushans along their eastern frontier, if he did not actually fight against them. The Guptas were already in possession of Magadha and the territories dependent upon Saketa and Allahabad. The marriage with the Lichchavis and the acquisition of their territory must have rounded off their frontier and brought the united territory to the Ganges at any rate if not farther west. The next step in advance of the Gupta power would surely have taken them to the territory of the Nagas in Muttra and Padmavati. Without even this achievement it is hard to understand how the Guptas could have put forward any pretensions to an imperial position with the slightest possibility of this being suffered or tolerated. On the face of it, it would seem likely that it is by an achievement against the Kushans, at least in the eastern half of their dominions that Chandragupta I should have gone forward to

assume the imperial title of Maharajadhiraja. The issue of coins of the *Chatra* type would be directly symbolical of this assumption; and the marriage coins would only take him one step further forward in the same direction. If, therefore, Chandragupta I adopted deliberately a plan of issuing these coins it was possible for him to have obtained not only coin specimens but even workmen engaged in the mints from the neighbouring realm of the Kushans whether he had come into contact with them politically or no. It seems therefore very probable that Chandragupta I took the pains to issue the coins under the most favourable circumstances. If he had actually done so it would explain the excellent turnout of the coins of these varieties as compared with the later issue from the mints of Magadha.

The details regarding the Ardachsho throne seems to be made a little too much of for a detail of that kind. As far as one could see from the available coins there is nothing peculiar to the throne to be called the 'Ardachsho throne'. The seat or settle, with a back or without, is the form of raised seat universally adopted in all the temples of India at the present time, and seems to have been from time immemorial the sort of seat that royalty and the people of distinction are usually provided. The Vajrasana, the Simhasana and other kinds of *asanas* are of that pattern, and there is hardly any reason to associate it in coins with the Sassanian Ardachsho. If the coins had been formed on the Kushano-Sassanian coin it is likely that this detail was also copied, but there is hardly any need for this assumption. If a goddess is to be seated, it must be on some kind of a throne, and this is the most usual kind of

throne that the Indians were aware of; so common in fact that this is imitated in stone and stucco, and constitutes the ordinary kind of seat even in middle-class houses. If the goddess of the Lichchavis is adopted, she must be seated on a throne. If the lion is somehow associated with the Lichchavis, symbolical either of their valour or constituting merely the totem of the tribe or tribes that inhabited the region of which from time immemorial *Simhabhumi* formed a part, the idea seems to have been merely to indicate the goddess seated on a throne, the lion symbolical of the people lying couchant beneath her seat. There seems no particular warrant for regarding the goddess as Lakshmi as she is rarely associated with the lion in any manner. It is just possible that she represents in a general way the 'Sri' or prosperity of the Lichchavis, or it may be a representation of the Indian Goddess of Victory. It must be noted here that the Ikshvakus and the Sakyas had the lion for their emblem; the Buddha claimed it as a Sakya and as a descendant of Ikshvaku. The title Sakyasimha applied to him may contain a reference to this.

The attenuation of the details of the throne noticed by Mr. Allan in the coins he quotes in illustration, is due to the effort of the artist to make the chair not obstruct the vision of the lion. In this effort the thinning goes on so far as to make the throne disappear as the diaphanous dresses of women folk represented in paintings and statuary work. It seems therefore building too much, to build a theory of the chronological evolution of coins on a detail like the 'Ardachsho throne'. The peculiar difficulties of the numismatists lose very considerably in force, and in respect of the

issue of these coins historical probabilities might be given the deciding influence. The superior workmanship of the coins is explained by the importation of workmen accustomed to their work, and the line of evolution need not be and had not always been, along the lines of progress. Retrogression is always possible. Samudragupta seems to have been out and out a man of literary taste; with a single exception he never gives his coins a simple device on the obverse; and the inscription on the reverse has always some organic relation to the longer and more descriptive device on the obverse. These characteristics of his devices are absent in the two varieties with which we are particularly concerned. We may therefore conclude that both the *Chatra* type with the simpler obverse legend and the marriage type were issues of Gupta coins by Chandragupta I himself and not by Chandragupta II and Samudragupta respectively. This conclusion would naturally lead us on to the consideration of the posthumous Meharauli inscription of a ruler by name Chandra to which we shall proceed.

III.—Meharauli Pillar Inscription of Chandra[9]

Meharauli, the corrupt form of Mihirapuri, is a village about nine miles south of Delhi containing the famous Kutub Minar. In the courtyard of the building, and not far from the great Kutub, is the Iron Pillar bearing this

9. This is published from Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, No. 32, III, pp. 139-142) through the kind permission of the Hon'ble Mr. Montague Butler, [now His Excellency Sir Montague Butler], as Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Education, etc. The text is an exact copy of Fleet's; the translation is mine.

record of Chandra. According to Fleet, the characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving in so hard a substance as the iron of this column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahabad posthumous Pillar inscription of[10] Samudragupta.'

According to V. A. Smith 'the late Dr. Hoernle, the greatest authority on this subject' is of a similar opinion so far as the palaeography of the record is concerned.

The record is in perfect preservation and there is no doubtful reading in it with the possible exception of only one letter, even in regard to which the difference seems to be not so much in regard to its character as the interpretation of the word *dhavena* in line 6 of the inscription. Notwithstanding the fact that the letter *dh* is unlike the *dh* occurring 'six times in the record elsewhere,' it admits of little doubt that it is a *dh* that was meant. The only defect is an unmeant break in the loop. I am assured that the form *dhavena*[11] is correct in the sense of pure, cleansed, etc. Hence there is no need to look for a proper name *Dhava* as that of *Chandra*. The name of the ruler is undoubtedly Chandra, as it is described Chandrahva, named Chandra clearly, notwithstanding the comparison that follows. The record translated is set below with the text.

1. *Yasyōdvarttayataḥ pratīpamurasā 'śatrūn samētyāgatān*[12] *Vangēshvāhavarttinō—bhilikhitā khaḍgēna kīrtir bhujē* ||

10. No. I, Plate I. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions.

11. *See* Whitney's Sanskrit roots, p. 83.

12. Bengal referred to in line 1 is a place where the war actually took place. But the phrase immediately before the term

2. *tīrtva sapta mukhāni yēna samarē sindhōrjjitā*
Vaḥlikā[13] *Yasyādyāpyadhivāsyatē jalanidhir vīryā-*
nilaird-Dakshiṇaḥ ||

indicates the coming together of a certain number of those inimical to Chandra. This implies that a number of those ill-affected to Chandra confederated and attacked his territory from the side of Bengal. The statement is that he won a victory against them by pressing them back.

13. The term 'Bahlika', used in line 2 has been much misunderstood. The learned scholar, Pandit Haraprasad Sastri and several others who follow him have alike taken it to mean the people living round Balkh. The term has really no reference here to Balkh as such. The Bahlikas are known as ruling in the Punjab. According to the *Mahabharata,* Karnaparva, Chaps. 37-38, Salya, was ruler of this region with his capital Sakala, I think, in the present Ludhiana Dt. The territory is actually defined as being between the Satlej and the Beas in one place and in another as being watered by the Satlej, Ravi and Beas (Satadru, Iravati and Vipasa). In that well-known episode of the altercation between Salya and Karna, some curious features of the Bahlika society come in for unfavourable comment by Karna. In the Udyoga Parva, chapter 49, occurs the statement that Devapi, the son of Pratipa, had a son Bahlika who was adopted by his maternal uncle. Both Devapi and Bahlika were set aside, and Santanu succeeded to the throne, indicating, in all probability, that this Bahlika gave the name to the locality. It was perhaps this connection that was the cause of the trouble when the alliance of Salya was sought by both the parties. We may presumably therefore look for the Bahlikas within the frontiers of India without going so far out as Balkh. In considering the provenance of the various Prakrit languages and among them Suraseni, three divisions of Suraseni find mention: Avantika, Bahlika and Takkika. (*Ind. Antiq.*, LVI, Grierson's Apabramsa Stabakas of Rama Sarman). Avantika should mean naturally the language of Avanti, the region of Malva, Takkika belonging to Takka, Hiuen T'sang's Tcheka, Eastern Punjab. Bahlika therefore would have to be looked for between these two, Suraseni itself being in a region on the inner border of this curve,

3. *Khinnasyēva visṛjya gām narapatērg-gām āśṛtasyētarām mūrttyā karmmajitāvanim gatavataḥ kīrttya sthitasya kshitau*[14] ||

4. *Śāntasyēva mahāvanē hutabhujō yasyapratāpō mahān nādyapyutsṛjati praṇāśitā ripōr yatnasya śēshaḥ*[15] *kshitau* ||

5. *Praptēna svabhujārjjitam cha suchiram ch aikādhirājyam*[16] *kshitau Chandrāhvēna*[17] *samagrachandra sadṛśīm vaktra śṛiyam bibhratā* ||

Malva, Rajaputana and the Punjab, close to the borders of the Gangetic Doab. The *Puranas* themselves located a dynasty of three Bahlika rulers in the region of Mahismati on the Narmada. It would therefore be legitimate to look for the Bahlikas in a portion of India, which would necessitate the crossing of the seven mouths of the Indus in the war against them. The reference to the Bahlikas in line 2 therefore must be specifically a successful war against the Bahlikas in the region of Sindh.

14. The third line has not been properly translated on the whole. What is meant to be said there is that Chandra removed his physical body from the earth but lived in it in fame, and that is what is expressed by his giving up the earth only to go on to another world to live in. While therefore he may be regarded as having left the earth which he conquered, his fame did not leave it, but found a permanent home there.

15. The substance of line 4 is that like the great forest fire which, having completely burnt the forest out and subsided, lay covered over with ashes, so also the fire of this ruler's valour, though it might seem extinguished, having completely destroyed the efforts of his enemies, still remains dormant in the recollection of those who had suffered from it, as the forest fire itself.

16. In line 5 occurs clearly the term *aikādhirājayam*. This means 'the sole sovereignty of the earth.' What is stated here is this sole sovereignty was acquired by him, by the effort of his own arms, and by a long-continued effort as such, which means that, whoever Chandra was, by a long-continued effort of his, he achieved empire on earth.

6. *Tēnāyam praṇidhāya bhūmipatinā dhāvēna*[18] *Vishṇor (au) matim prāmśur Vishṇu padē girau bhagavatō Vishṇōr-dhvaja*[19] *sthāpitaḥ* ||

The enemies who, having come together, carried on war in the territory of Bengal, he turned back after having breasted their joint attack with success, and by

17. The name Chandra is clearly stated in line 5 to be the name of the individual, Chandra-*āhvēṇa* by the name Chandra. A confusion has been imported into the verse by bringing in an unnecessary confusion from the simple comparison in the next term between his face and Chandra, the moon. But the use of the term *āhvēṇa* leaves no doubt whatsoever that Chandra was the name of the individual.

18. The term *'dhāvēna'* in line 6 has been the cause of some discussion. Cunningham thought the letter was different from 6 other *dhas* occurring in the inscription, although he read the word *dhāvēna*. The letter, as it is in the record, makes no closer approach to *bha* than to *dha*. As *dha*, it merely shows a cut in the loop. But the cut is not enough to make it a Gupta *bha*. The general formation of the letter leaves no doubt that what was meant was the *dha* in spite of the slight imperfection in the execution of the letter. The next difficulty was as to its meaning. It means no more than pure, clean, etc., the same word that gives us *dhāvanam,* meaning 'cleaning.' The word takes the form in the verse to be in accord with the instrumental singular *bhūmipatinā,* and therefore takes the form of the masculine instrumental singular. It simply means the pure-minded ruler of the earth.

19. The combined expression, Vishnor-dhvaja was misunderstood by Vincent Smith to mean that, on the column there must have been a standing figure of Vishnu. Vishnor-dhvaja does not mean the dhvaja or flag which has Vishnu on the top of it. It simply means the flag of Vishnu, which is a Garuda flag. The surmounting figure on the column must have been Garuda, the vehicle as well as the ensign of Vishnu, and which, by the way, happens to be the ensign on the seal of the Guptas as well. It may be too much to infer from this feature alone that the Chandra

so doing, wrote his fame on his arms with the sword (the sword-cuts on his arms remained the emblems of his fame as victor); having crossed the seven mouths of the Indus (Sindhu), he inflicted a defeat on the Bahlikas; the southern ocean is still redolent with the breeze of his valour.

As if tired, he left this world only to pass on to another, leaving in body the earth which he conquered, while yet he made it the permanent abode of his fame. Like the ash-covered fire which burnt out a great forest, the fame of his great valour, after having completely destroyed the efforts of his enemies, does not leave the earth as yet.

Having a face with all the beauty of the full moon and bearing the name Chandra, he acquired on earth the sole rule of the earth by long continued efforts of his own arms.

By that ruler of the earth, who, pure in mind, placed his faith in Vishnu, this tall flag-staff of holy Vishnu was set on the hill *Vishnupada*.

The place in which the column was originally planted was apparently a Vishnu temple which is said to have been situated on the hill called Vishnupada. Whether this description would answer to the actual position of the pillar as it is at present has been called into question, since it is said to be in a hollow between two hills, as it is now. Since V. A. Smith states in his article on the subject in the *J.R.A.S* for 1897, that the pillar is still in the temple constructed by Anangapal, one may well doubt whether it has been removed from its original

referred to is a Chandragupta whether it be the first or the second of the name belonging to the Gupta dynasty.

place. He suggests that it might have been originally a hill near Mathura (Muttra). It is hardly necessary for the case as the name Vishnupada might have been given to one part of the hill near Delhi, as a similar name Sripada is given to an eminence like this in the place called now Biyana, sometimes Bayana, along the road leading south from Delhi some distance away. If that place could be called Sripadam, a similar place further north, it is not unlikely, had the name Vishnupadam in the age of the Guptas.

The first historical point in the inscription is, the bare fact of a successful war which Chandra conducted against enemies confederated against him in the region of Bengal. The next point is that he conducted presumably a successful war against the Bahlikas, *not in their homeland of Bactria,* but comparatively remote from it *by getting across the seven mouths of the Indus.* In other words, it was the people Bahlikas who were defeated in the region of Sindhu by his actually crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. The direction of this campaign therefore is across Malva, Rajputana and Sindh against enemies in that region. The point which does not appear to have received adequate attention is that he attained in this world, the position of *ēka-adhirājya* (sole empire) by the valour of his arms and by long continued effort of his. The reference here is clearly to the establishment of empire. That empire was established by the efforts of the individual Chandra, and these efforts were long and arduous. The interpretation of the term 'suchiram' an indeclinable expression ought certainly to follow the corresponding expression of the previous term. If the acquisition is by his own arms it is that acquisition which took time to make and

the expression 'praptam' seems to warrant a long continued effort at acquiring. All these, though minor, are points very material to the question. The last point calling for attention is that the inscription is meant merely to make the statement that the flag-staff of Vishnu was set up by this Adhiraja Chandra. In regard to the first point the inscription makes it clear that it was a frontier war on the side of Bengal of Chandra. His enemies were, probably a number of them, confederated against him, they might have included the Bengalis and others than Bengalis, and might mean people other than Bengalis. The really material point is that it was a successful war undertaken by Chandra against his confederated enemies on the Bengal frontier. To say that we do not know that Chandragupta I conquered Bengal is to beg the question. That point will become clear later, but it must be borne in mind here that this was a victory won by a man whose aspiration was to establish an *adhirajya.*

Coming to the second point, the explanation seems to be offered by a study of the coinage of the Kshatrapas. Professor Rapson whose study of the Kshatrapa coins is the most complete so far, finds that the period extending from A.D. 305 to 348 is marked by great political changes, and one clear indication of these is that the office of the Maha-Kshatrapas was in abeyance during the period. In the first part of the period extending up to 332 we have coins of only two Kshatrapas; in the latter part of the period Kshatrapa coinage ceases altogether. Professor Rapson draws the inference therefrom that 'all the evidence afforded by coins or the absence of coins during this period—the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the Maha-Kshatrapas and afterwards of both Maha-

Kshatrapas and Kshatrapas—seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the western Kshatrapas were subjected to some foreign invasion, but the nature of these disturbing causes is, at present, altogether doubtful and must remain so until more can be known of the history of the neighbouring peoples during this period.' It must be remembered that this has reference to the period 305 to 348, a period of about 43 years in Gupta history. This corresponds to the whole period of the *adhirajya* of Chandragupta by common acceptance and a part of the period of the empire of Samudragupta. We shall not attempt now to allot the period between the two. According to the now accepted chronology of the Vakatakas, that would correspond to the reign of Pravarasena I when the Vakataka kingdom underwent a great expansion, an expansion which began under his predecessor, but was carried on very largely under Pravarasena himself, so that he became more or less the ruler of Malva. The point which has to be specially noted in connection with this expansion of the territory of the Vakatakas is that the Vakataka inscriptions uniformly give Pravarasena credit for a capital in the region north of the Vindhyas, and ascribes to him the celebration of a number of great sacrifices all of which would go to make up the performances of a number of *Asvamedhas*. What is more specifically to the point, he is given the title *Samrat*, another of the long-recognized titles of emperors like *Adhiraja* itself. This extension of Vakataka territory and influence must have been really at the expense of the Kshatrapas, the main block of whose territory was in Malva with extensions undoubtedly westwards into Gujarat, and south-westwards into Konkan. If Pravarasena extended his territory in the direction

of Malva and acquired important possessions there, it must necessarily mean the shrinkage of the territory under the Kshatrapas which must bring about as a consequence the abolition of the larger title *Maha-Kshatrapa* and the retention of the smaller title *Kshatrapa*. If, in the course of the decay and destruction practically of the power of the Kshatrapas, Chandragupta played his part, it would be nothing unlikely; but the Vakataka power itself seems to have passed through a period of storm and stress at the end of Pravarasena's reign, as according to the Vakataka inscriptions again, Pravarasena's grandson Rudrasena I who succeeded to the throne after him came to a diminished heritage which involved the dropping of the imperial title *Samrat*. In addition to this the inscriptions offer the information that his maternal grandfather a Naga chieftain rendered yeoman service in the maintenance of the possessions of the dynasty though seriously diminished in lustre by the dropping of the title *Samrat*. Vakataka chronology, which very unfortunately has not yet attained to the degree of perfection which history would require, is sufficiently known to make Chandragupta I contemporary with the latter part of the reign of Pravarasena and perhaps the whole of that of Rudrasena I. If the expansion of the Vakataka power under Pravarasena received a check either at the end of his reign or immediately after, it must have been either from the rising power of Chandragupta I, or of the reviving power of the Kshatrapa. But the Kshatrapas revival had not yet begun and the inference that it was Chandragupta who was responsible for the check becomes almost inevitable. If he succeeded so far, even temporarily, it would be one step further in advance in the progress of Chandragupta to get across

the whole of the territory of the Kshatrapas and defeat them and their allies who might be generally described as Bahlikas[20] by the Hindus. It is also possible that the rise of the Sassanian power in Persia dislodged some of the tribes from the region of Bactria and it is equally possible that a body of them tried to effect a lodgment along with their kinsmen on the frontier of Sindh. It was essential to the position of an imperial aspirant that in the decaying condition of the Kshatrapa power this must be stopped, and a victory against them claimed by Chandragupta I does not at all seem improbable in the political condition of the times. If the Bahlikas were a people in the eastern Punjab as the *Mahabharata* reference and the inference that can be drawn from the Bahlika being a branch of the Suraseni Prakrit would give as to understand, then a war against the Bahlikas would be a natural process in the course of expansion of the rising Gupta power into what was the neighbouring territory of the Kushans in the Punjab. But the actual reference in the inscription of Chandra to his having crossed the seven mouths of the Indus for a final victory against the Bahlikas gives us the indication that the war had to be carried on across the whole region occupied by the successors of the Kushans under the viceroyalty of the Kshatrapas and the Maha-Kshatrapas of Malva whose territory in the height of their power included all the territory extending westwards from Malva into Saurashtra, Sauvira and Sindh. The same causes that brought about the subversion of the Kushans in the north-west must have introduced a great disturbance in

20. Note Bahlika a branch of the Sauraseni Prakrit between Avanti and Takkika.

the position of the Kshatrapas, and perhaps culminated in the cessation of the title Maha-Kshatrapa referred to above. That disturbed condition must have been taken advantage of by the rising power of the Guptas on the one side and by the extending power of the Vakatakas on the other.

If Chandragupta's accession to the empire involved, in the course of it, a war against the confederated enemies on the Bengal side and another war or even protracted diplomacy against the Vakatakas who had already risen to importance, and if it involved operations against the Kshatrapas and across the frontier of their territory against their kinsmen from the distant north, his efforts at the establishment of the empire must be described as having been of long duration, and the achievement when it did come is all to the credit of the valour of his arms. It would be not vanity, but would be the normal thanksgiving of a devoted mind, if he built a temple to his tutelary god Vishnu, or merely planted a flag-staff to an already existing temple of Vasudeva bearing upon it a record of his deeds. In a moment of fervour like that he would naturally describe himself not in all the paraphernalia of empire, but with the mere name, such as the ordinary Brahman now-a-days has to describe himself when he performs his prostrations of salutation to an elderly man or other object of holy veneration. As the inscription contains a clear statement in regard to his death, the inscription is regarded as a posthumous one. It is not absolutely necessary however that it should be so. It is possible to imagine that he meant the record to be put up on the pillar when he should have died and not while he was alive. In that sense it would be merely analogous to the sloka

in the *Mrichchakatika* where a similar statement occurs, and which on that account is regarded as a posthumous addition by somebody else. It is not impossible to believe that people who could make wills and dispositions of their properties after death, could make similar arrangements, if they considered these of sufficient importance, for putting up a record of their own achievements in their own way. Hence this inscription is posthumous in the sense that it was inscribed after his death, but it is not necessary that the inscription was necessarily written after. Even if it was, it would be nothing inappropriate with a successor like Samudragupta coming to the throne after him.

The matter, however, has been a great deal discussed by other scholars and their position must be examined as to how far they materially bear against this position.

The late Dr. Fleet, who published the inscription in his volume of the Gupta inscriptions, the *Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum*, in discussing the palaeographical character of the record expressed the opinion, somewhat hesitatingly though, that the Chandra of this record may be Chandragupta I. The discovery of a record of a Chandravarman inscribed on the face of a rock, called Sisunia rock near Ranigunj, started a new discussion as to the actual identity of this Chandravarman and in the course of this discussion two opinions had been put forward, prominently. One of these identifies Chandra of the Meharauli inscription with Chandragupta II and the other is that the Chandra of the Meharauli inscription is no other than Chandravarman of the Sisunia record. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Sastri sponsored the second opinion, identifying Chandra of

the Meharauli inscription with Chandravarman of the Sisunia rock. The late Dr. Vincent Smith held the opinion that Chandra of the Meharauli inscription must be Chandragupta II. The Mahamahopadhyaya has since published the Sisunia record of Chandravarman and another inscription of a Naravarman, both of them rulers of Pushkarana, in the *Epigraphia Indica* and it is these that form the basis of his conclusion.[21] Vincent Smith's disquisition was contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*[22] to which reference has already been made. More recently Mr. Radha Govinda Basak made an attempt in the columns of the *Indian Antiquary* to revert to the old opinion of Dr. Fleet, and identify Chandra of Meharauli with Chandragupta I. This evoked a reply which is unnecessarily polemic in character, from Mr. R. D. Banerji and published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.[23] The Mahamahopadhyaya's publication of the inscriptions of the rulers of Pushkarana gives us the following information. The inscription on the Sisunia rock first published in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* by Babu Nagendranath Basu, is an inscription which tells us no more than that the chief among the devoted servants of Chakrasvami (Vishnu), who was ruler of Pushkarana and the son of Maharaja Sri Simhavarman who calls himself Maharaja Sri Chandravarman set up the record. It is obviously a Vaishnava inscription and except indicating the devotion of the ruler of distant Pushkarana by name Chandravarman, it tells us absolutely nothing more; but the

21. Vols. XIII, 133 and XII, 315 *ff*.
22. Vol. for 1897, pp. 1-18.
23. Vol. XIV, pp. 368-71.

Gangadhar record of a Naravarman of Pushkarana, the second record published by the Pandit, describes Naravarman who was, in all probability a Vaishnava also, as a powerful and valiant ruler of Pushkarana, son of a Simhavarman and grandson of Jayavarman. In his reign a grant was made. The inscription does not record any suzerain of this Naravarman. He is described only as a Maharaja. It gives a date which is equivalent to A.D. 404 and this places him in the reign of Chandragupta II. On the strength of the identity of name of the father of this Naravarman and of Chandravarman of the Sisunia record and of the fact that both are described as rulers of Pushkarana, the Mahamahopadhyaya made Chandravarman and Naravarman brothers. This may be accepted without demur. Two other records were published by the late Dr. Fleet himself, the Gangadhar record of a Visvavarman, son of this Naravarman, and the Mandasor pillar inscription of Kumaragupta where Visvavarman's son Bandhuvarman is described as Kumaragupta's feudatory. The Gangadhar record is dated A.D. 426 which must be allotted to the reign of Kumaragupta. He is not there described as a feudatory. Though his name is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of A.D. 436 and though it is possible to take, from the reference there to Visvavarman, that he might have been a feudatory of Kumaragupta he is taken to be not a feudatory on the strength of the Gangadhar record. Even this point may be conceded; but so far, none of these records of the rulers of Pushkarana gives us any clue whatsoever to identify the Chandravarman of the Sisunia rock inscription with the Chandra of the Meharauli inscription. The position is somewhat further complicated by the mention of a ruler Chandra-

varman among the rulers of Aryavarta uprooted by Samudragupta in the Allahabad pillar inscription. It is just possible he is the same as Chandravarman of the Sisunia record; and it may even be allowed that this uprooting of Chandravarman by Samudragupta caused the retirement of this family of rulers to the somewhat more remote sequestered portion of Rajaputana, round Pushkarana, their original home. Even after making all this allowance which seems admissible, it does not take us very far towards helping us to identify Chandravarman of this record with Chandra of the Meharauli pillar inscription. Chandra describes himself only as a Maharaja and gives us no hint even in his remote Bengal inscription that he either aspired or attained to *adhirajya*. In the Sisunia record which must be regarded as much of an inscription of devotion to Vishnu as that of the Meharauli pillar, he has taken care to give himself the full name Chandravarman and give the name of his father, whereas in the Meharauli pillar the name given as Chandra is of an entirely different character. The relative position of Pushkarana, Delhi and Muttra and of the Sisunia rock is in the form of a somewhat large triangle with Delhi at its apex, the Sisunia rock and Pushkarana forming the two ends of the rather long base. There is no need however for a Pushkarana ruler if he extended his territory to the frontiers of Bengal, the extension should necessarily include within it Delhi or the region near it. It seems therefore impossible to accept that these records give us any lead as to the identification of Chandra of the Meharauli inscription with Chandravarman excepting that Chandravarman of the Sisunia rock is the Chandravarman, ruler of Pushkarana, and taking it along with

the fact that Samudragupta found it necessary to uproot a Chandravarman among the rulers of Aryavarta, the conditions necessary seem to be satisfied if we assume that Chandravarman of Pushkarana was an aggressive ruler, who attempted to take advantage, with some success, of the accession of Samudragupta to the throne and carried on an incursion into his territory of which there is some indication in the Harisena inscription, though mutilated. We could understand his putting up the Sisunia inscription as a result of this temporary success. If Samudragupta turned round upon him as soon as he returned from his southern expedition not for the purpose of turning him back, but to put him altogether beyond power of mischief, which is what seems implied in the statement in the Harisena inscription regarding the monarchs of Aryavarta, we should have gone as far as the matter contained in these records could take us. There seems therefore little positive ground for assuming that Chandravarman of the dynasty of Pushkarana is at all the individual referred to as Chandra in the Meharauli pillar inscription.

This identification having nothing to support it, the only other possibility is whether the Chandra of the Meharauli pillar is Chandragupta II. The whole set of arguments adduced in favour of this identification resolve themselves into a mere repetition of a number of assumptions regarding Chandragupta I and the foundation of the Gupta dynasty; for none of this is there any positive irrefutable evidence. The assumption of the shortness of the reign of Chandragupta I rests upon other assumptions that he issued no coins of his own, that there are no inscriptions of his forthcoming, that he did nothing except to marry a wife,

and even that he did not call himself Adhirajya and that it was his successors who did so. What is more surprising is the statement in Mr. Banerji's note that Chandragupta's name is not mentioned in any inscription before that of his grandson dated 92 G.E. The Harisena inscription does contain a genealogy beginning with Maharaja Sri Gupta, his son Ghatotkacha, who is also described only as a Maharaja and it comes down to Chandragupta I, who is described Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandragupta. That responsible sovereign under whose authority the inscription was issued should have taken a mere fancy to give his father a higher title and should stop short in that fancy with the name of his grandfather, is something which may be rather difficult to understand without some reason to support the ascription of the title to Chandragupta and not giving it to his father. In fairness both to Samudragupta, the approving authority, and to Harisena the writer of the document, we ought to hold that both of them believed there was some reason which justified the giving of the title Maharajadhiraja to Chandragupta and that justification or the validity did not hold in their estimation for extending that title to his father. If so Chandragupta I must have been a man of far greater achievements than modern scholars have so far been inclined to ascribe to him.[24] In regard to Chandragupta II we have some inscriptions and other sources of information such as coins and even information from literary sources. So far, the only positive achievement ascribed to him is the destruction of the power of the Kshatrapas

24. This is supported by the statement in the record about his anxiety in regard to a successor.

in Gujarat, possibly Western Malva. After the achievement of Chandragupta as recorded in the Harisena inscription nothing more seems to be called for to round off the empire, and Chandragupta had done that. About the time that Chandragupta must have been active on this side of his empire Shahpur II must have been on the Sassanian throne of Persia and he was active both on the north-western and the eastern frontier of Persia which must have kept people on this frontier preparing themselves to meet the aggressive expansion of his power. The period of Chandragupta I's rule on the contrary, and perhaps the generation preceding him, were periods peculiarly of unrest among the tribes and people in the region extending southwards from the Hindukush to the sea. The activity of the first rulers of Sassanid Persia combined with the advance of the Huns in the Doab between the Oxus and the Jaxaretes must have had the combined effect of dislodging some of the peoples in occupation of their territories and must have brought about that movement of the Bahlikas which the Chandra of the Meharauli pillar could check by a battle on the frontiers of Sindh which he fought after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. The positive indication therefore seems to be in favour of identifying Chandra of the Meharauli pillar with Chandragupta I rather than Chandragupta II.

IV.—Founders of the Empire: Chandragupta I and Samudragupta

From this investigation it becomes clear that Chandragupta I began his life as ruler of his ancestral dominions along the banks of the Ganges, just like his

father and grandfather before him. He acquired both prestige and influence, and what is more, a very desirable addition to his territory, by the Lichchavi marriage. This new addition rounded off his frontier and brought him into touch with Bengal on the one side, and the petty states of Central India and the Punjab, on the other. At about the same time the Vakatakas must have been occupying the dominant position in the plateau region lying across the Vindhya mountains, extending to a considerable distance on either side. The long reign of Pravarasena I must either have come to an end, or was drawing to a close, and Pravarasena's claim to the position of *Samrat* must have had the effect of stimulating the ambition of Chandragupta I, leading him on to make an effort at an imperial position for himself. The question would have to be settled either by diplomacy, or by war. We have no hint on either side of a war between the two powers; but the Vakataka inscriptions of the later members of the dynasty drop out the *Samrat* after Pravarasena I in describing the other members of the dynasty. It seems therefore clear that Chandragupta I managed to get rid of the only possible rivalry in his effort, and gaining for himself the position of an imperial ruler.

The most powerful of the contemporary states having thus been put out of his way of ambition, Chandragupta I must have carried on some wars against his less powerful neighbours with a view to justify the assumption by him of the title 'Maharajadhiraja', in regard to which it must be remembered, contemporary inscriptions make a clear distinction. The Vakataka inscriptions as a whole never mix up the Maharajadhi-

raja with the somewhat inferior title 'Maharaja', and they make the distinction quite clear by applying the higher title in the grants of Pravarasena II to the contemporary Gupta ruler, and giving themselves only the lower title. Hence the assumption of a title like Maharajadhiraja by Chandragupta could not have been at the time without signifying his accession to the higher position, and such an accession could not have been brought about except by actual war, or by the threat of it, against his immediate neighbours such as they were. It is likely that he carried on a war against some petty powers on the Bengal frontier but his principal achievements must have been against his neighbours on the west and north-west. If he got the minor powers to acknowledge his overlordship, this extension of his influence would naturally bring him into contact with the successors of the Kushans in the Punjab. This state of things is what is inferable from the Meharauli inscription, and the achievement claimed therein against the Bahlikas would take him as far as the region of Sindh and Surashtra as the Puranas do mention three Bahlikas ruling for thirty years somewhere in that region; to be more precise, South-western Rajputana. This achievement need not be held to mean the destruction of the Saka power, or anything so drastic as that, but may be held to mean the defeat of the rulers of that locality and a treaty following thereon. The specific mention of three Bahlikas in the *Puranas,* and the reference to the name as Bahlikas in the inscriptions may justify our going a little further and stating that it was only this division of the foreigners that were actually defeated, without taking Chandragupta as far out as

Bactria.[25] All these doings might have involved a considerable length of time, and Chandragupta's reign need not be held to be a very short one. A reign of thirty years may perhaps be a justifiable estimate, and his rule therefore would have extended from, say, A.D. 310 to 340. This position ascribed to Chandragupta will become clear when we consider the campaigns of Samudragupta and the various powers involved in his wars.

Samudragupta came to the throne therefore, under the most favourable auspices for putting the empire of his father's foundation on a permanent footing not as a mere conventional form, but in real earnest. Great as were his character and accomplishments on the one side, and his actual achievements on the other, we are yet driven to the one fairly well-preserved inscription of his as the solitary source of information for all that he achieved. Even that single source has not been preserved to us in its complete form. There is enough of it however that has come down to us to let us know his achievements in some detail. The Allahabad pillar inscription of which the first part is badly gone has enough left of the first eight verses which describe his early education and preparation for the exalted position, to know something of his character and accomplishments as a young man. The first two *slokas* are completely gone, and we could hardly guess what they actually did contain. The third has enough left to give us an idea that he was in the field of letters an accomplished scholar, and enjoyed as such a considerable reputation among men of learning. Then follows the fourth *sloka* which is intact. It states

25. It is open to doubt whether the Bahlikas could be associated with Balkh at all.

categorically that Chandragupta, his hair standing on end with pleasure, embraced this noble son while the whole of the assembled court breathed easy (in approval), and those of equal birth witnessed with faces saddened by disappointment. Then scanning him round and round with affection, with eyes that would get to the truth and filled with tears the father told him 'May you protect this whole earth for long'. We have thus the clearest indication that he was the son chosen for his worth as successor to the empire. This naturally would have created jealousies against him in some quarters, and possibly even admiration in others, and that seems what is indicated in the *sloka* following.

Sloka 7 then follows and refers to the overthrow at the town of Pushpa (Patalipura), of two enemies Achyuta and Nagasena, and of the capturing of a descendant of Kota-Kula. This seems to imply a war possibly involving an attack on Patalipura itself. Samudragupta overthrew the enemies, destroying two of them and capturing the third. The eighth *sloka* describes him as forming 'the pale of Dharma, possessed of fame white as the rays of the moon, wisdom that pierced to the inward nature of things, and of calmness; following the path of the sacred hymns worthy of study, and capable of writing works which give powerful expression to what is contained in the minds of poets. These virtues were his. Is there any virtue, wise people consider worthy of possession, that is not in him? So far about his accomplishments as a literary man, and only one warlike achievement to his credit, that of overthrowing the enemies who attacked him in his capital. The next passage describes his prowess as a warrior, and indicates his achievements by the shining

marks of the wounds that he received in a hundred battles by various weapons of war then in legitimate use.

The next prose passage enumerates categorically the 12 kingdoms invaded by Samudragupta and mentions their kings by name who were captured by him and released, in the region of the Dakshinapatha, India south of the Narbada and Mahismati.

These are:—

1.	Mahendra	of Kosala
2.	Vyaghraraja	,, Mahakantara
3.	Mantaraja	,, Kauralaka
4.	Mahendra or Mahendragiri	,, Pishtapura
5.	Svamidatta	,, Kottur
6.	Damana	,, Erandapalli
7.	Vishnugopa	,, Kanchi
8.	Nilaraja	,, Avamukta
9.	Hastivarman	,, Vengi
10.	Ugrasena	,, Palaka
11.	Kubera	,, Daivarashtra
12.	Dhananjaya	,, Kusthalapura

and others.

Then follow the kings of Aryavarta, namely:—

1. Rudradeva
2. Matila
3. Nagadatta
4. Chandravarma
5. Ganapatinaga
6. Nagasena
7. Achyuta

8. Nandi
9. Balavarma and others.

He is said further to have reduced to his service, all the forest kings and put under tribute and obedience to his commands, the following border kingdoms :—

1. Samatata
2. Davaka
3. Kamarupa
4. Nepala
5. Kartripura

He is said similarly to have put under tribute

1. The Malava
2. Arjunayana
3. Yaudheya
4. Madraka
5. Abhira
6. Prarjuna
7. Sanakanika
8. Kaka
9. Karaparika and other tribal states.

His fame as restorer of many kings who had either lost their kingdoms, or been put out of possession, had spread over the whole earth. Distant monarchs like

1. Daivaputra
2. Shahi
3. Shahanu Shahi
4. Saka
5. Murunda
6. Simhala.

brought for his acceptance tributes of various kinds, and obtained his orders for the enjoyment of their territory

in royal writs bearing the *garuda* seal, thus indicating their service to him and spreading the greatness of his valour to the limits of the earth. His mind had deliberately taken upon itself the uplift of the poor, the humble, the helpless and the needy. His anger was kindled only in war; but he came into the world for its benefit, incorporating in himself the powers of Kubera, Varuna, Indra and Yama. His officials were constantly everywhere restoring to the defeated monarchs, their kingdoms which had been taken away from them by his own deeds of war. His mind was acute and had received excellent training. His accomplishments as a poet and musician were great, and in both these departments he put to shame Bruhaspati, and Tumburu and Narada respectively. He had established his title as a '*kaviraja*' by writing many works which would have proved the means for learned men. He was human only to the extent of putting the affairs of the earth in order, but otherwise a celestial being who had made the world his temporary home. Such was the great grandson of *Maharaja* Sri Gupta; the grandson of *Maharaja* Sri Ghatotkacha, the son of *Maharajadhiraja* Sri Chandragupta. He was also the daughter's son of the raja of the Lichchavis, and was born of Mahadevi-Kumaradevi. This was Maharajadhiraja Sri Samudragupta. He planted this pillar as if it were the arm of the earth in order that the fame of his conquest of the whole earth and of the great prosperity that, in consequence, became his, might be proclaimed to heaven itself; whose fame grown in quantity by his valour, by his virtue and by his learning spreads through the three worlds in all directions, making them holy as if it were the white purifying water of the Ganges, first imprisoned in and

then released from, the matted locks of Pasupati (Siva). This *Kavya* was composed by the Sandhi-Vigrahika Kumara-Amatya Mahadandanayaka Harisena son of Mahadandanayaka Dhruvabhuti Khadyatapakika whose mind was drawn out by the favour of the great monarch at the service of whose feet this servant had the near access to his person. May this be for the good of the world. This was put into writing by another servant at the feet of Paramabhattaraka, Mahadandanayaka Tilabhattaka.

Matter in this valuable document can be divided readily into two sections. The first of these has relation to his education and accomplishments, and the second relates to his achievements of historical value. We may pass over the first and take up the second. He was chosen from among a number of sons probably, and this choice created both satisfaction and dissatisfaction. This does not appear to have created trouble adequately effective to prevent his accession to the throne. The achievement of Samudragupta against Achyuta, Nagasena and the ruler of the Kota family in Pushpapura may have been an attack by these monarchs in combination against the capital Patna. Samudragupta achieved distinction in war by playfully defeating and turning them out from the capital. This has apparently reference to an achievement by the prince soon after his nomination by the father, whether it be actually after his accession or not. Achyuta has been identified with a ruler of Ahichchatra as a few coins of Achyuta, are extant in this region. Of the other two, Nagasena and the raja of Kota we have no information which would lead to any identification. That seems to be the only war that Samudragupta had to undertake near home. The rest of his campaigns seem

to be cast in the epic form of a *digvijaya.* The direction which called for his attention first was the south, and the eleven kingdoms and their rulers mentioned are all of them capable of location along the east coast:—Kosala and Mahakantara are both of them regions in the Vindhyas in the eastern half of the peninsula. Pistapura is what is now known as Pittapuram, which was long the headquarters of one of the petty Chalukya kingdoms in the centuries following. Kottur or Kottura may be one of several places of the name in the same region without going so far out as Coimbatore to find a place answering to the name. Erandapalli has recently been identified with Elamanchili-Kalinganagara in the Vizagapatam district. Kanchi is the well-known place in the south and the capital of the Pallavas. Avamuktaka has not so far been satisfactorily identified. Vengi mentioned is the Peddavegi in the Ellore taluk, capital of the Eastern Chalukyas, and the king Hastivarman of this place may have been the Salankayana chieftain. Palaka is another place in the same region which figures oftentimes as one of the alternative capitals of the Pallavas. Daivarashtra has also been identified with Kalinganagara in the Ganjam district. Kusthalapura also must be a place in that region although the exact identification of the place has not yet been reached.[26] In respect of Kauralaka, the word from which it is derived would stand Kurala. This had been modified into Kairalaka[27] and Kerala respectively by

26. There is a river Kusasthali south of the Krishna mentioned in the *Kalingattuparani* poem.

27. Here is a tribe of people *kairāḷaka* mentioned among those of the southern region in the Bṛhat Samhita of Varāhamihira (ch. xiv. 11-16). Fleet: *Indian Antiquary*, xvii, p. 171.

Dr. Fleet, and has been fruitful of a considerable amount of misconception in regard to the place itself, and the extent and character of the invasion referred to. It has nothing whatever to do with *Kerala,* and it will not be surprising if the Kurala of the inscription finds its modern equivalent in Kurdha in Ganjam the Railway junction. The southern limit of Samudragupta's invasion is undoubtedly Kanchi, and the invasion seems to have been undertaken along the east coast coming probably by the interrior road and doubling back along the coast road. There is no need to be unduly sceptical about an actual invasion which could have meant no more than the demand for submission and acknowledgment of the title to the *adhirajya* of Samudragupta. The region in the interior of the Dakhan must have been, as was pointed out already, in the possession of the Vakatakas, at least the greater part of it, and the omission of any place in that region in this southern list is clear indication of the existence of an alliance between the Guptas and the Vakatakas indicated before. If these somewhat petty rulers of the Dakshinapatha acknowledged his authority without a fight, or submitted after showing fight, in either case, the expression that he captured them and set them free again could be justified as a poetical expression. So then, the region of the south, not exactly in the occupation of the Vakatakas, had been brought under subjection by this southern expedition.

The next list has reference to the rulers of Aryavarta of whom as many as nine are named. Among the nine no more than two or three are capable of any kind of identification in our present state of knowledge of the political geography of this region; but it must be noted however that the term Aryavarta here is

not to be taken in the wider sense of the term, and would correspond merely to what the Buddhists called the middle kingdom answering to the region of the Doab with a considerable margin on the western side of the Jumna and taking within it a considerable block of territory in what is now Central India in the south and the Punjab in the north. As the *Puranas* have reference to Naga rulers in Padmavati (Padam Pavaya, twenty-five miles north-east of Narwar) and Muttra, Nagadatta and Ganapatinaga may be regarded as rulers on this particular frontier. The Chandravarman that is referred to here may be the Chandravarman of Pushkarana who claims a victory as far east as the frontiers of east Bengal, and who was probably the author of the Susunia inscription. Nagasena and Achyuta may be the same rulers already referred to as taking part in the attack on Patalipura. Thus several of these, if not all, were kings of the western frontier, rather an extended frontier, than what could have been the actual western frontier of the ancestral kingdom of the Guptas. The actual conquest of these brought him the submission of the forest tribes of Mahakantara without a fight. If the Vyagra of the Nachne-ki-Talai can be taken to be the Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara, the great forest country would have lain in the region extending from Bundelkhand southwestward.

The third list has reference to the border kingdoms completely. The first three among them, Samatata, Davaka and Kamarupa, are the three kingdoms on the eastern frontier from the Bay of Bengal to the Himalayas in order, and then follow the two sub-Himalayan states of Nepal and Kartripura. That settles the eastern and northern frontiers of his dominions. Along the outer

frontier of the west and south-west were the various tribes, and nine such are given in the list next following. The Malavas are the well-known tribes inhabiting the region of Malva, perhaps more west than east. Arjunayana, Yaudheya and Madraka must have been tribes occupying the territory extending northwards of the territory of the Malavas and occupying the eastern part of what is now the Punjab. The Yaudheyas are actually located in the region of Biyana, not far from Muttra. The Abhira, Prarjuna and Sanakanika, seem to have been tribes in the western part of the Vindhyan region and to the southward of it. Kaka and Karaparika are not known from other sources to lead to a location. Then come a list of kings farther west and south, who are described as distant monarchs. Among these are mentioned Daivaputra, one of the titles assumed by the later Kushans, the Shahi, perhaps a Kushan kingdom in the reign of Kabul, Shahanu-Shahi, the chief of the imperial Kushan kingdom in Bactria. Then follow the Sakas in the region of Sindh and farther east, and Murunda generally taken to be a tribe of the Hunas or the Parthians; and last of all follows Símhala or Ceylon, as if to indicate that between Kanchi of Vishnugopa and distant Ceylon no kingdom had been heard of by name by the great Gupta monarch or his court. This list of the states in different stages of political connection with the rising empire of the Guptas gives us a fairly clear indication of the extent of the Gupta empire at the time. It included the ancestral territory of the Guptas that is the provinces of Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the whole of the Madras Presidency as far south as Kanchi, and the greater half of Central India on the eastern side, and a considerable portion of Rajputana

extending to the frontiers of Bhawalpur; the northern frontier perhaps continuing along the banks of the Jhelum and Chenab to the frontier of Kashmir. The part that is omitted in Hindustan is clear. On the east are the independent three kingdoms, on the north are Nepal and others and on the west are the Kushan and the connected kingdoms extending towards Bactria. The portion omitted in the Central region of Hindustan, particularly the plateau portion and the whole of the Dakhan extending southwards to the end of the plateau is significant. No part of this vast region seems to be included in any of the five lists given separately as kingdoms reduced to subordination, or put under tributary alliance, or in any other way brought into political relationship with Samudragupta. If Samudragupta did do anything with them, by way of bringing about a political relationship of whatever kind it may be, the chances are, he would surely have had it mentioned in this inscription. The fact of the omission is very significant. The whole of this region more or less seems to have been under the Vakatakas, and if their position as an independent power, though in subordinate alliance, had been recognized by his father as was suggested before, we can understand the omission of any reference to them in Samudragupta's inscription. The Vakatakas, as was pointed out already, were apparently the dynasty of Vindhyasakti of the *Puranas,* who held their authority originally in the territory composed of a part of Central India and Berar, and therefrom extended both northwards and southwards to take in at one time all the territory extending from Bundelkhand in the north to the Southern Mahratta country in the south. That would mean practically the whole of the plateau region of the

Dakhan and Central India, leaving the coast strips on either side and perhaps even the adjacent march of territory in the occupation of other kingdoms. The only chronological datum available so far is the marriage of Chandragupta II's daughter Prabhavati with Rudrasena II, Vakataka. That would make Rudrasena II a somewhat younger contemporary of Chandragupta II. The late Dr. Vincent Smith attempts to fix a precise date for this alliance, and takes it to be somewhere about A.D. 390 when he must have effected the conquest of the western Sakas or Kshatrapas. This is hardly necessary from the position, and seems to have little justification in the relative position of the powers. Rudrasena's immediate predecessor, his father, was Prithvisena I, and according to the few details which the Ajanta cave inscription gives us regarding him, he was by far the most powerful member of the dynasty who succeeded to a well-compacted kingdom and ruled over it for a long time. It is in his reign, according to this same inscription and others ascribable to him, that the Vakataka territory must have reached the greatest extent. The Ajanta inscription referred to above gives him credit for the conquest of Kuntala, almost the most southerly region of his extended territory, and his own inscriptions are found in the northern part of Bundelkhand, not very far from Allahabad, where a feudatory of his by name Vyaghra[28] had cut out, on the face of the living rock, inscriptions making a gift for the spiritual benefit of his parents. This Prithvisena must have been the contemporary of Samudragupta, and the omission of any reference to him in the Samudragupta inscription

28. *Indian Antiquary*, LV, p. 225 *ff*.

is accounted for as being due to an alliance already entered into with his father Rudrasena I, are much less possibly, even with himself. In any case the possessions of the Vakatakas in the central block of territory extending from Bundelkhand to Mysore is undoubtedly the reason that Samudragupta's invasions went down as far south as Kanchi and turned back almost along the same road in what is obviously intended for a progress in the style of a *digvijaya*. Prithvisena therefore would have been a contemporary of Samudragupta, and his son Chandragupta, and it is just possible that Prithvisena's reign was just contemporary with the last years of that of even Chandragupta I. That Chandragupta II entered into a marriage alliance with the Vakaṭakas must have been the result of the high position occupied by the Vakatakas as an almost equal power, and must have been the direct outcome of the previous political relationship of the two powers as allies. The probabilities are that Chandragupta II secured this alliance before he undertook his invasion against the Kshatrapas of the west.

In regard to the relationship of Samudragupta with Ceylon we have some unlooked for light from Chinese sources. We are indebted to Prof. Sylvain Levi for making this available to us. The king Meghavarna of Ceylon, the immediate successor of Mahasena ascended the throne according to the Ceylonese chronicle in A.B. 808 or A.D. 325 on the basis of 483 B.C. for the Nirvana of the Buddha, and is said to have ruled till A.D. 352. In his reign a couple of Buddhist monks, the senior of the two happening to be his own brother, went on a pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, and were put to a considerable amount of inconvenience during their stay

there as there was no arrangement by which they could find the means for a comfortable existence in the locality which must have been as sequestered a place then as now. On their return home they made a representation to the king that such a holy place of pilgrimage for the Buddhists should be so unprovided with convenience for Ceylonese visitors. The king then sent a mission with presents to Samudragupta and obtained his permission to build a *Vihara* and a rest-house, chiefly with a view to meet the convenience of the Ceylonese travellers, on the northern side of where the Bodhi-tree is, and that is believed to be a building which stands yet notwithstanding a certain number of occasions in which it had undergone destruction and renovation. Whether Samudragupta had any other communication with the Ceylon monarch we do not know. This is enough to indicate the establishment of a relationship of international courtesy between the two kingdoms. This mission from Ceylon must have taken place after A.D. 352, if the Ceylonese chronology is to be accepted. We shall probably have to accept it as it is almost a contemporary statement of the Ceylonese Buddhist records (and it is not impossible that there were periods in Ceylonese history when the date of the Nirvana was taken to be not 544-3 B.C.). If this mission had been undertaken by the Ceylonese monarch as the result of the great reputation of Samudragupta as his Harisena inscription makes us believe, then he must have made all his conquests so-called before that date. There is nothing impossible in this assumption as in fact, the formidable list of conquests on the face of it could not have involved any very large amount of fighting. The conquests seem to have been of the nature of a progress demanding tokens of submission with the set

object of celebrating a *Rajasuya* or an *Asvamedha.* We are in fact told that Samudragupta did celebrate the *Asvamedha,* and had signalized the event by the issue of an *Asvamedha* type of coins. If Chandragupta I had brought his immediate neighbours into subjection to himself by war, what Samudragupta had to do was merely to follow up his father's performance and establish his claims to the empire by demanding and obtaining the formal submission of the surrounding kings and governments which had already either been brought under subjection, or signified their acknowledgement of subordination. So, the whole scheme is one of progress with a view to the celebration of the *Asvamedha* which must have been celebrated sometime between A.D. 350 and A.D. 360.

Samudragupta was a sovereign of great parts and varied accomplishments, and seems to have had a remarkable turn of mind for literature and fine arts. Apart from the statement in the Harisena inscription that, in point of intellectual acumen, he put Brihaspati, the guru of the Devas to shame ; and in music, Tumburu and Narada, the divine founders of the art, the very legends on his coins indicate his unmistakable partiality for literature. Not taking into consideration the marriage type of coins which we have ascribed to Chandragupta I, there are seven types ascribed to him without a doubt, of which one belongs to Kacha. (1) Whether Kacha is another name of Samudragupta, or whether it was the name of an elder brother who succeeded to the throne immediately after the death of Chandragupta I, is matter on which there is yet no unanimity of opinion. In the face of the specific statement in the inscription of Harisena that Samudragupta was the chosen of his father

as successor, it seems unlikely, on the face of it, that another son should have set up as his father's successor, and brought on a civil war, of which apparently there is absolutely no hint given in the inscription itself. It is quite probable that Kacha was only another name of Samudragupta; it may merely be an abbreviated part of the name of Ghatotkacha, the grandfather. (2) There is one other specimen of Samudragupta's coins the so-called tiger type. The obverse legend on it is 'Vyaghra-parakrama' (having the valour of the tiger), and the legend is merely 'Raja Samudragupta'. If it could not be regarded as an issue of Samudragupta while yet he was a prince, it must have been his earliest issue. Even so, it would be difficult to explain the simple title *Raja.* The other five types all of them give invariably his name on the obverse followed by a verse or prose piece, the most striking word from it being chosen for the reverse title. (3) On the standard type we have the obverse legend *Samara-śata vitata-vijayo jitāriparājito divam jayati* (the victor of a hundred wars, unknown to defeat by his enemies, wins heaven). The reverse legend is simply *Parakrama* which might be regarded as synonymous legend with the longer legend on the obverse. (4) On the archer type is the legend *apratiratho vijitya kṣitim sucharitaḥ divaṁ jayati* (the unmatched charioteer, having conquered the earth, wins heaven by good deeds). This takes on the reverse legend *apratirathaḥ,* the first word of the obverse legend. (5) In the battle-axe type, the obverse legend given is *Kṛtānta-paraśur-jayati-ajitarājajetā-jitah* (the battle-axe of death, the conqueror of unconquered kings, unconquered of them, conqueror). The reverse legend is the first word *Kṛtānta-paraśu.* On the so-called Kacha coin there is

a similar legend, and that is what casts a doubt upon the propriety of ascribing it to a different person. The obverse legend is *Kācho gām avajitya divam karmabhir-uttamair jayati* (Kacha having acquired the world, wins heaven by excellent deeds). The reverse legend is *Sarvarājocchēttā* (the uprooter of all kings) which might be held to be synonymous with the obverse legend. (6) In the so-called lyrist type there is the simple obverse legend *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudragupta.* On the reverse is the equally simple *Samudragupta.* (7) On the *Aśvamēdha* type is the obverse legend *Rājādhirājaḥ-prithvīm-avajitya-divam-jayati aprativārya-vīryaḥ.* The corresponding reverse legend is *Aśvamēdhaparākrama.* Most of these obverse legends could be picked up in the Harisena inscription itself, or in those of his successors who, most of them seem, to have copied the expressions used in this document, and which may be in others that have not come down to us.

As a result of this detailed study, the position of Samudragupta stands out thus. He ascended the throne of his father by the choice of the latter, and the territory to which he thus became ruler consisted, to begin with, of the compact block constituting the provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces of the present day, almost completely. The Jumna might be regarded as a boundary on the west as far down as Allahabad, and an indefinite line proceeding southwards therefrom. On the eastern side of the river Ganges and its tributaries of the delta mark the boundary, and this river boundary is to be continued more or less in a straight line northwards from the bend of the river to the frontiers of Sikkim. Samudragupta's achievement actually amounts to this. He began by beating off such enemies as attempted a dismemberment of the

infant empire, and proceeded to secure the territory along the doubtful frontier of the southwest and the west. The condition of affairs on his frontier was such that the only way of asserting his overlordship was by uprooting the petty rulers of the various kingdoms, and reducing them to complete vassalage or by a complete annexation of their territory. He seems actually to have adopted both methods in respect of these states. As an indirect consequence of this he brought the forest kingdoms and the tribes ruling in them to complete subordination as well. These two conquests actually extended his frontier on this side to take in practically the whole of eastern Malva, and bring him into touch with the Kshatrapas ruling over the provinces of Konkan, Surashtra and perhaps even western Malva. That would involve the absorption of the territories dependent upon Vidisa, and the extension of the frontier right down to Mahishmati (or Mandhata). As a consequence of this extension, the Vakatakas must have been pushed back from Central India and confined to the territory south of the Vindhya mountains. He seems to have managed this without actually going to war, thereby continuing perhaps the policy of his father in regard to this contemporary dynasty of powerful rulers. This would satisfactorily explain the recognition of the Vakataka Prithvisena's overlordship by the Vyaghraraja of the Nachne-ke-Talai and other epigraphs in northern Bundelkhand. This settles the relation between the two powerful states and leaves only the outer margin of the coast on the eastern and on the western side of the Peninsula for Samudragupta to bring under his influence. His southern campaign had that object in view and no more. He undertook no campaign along the west coast as there was

hardly any need for him to do so. Prithvisena I, the Vakataka contemporary of Samudragupta was a great monarch who extended his territory as far south as Kuntala, and in the process of this expansion must have been responsible for the reduction of the power of the Kshatrapas, so that the Konkan portion of the Kshatrapa territory had been, in all probability, annexed to the territory of the Vakatakas themselves. The Kshatrapas therefore remained confined to their corner in Surashtra, perhaps stretching out to retain their hold on south-western Malva. The eastern and northern frontiers are clearly defined and the natural boundaries are taken advantage of to get into diplomatic relations with the states beyond them. Along the north-west he does not appear to have done anything warlike, but was content with bringing them into diplomatic relations of acceptance more or less of his overlordship. This done, he could celebrate his *Asvamedha* in the acceptable orthodox style.

One event of some importance recorded in the distant Ceylonese history seems to make the southern invasion of Samudragupta a real historical event. It was already pointed out that the Ceylonese contemporary of Samudragupta was Sri Meghavarma who ascended the throne in A.D. 352 and ruled for twenty-eight years. In the ninth year of his reign it is recorded in the *Mahavamsa*, a Kalinga princess by name Hemamala had to fly from her country and her father's capital Dantapura, with the tooth relic of the Buddha in her possession for the safety of the latter. The occasion for this flight is said to have been the invasion of the Yavana Rakta-Bahu.[29] She landed in the region called the 'Diamond Sands'

29. R. Sewell in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXV, p. 293.

located about the mouth of the Krishna, and therefrom set sail again under more favourable conditions and arrived safely in Ceylon with the precious relic. The Ceylon monarch built for the relic a shrine in the Mahavihara, and ordered that thereafter, an annual festival should be celebrated by carrying the relic in procession headed by himself from the Mahavihara to the Abhayagiri Vihara, where the holy object was housed and worshipped for ninety days. At the end of this period it was to be taken back in procession and restored to its permanent place in the Mahavihara. Fa-Hien who was in Ceylon in the year A.D. 412 describes this festival as he saw it. The invasion of Rakta-Bahu referred to must have taken place a year or two earlier than the ninth year of the Ceylon ruler, the year A.D. 361. The date of this event may therefore be 359 or 360. The Yavana association of the tradition notwithstanding, could it not be regarded as the invasion of Samudragupta who lays claim to a conquest of this region, and the defeat of the ruler of Kalinga ? The only Yavana invasion that may be regarded as at all possible about this time is the invasion of the region by the Sakas and others associated with the Kshatrapas of the west. These must have suffered by the extension of the Vakataka power under Prithvisena I. The assumption of the Sakas or Yavanas escaping from the west after suffering a defeat, and undertaking a successful invasion of the east coast of peninsular India across the territory of the Vakatakas seems quite possible. If Samudragupta's invasion on the contrary proved of a destructive character from the point of view of the Buddhists and the Buddha relics, the name Yavana invasion need not be particularly surprising. The only other possibility seems to be that the armies of Samudra-

gupta had a Yavana contingent among them who proved particularly destructive in regard to this region. In any case this seems to indicate the interesting fact that the diplomatic relation between Meghavarna and Samudragupta is made the more probable by this tradition connected with this Buddha relic. It thus becomes clear that Samudragupta's influence as a great ruler of India certainly did reach distant Ceylon in the south, and possibly the Parasikas in the west and the Hunas in the north. With this detailed study of Samudragupta's achievement before us it becomes more tenable to postulate that Raghu's *Digvijaya* of Kalidasa is nothing more than a poetical exposition of the actual achievements of Samudragupta. The epic writer rounds off the *Digvijaya* by throwing into his list that which the historical document actually omits. Raghu planted his flag on the crest of Mahendragiri, and passed on south to the country of the Kaveri. Then he planted a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tamraparni and marched southwestwards to make another pillar of victory of the mountain Trikuta. He proceeded across the Vindhyas and set forward on the western expedition against the Parasikas along the land route, and marched northwards from the frontier of the Parasikas to the territory of the Hunas, coming round by way of Badakshan and Khotan and re-entering the plains of Hindustan along the Shipe-ke route to come to the river Jumna.

V.—SAMUDRAGUPTA[30]

Samudragupta, in many respects by far the most distinguished member of a distinguished dynasty, has been

30. By permission from the '*Mysore University Magazine*, December 1923.

brought to the notice of historians as the result of the comparatively newly organised Archaeological Department of the Government of India. Though something was known of him to the early archaeologists and an attempt has been made to interpret some of the inscriptions of the Guptas, it is to the labours of the late Dr. Vincent Smith that we are indebted for the knowledge that we possess of this interesting and eminent ruler of India. It is Vincent Smith's study of the Gupta coins that started him in the course of research. He had all along been keeping himself alive to all that was made available in regard to the subject during the last thirty years and more, examining critically every piece of information brought to the notice of the public and incorporating the new material in various articles from time to time, so that he could give us a more or less full account of the monarch and his achievements in the latest edition of his work, *Early History of India.* Notwithstanding the sustained labours of the late lamented scholar and his successful achievement, Samudragupta is a personality who would bear re-study from many points of view, and a new presentation of him may not be altogether superflous. The late Dr. Smith, perhaps by an unhappy inspiration, described Samudragupta as the Indian Napoleon, and thus gave to his achievements a character which on closer scrutiny it does not bear. This description had the further consequence of completely overshadowing the achievements of his father so that Chandragupta I suffered the same fate that Philip of Macedon did. Both alike were ignored by the historians, because each of them had the good fortune to be the father of a son greater than himself. It is easy to demonstrate that Samudragupta

would have been impossible but for Chandragupta I, as an Alexander would have been impossible without Philip before him.

In the third century of the Christian era the Guptas were comparatively a minor dynasty like many others of the kind, ruling over Magadha with the territory on the banks of the Ganges dependent on Prayag (Allahabad) and Saketa (Oudh). That there were Gupta rajas in this territory about that time, and perhaps even earlier, is known to us from the notes of the Chinese traveller I-Tsing who was in Nalanda in the second half of the seventh century. This Chinese traveller refers to a grant made to the Nalanda University where he studied, by a Maharaja Sri Gupta 500 years before his time, which would mean that there was a Maharaja Sri Gupta ruling the territory in the second century A.D. This family remained in obscurity to the end of the third century when it came into some prominence. It is probably in regard to this period of their history that the *Puranas* make the reference quoted at the head of the paragraph. To Chandragupta, the father of Samudragupta, is due the credit of bringing this dynasty to prominence. After the death of the great Kushan ruler Vasudeva, the empire of the Kushans must have broken up, and the outer territories belonging to the empire must have fallen away from the imperial authority and set themselves up in independence. Magadha and the territory dependent thereon must have taken advantage of the confusion and, under the Guptas, achieved its own independence. Probably the territory of the kingdom of Magadha was surrounded by kingdoms or states over which petty rulers or tribal chieftains held sway. The advance

therefore of the Guptas to a position of dominant influence must have come about as a result of the building up of a superior military power and political connections. We have no information as to the manner in which the military power of the Guptas developed, but one act of Chandragupta which gained for him a considerable amount of political influence has come to our knowledge in the Gupta monuments and records recently made accessible to us. Coins usually ascribed to Samudragupta contain effigies of the king and the queen, the latter of whom is described as a Lichchavi princess. These coins also show on the reverse a goddess seated on a throne, perhaps representing the Sri or prosperity of the Lichchavis. The Gupta inscriptions generally make much of this marriage alliance so that we may take it that the alliance was regarded as of the highest importance by the Guptas themselves. The marriage not only brought to Chandragupta the alliance of the influential tribe of the Lichchavis, but also must have brought accession of territory along with it. Otherwise representation of the goddess of the Lichchavis and the addition of the coin legend 'Lichchavayah' on the coins would have no particular significance. This would have rounded off his territory on a side which was perhaps the most vulnerable from the point of view of the territory of Magadha, as we know from the previous history of the kingdom. It seems possible also to ascribe to him some warlike achievements against the peoples of Bengal on the one side, and of 'the Bahlikas across the seven mouths of the Indus' from the inscription on the iron pillar in the Kutab-Minar at Delhi though this inscription is ascribed by some scholars to others. It is

some such achievement that must have raised Chandragupta I to the diginity of a *Maharajadhiraja*, as otherwise his neighbours would not have acquiesced in his assumption of this suzerain title. It may therefore be taken that both by the diplomatic alliance with the Lichchavis and by some warlike acts against powerful neighbours, Chandragupta raised the Gupta family of Maharajas to the superior dignity of an *adhirajya* or empire. This is what is symbolized in certain of the coins of the Guptas where the effigy of the king is shown with an umbrella raised above his head, which, whether the coins were actually issued by Chandragupta I or by his successors, would have no significance, unless it be that Chandragupta I was the man who raised the family to the imperial dignity. It was to the territory and dignity of this Chandragupta I that Samudragupta succeeded.

Samudragupta was born of the Lichchavi princess Kumaradevi to Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty. It seems that Samudragupta was not the only son, and possibly not even the oldest among them. Either because of his extraordinary natural powers or because he exhibited great aptitude, he was, for princes, very carefully and very highly educated. He is described in the one document that has come down to us as having delighted in the company of the learned and as a great master in the art of getting to the root of things. He enjoyed among the learned great fame in the exposition of excellent classics, and perhaps even in the production of some. The course of education prescribed to princes was, in those days, comprehensive. We get a few glimpses of the course through various inscriptions of which the Hathigumpha inscrip-

tion of Kharavela, the Kalinga raja, describes the course in the greatest detail. The whole course appears then to have comprised a knowledge of the Vedas specially *Rig* and *Saman,* Mathematics, composition, particularly of state documents, *Rupam* or study of coinage, *Vyavahara* or law; in addition the art of elephant-riding, horse-riding and archery, etc., and finally even such subjects as *Vaisiki-vidya,* the arts of public women. A king was required to undergo his early education and give himself a liberal course of physical training up to the age of fifteen. Then for the nine years following he was expected to specialize in subjects of direct value to the position of a ruler, viz., such subjects the knowledge of which would enable him to control effectively the working of the various departments which centered at the headquarters of the monarch. Having been so carefully educated and made, thanks to his own innate intelligence and careful nurture, such excellent progress, he attained the position of a prince most excellently equipped for the difficult and responsible position of the sovereign of a rising empire which had just got under way for a prosperous voyage through the exertions of his father Chandragupta I. Chandragupta I had apparently reached a stage in his life when he felt the need of committing the charge of his state to a capable successor, and, having scanned carefully all the details, the qualities and accomplishments of those eligible for succession, he made up his mind in the open Durbar and indicated that the worthiest was Samudragupta. With his eyes full of rolling tears, intent solely upon discovering real character and worth, and with his hair standing on end, he embraced the prince Samudragupta exclaiming 'what a worthy son!'; and said to the great

relief of the assembled courtiers, the faces of those with equal claims fading, 'may you rule the whole earth.' Seeing many of his super-human deeds of valour, several became attached to him; subdued by the valour of his arms, others rendered obedience to him; and thus he became very popular. He was given an early occasion for exhibiting his valour, when he was attacked in Patalipura by Achyuta, Nagasena and perhaps other kings, one of whom is described as belonging to the Kota family. He destroyed the armies of all of them as if in mere play, and turned them all away baulked of their ambitions. He set himself up as the protector of *dharma,* possessed of unsullied fame, pleasing the learned, subduing the wicked and gaining in the world the objects worthy of attaining. He was well-versed in the path of the Vedas. He excelled in the composition of literary works which outdistanced the most excellent performance of learned poets, and thus became the only worthy person to be thought of by those who excelled in intellectual possessions and good qualities. With accomplishments so varied and excellent, Samudragupta came to the throne of his father, and it was his function to bring to full fruition the ambition of his father to make the Guptas the suzerain power in India. We have already seen that Samudragupta's accession was challenged by enemies who must have been in the immediate neighbourhood. The names of Achyuta and Nagasena among those who attacked him in his capital Pushpapura figure among the kings of Aryavarta in the list of those that he is said to have conquered. It is therefore possible that Achyuta ruled somewhere about Ahichchatra as the late Dr. Smith surmised. Nagasena was probably a ruler in the immediate neigh-

bourhood. It would conduce to clearness of understanding if we could make a general survey of the political condition of India at the time, before we detail the various conquests of his. The period of Samudragupta may be taken to be the middle forty or fifty years of the fourth century after Christ. That was a time when the Kushana empire had gone to pieces completely with even the possibility of a foreign invasion, from the newly installed Sassanian rulers of Persia, of the region of the Punjab. Such of the Kushanas as survived must have become more or less petty rulers. Then there seems to have been a fringe of states some of them held by kings and others still in the state of tribal constitution, lying in a line beginning from Delhi and Muttra and extending southwards through all Central India and Malva. Immediately behind them and beginning from the region of the southern bank of the Ganges between Allahabad and Benares, or even further eastwards, and extending across the Vindhya mountains southwards, lay the great forest countries under a number of petty chieftains. Then immediately to the east lay the territory of Magadha with that of the Lichchavis on the northern side of the river extending as far east as where the Ganges actually turns southwards to reach the sea. This block was the territory under the control of the Guptas directly and came into touch on the southern side with the territory of Kalinga. South of that, what was the Andhra empire had broken up into a number of petty states of which about half-a-dozen are enumerated in the *Puranas*. Further south was the region of the Tamil country getting under the control of the newly rising power of the Pallavas with the well-known three kingdoms of the farther south. The whole of the Dakhan

was under a dynasty which is known as that of the Vakatakas, and, in its best days, extended from Kuntala in the south to Bundelkhand in the north. This extent of territory the Vakatakas must have attained to perhaps in the last days of their ruler Pravarasena, and perhaps before the rise of Chandragupta. It is however clearly ascribed to the ruler Prithvisena of the Vakatakas, whom we have good reasons to regard as contemporary with Samudragupta. The coast region between the Western Ghats and the sea was under other rulers, perhaps for the most part of it under the declining rule of the foreign dynasty of the Kshatrapas of Gujarat and northern Konkan. The territory east of the Ganges and the region at the foot of Himalayas remained divided among eight or ten rulers, and the region of the north-west frontier extending down to the sea was under a number of foreign potentates. This was the political division of the country at the time that Samudragupta had placed himself firmly upon the throne, and looked about for the successful completion of his father's efforts at the establishment of the empire of the Guptas.

According to the *prasasti* of Harisena therefore Samudragupta set forward upon his expedition for a conquest of the quarters (*digvijaya*). If the order of recital of Harisena is to be taken as indicating the actual order of Samudragupta's conquests, he seems to have invaded the southern districts first, but it is possible that this is merely due to the fact that a *digvijaya* should begin and proceed towards the right (*pradakshina*), as it is unlikely that Samudragupta would have started forward on an invasion of the distant leaving his flank and rear exposed to hostile action. In any case, it would conduce to clearness to follow the record in this particular. His

southern invasion seems to have begun with an attack upon the ruler of Kosala. There are twelve rulers, according to one enumeration it may be only eleven, that he conquered in this southern invasion, all of whom, he restored each in his position respectively on their tendering submission. The first ruler to be thus conquered is Mahendra of Kosala; and the next one is Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara. The relative position of these rulers has to be settled before proceeding further. Kosala generally is the country of Oudh, but it is often referred to as Uttara-Kosala. For an invader proceeding southwards from Magadha as his centre this cannot be the Kosala that is meant. There are two other divisions of this name that we know of: Maha-Kosala and southern Kosala. It is apparently these divisions that are under reference here. These must have been in a direction south or south-west of Magadha. The country of Kosala included a considerable part of what is now the Central Provinces and the hinterland of Orissa. We have some inscriptions of a Vyagraraja, as a feudatory of the Vakataka sovereign Prithvisena I. Two inscriptions of his have come down to us in a place called Nachne-ki-Talai not far from Jasso in Bundelkhand; and a third in about the same region; probably that is the Vyaghraraja who is referred to here, and according to this record, his territory is described as Mahakantara. This forest country must have been next adjoining the Kosala country and should have stretched southwards almost from the banks of the Ganges to, and perhaps even very much past, the Vindhya mountains. The Vindhyan forests were proverbially the great forest region according to all Indian literary tradition. The region of Kosala therefore would

be immediately south of Magadha with a westward trend, and Mahakantara would be to the west of it with a southward trend. The next ruler that he attacked was a Mantaraja, the Kauralaka. This last word might well mean, belonging to Kurala. It is possible to equate Kurala with the modern Khurda and the place may have to be looked for in the region of Kalinga, the modern territory of Orissa. A people by name Kauralaka are referred in the *Brhat Samhita*, and the reference may be to these. The idendification with Kerala has been found unsatisfactory long since, and must be given up. The next ruler attacked is generally taken to be Mahendra ruler of Pishtapura. The whole expression is '*Paishṭāpuraka Mahēndra giri Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta.*' The problem here is how to break the words. It is generally taken to be Paishtapuraka Mahendra, Mahendra of Pishtapur, and then giri-Kautturaka Svamidatta. Svamidatta of Kottur on the hill. It seems however that only one ruler is mentioned and that is Svamidatta. He was ruler probably of Pishtapura and Mahendragiri-Kottur, which would mean nothing more than that the territory probably included what were two kingdoms with the two important capitals, Pishtapura and Kottur on or near Mahendragiri. This latter seems preferably the interpretation as in Raghu's *digvijaya*, Kalidasa, is content with stating for this part that the taking of Mahendragiri was tantamount to the conquest of the whole kingdom. The next ruler happens to be Damana or Erandapalli. There is an Erandapalli in the Ganjam district with which this has been identified by the epigraphists. Then follows Vishnugopa of Kanchi. Then Nilaraja of Avamukta. Kanchi is the well-known Pallava capital, and Vishnugopa probably a Pallava

sovereign. We do not know either of Avamukta or of Nilaraja. The next ruler is Hastivarman of Vengi. Vengi is the Peddavegi, the ruins of which exist to-day, a few miles from modern Ellore; and a Hastivarman as ruler of that place belonging to the family of Salankayanas is known of about this period. The next ruler overthrown was Ugrasena of Palaka. Palaka is a place often referred to in Pallava inscriptions, and seems to have been one of their northern capitals. It must be looked for in the region of the lower Krishna. The next ruler is Kubera of Daivarashtra, and Daivarashtra has recently been identified with Elamanchili Kalingadesa in the Vizagapatam district, with its head-quarters probably at Elamanchili and then comes Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura. So far, we know nothing either about this ruler or about his capital. These southern rulers he is said to have conquered, and, when they had agreed to submit, restored them to their possessions. An opinion has recently been expressed by Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil that this is all mere fiction, and perhaps the very most that could be conceded to Samudragupta would be an invasion as far as the northern parts of the Madras presidency where he must have been stopped by the activity of the southern rulers under perhaps the lead of the Pallava sovereign for the time being. While one might readily admit the possibility of exaggeration it would be doing something very different, if this interpretation should be accepted. If it is mere meaningless hyperbole why omit the kingdoms south of Kanchi ? There at least was the Pandya kingdom which the almost contemporary Kalidasa found it necessary to mention in the conventional *digvijaya* of Raghu. The fact of an invasion as far south as Kanchi must be admitted, and why Samudra-

gupta was satisfied with the simple submission of these south Indian monarchs will be understood readily if the particular purpose of his invasion is properly understood. We shall come to that question later. Probably he returned to his headquarters and started on a similar expedition of conquest of the kings of Aryyavartta, that is the middle region of Hindusthan usually described in Buddhistic records as Madhyadesa. Here nine princes are referred to without specifying either the capitals or the countries over which they ruled. They were probably all of them comparatively petty chieftains who held small tracts of country under their rule on the immediate frontier of the united kingdom of Magadha and the territory of the Lichchavis. They must all perhaps be looked for in the Gangetic Doab and just outside along the borderland of Central India and Rajaputana. The sovereigns are in their order

Rudradeva,	Matila,	Nagadatta,
Chandravarman,	Ganapatinaga,	Nagasena,
Achyuta,	Nandi,	Balavarma.

Nagasena and Achyuta were probably the same rulers who attacked Samudragupta in Patalipura soon after his accession. They probably held territory in the Doab. Ganapatinaga was probably a Naga chieftain who held rule further south with capital Padmavati, near Narwar in Central India. Chandravarman was probably the same person as the Chandravarman of the inscription on the rock of Susunia near Raniganj, whose territory probably lay to the west in Rajputana. It is just possible that he carried a raid across the whole territory of Magadha in the absence of Samudragupta, from his territory in the western borders of Rajaputana. Of all others, we know

nothing more than that they were rulers of Aryyavartta. The conquest of these rulers of Aryyavartta is said to have brought him the submission of all the forest chieftains who showed their readiness to render obedience and pay tribute without further action. Then he got his authority accepted in the five frontier kingdoms of which three were on the east and two to the north of Magadha. The three eastern were Samatata, Davaka and Kamarupa, embracing the territory on the east of the Ganges from the sea to the Himalayas; the two northern were the kingdom of Nepal, and Kartripura to the west of it along the foot of the Himalayas. This would bring his north-western frontier into touch with what was the territory of the Kushan empire. The frontier kingdoms were merely called upon to render allegiance and acknowledge his overlordship which would have put them in a position of more or less subordinate alliance. Then he conquered as many as nine tribes whom he laid under tribute, of whom we happen to know the location of some. These were the

Malavas	Arjunayanas	Yaudheyas,
Madrakas	Abhiras	Prarjunas,
Sanakanikas	Kakas	Karaparikas,
and others		

Of these the Malavas were probably an extensive tribe inhabiting a region which goes by their name, Malva. The Arjunayanas were probably a tribe not very far from them. Some inscriptions of the Yaudheyas would locate them in the territory round Biana southwards of Muttra on the borderland of the desert. The Madrakas must have been in the region occupied by the Phulkian Sikhs in modern times. The Abhiras were an exten-

sive tribe which occupied the territory including the whole of Bundelkhand and a very considerable part of the Central Provinces so that at one time their capital was somewhere in Bundelkhand and at another in Mahishmati on the Narbada (Mandhata). Inscriptions refer to the Sanakanika in the region of Sanchi, but of the other three tribes we do not as yet know anything except the name.

These achievements spread his name far and wide so that distant monarchs sought his friendship and alliance. Among these distant monarchs are mentioned the

Daivaputa,	Shahi,	Shahanushahi,
Saka,	Murunda,	and the Simhala.

Of these, it is possible to take the first three to indicate nothing more than the Kushan. It is equally probable that these refer to three petty states which stood out as representing the dismembered Kushan empire of the previous age. The next, the Sakas and Murundas, are generally taken to be separate tribes while it is possible that they were one and the same, and might refer to the Saka-Kshatrapas of Gujarat, Konkan and farther west. The last Simhala is Ceylon and we have good reason for taking it that the Ceylonese ruler was in some kind of diplomatic relation with him from Chinese records.

The whole series of these conquests as detailed in the one elaborate inscription which has come down to us of this great ruler had for their object nothing more than the bringing under the control and influence of one suzerain monarch, the whole territory included in the area which in the best of its days constituted the empire of Asoka. It must be borne in mind that this record of Samudragupta is indited on a pillar which carries on

it an Asoka inscription as well. Did Samudragupta then emulate the exploits of Asoka? Did he, in fact, know the history of Asoka or the extent of his empire and could he have read the document on the pillar of Asoka? The answer to this question may be given in the affirmative for certain reasons. If you arrange the territories described in detail in the Harisena inscription of Samudragupta in order, you will find that it more or less answers to the territory under the rule of Asoka. This may be a mere coincidence, but then why does the deliberate *prasasti* stop short in the southern invasion at Kanchi? Why does it not go farther south? In a mere exaggerated account, not merely of his achievements but of the panegyrist's ascription of these achievements to the ruler, it would be difficult to find a satisfactory explanation that the panegyrist found some reason for stopping short at Kanchi for a mere conventional *digvijaya*: in fact Kalidasa's conventional *digvijaya* of Raghu does not stop short there at all, but continues on to the Kaveri and farther south to the Pandya country, and across the peninsula to Aparanta and farther westwards therefrom against the Parasikas. So the limitation imposed here is not by any convention of the panegyrist. We may justifiably infer therefore that the limitation was imposed by the political circumstances of the time and by the actual fact of achievement of this sovereign. Samudragupta's ambition was not like Alexander's for more worlds to conquer. It was rather the ambition more well formed than that, of uniting the territories of India that could possibly be united, under one ruler, with a view to set the whole country on a prosperous career on the basis of an efficiently protected frontier and well-ordered ad-

ministration. The scientific frontier sighed for in vain by recent English statesmen was a frontier which had been achieved by Chandragupta, and probably retained under his grandson Asoka. Did Samudragupta then know the extent of the empire of Asoka ? It is quite possible he did.

The *prasasti of* Samudragupta that we are discussing has in one part of it an expression which seems to give us the explanation that he possibly read the inscription of Asoka on the pillar on which he recorded his own *prasasti.* Line 27 of the inscription relates to a description of the special accomplishments of this ruler ; and the details given there are that 'in his trained and cultured intellect, he put the counsellor of the gods (Brahaspati) to shame ; in the accomplishment of music, he put the divine votaries of the art, Tumburu and Narada, to shame ; he established his right to the title of *kaviraja* by composing many *kavyas* which might have proved the means of living for men of learning ; his wonderful and generous achievements would take long to detail for a panegyrist ; he was human only to the extent of his having to carry on the affairs of the world, and he otherwise was a god, who had made the earth his temporary home'. Leaving the other details which are not relevant to the discussion, the point that calls for attention is the term *kaviraja,* and what it signifies. It has generally been interpreted so far as meaning nothing more than 'a king of poets,' a term of courtesy applied to a skilful exponent of the art of poetry ; but the term *kaviraja* is a technical one, and has got a meaning of its own. There are ten classes of authors of works detailed among whom the fifth is the class of *mahakavi.* This title is given to one who has acquired the capacity to under-

stand everything that may be written in a language, and could, in his turn, compose any kind of specified work in that particular language. The term *kaviraja* is one of higher proficiency, and is given only to those who have attained to similar proficiency, not in one, but more than one language ; and this efficiency in a variety of languages is generally limited to three, Sanskrit, Prakrit and what is called *desabhasha*, the vernacular. The way that the term is used in the record, and the description that is given of Samudragupta's title to the term indicates a proficiency in many languages and if the many languages have to be interpreted in the usual way, it must be proficiency in Sanskrit, the Prakrit language most prevalent in the country to which the author belongs and the local dialect that may have been current at the time. The Prakrit language of Magadha must be something which came very near Pali, and if he were a man of the proficiency of a *kaviraja* it is not impossible that he could have managed to read and understand the drift of the edicts of Asoka, on the pillar at any rate on which he had put his own inscription. Asoka's boast was that he established the *dharma*, and Samudragupta is described as *dharma-prāchīrabandhaḥ*, the protecting door of the garden of *dharma*.

There is another feature of Samaudragupta's records that have come down to us which would offer an explanation equally satisfactory. Most of his coin legends have a text answering generally to the ieda that by conquering the world and contributing materially to its happiness, he won heaven. His ideal therefore as a ruler was to so order his patrimony and conduct the administration as to enable him to leave this world with good deeds so well accomplished as to assure him his

position in heaven. This means therefore as a first necessity the assurance of protection to the people from calamitous wars within and devastating foreign invasions from without. This could be done only by the establishment of an empire, and that empire could be established both by war and by diplomacy—diplomacy as far as it can go efficiently, and war where diplomacy failed. The accomplishement of a united empire is signalized by the celebration of the imperial *aśvamēdha* sacrifice. Samudragupta issued a class of coins described generally as the *aśvamēdha* type containing a similar obverse legend to the others put in these words, *Rājādhirājaḥ prithvīm avajitya divam jayati apprativārya vīryaḥ.* Literally translated, it means 'king of kings, having conquered the world conquers heaven—the unopposed warrior'. On the reverse is the legend *Aśvamēdha, Parākrama,* the man of valour who celebrated the *aśvamēdha.* These legends give us the indication that Samudragupta set before himself the ideal of attaining heaven by the performance of his royal duties according to the ideals of the time. He therefore felt that he must bring about a united empire to exist, set the seal of the accomplishment of such an empire by the celebration of the far-famed royal sacrifice of the *aśvamēdha,* and by these means assured to himself the attainment of heaven in the life to come.

It was already pointed out at the commencement that it was his father Chandragupta I that set forward the Gupta kingdoom well on the way o the achievement of the empire. It would have been noticed that Samudragupta lays claim to having either conquered and brought under his influence (or otherwise achieved the same object), the various areas of India under other rulers.

But there is a significant omission of the area which might be described as the tableland of the Dakhan, the narrow stretch of country described as Konkan along the West Coast and Gujarat. Of these, the tableland of the Dakhan and a part even of the farther south of the Vindhyas belonged, at the time of Chandragupta himself, to another family of powerful rulers known to epigraphists under the name of the Vakatakas. This dynasty of rulers seems to have had their origin somewhere in the modern province of Berar, and came to prominence in the century of anarchy that followed the disruption of the Andhra empire. They spread themselves northwards and extended their territory almost up to the banks of the Ganges, and thus established perhaps a claim to a higher dignity than that of the petty monarchs of their patrimony. They did not remain content with that and seem to have carried on extensive conquests by bringing under their rule practically the whole of the Dakhan, with as much of the Central Indian plateau as they could. The most famous among these rulers, in fact the one among them who could be correctly described as having essayed the foundation of an empire, seems to have celebrated a number of sacrifices that symbolized the establishment of an empire among them, the *asvamedha* itself, and assumed the title *Samrat*, with four sons ruling as *Maharajas* in the empire. But curiously enough his grandson who succeeded to the throne after him drops the title as the inscriptions of the family clearly indicate, and this must have been due to some compelling circumstances, the details of which the records do not vouchsafe to us. It seems very probable that the rise of Chandragupta to power and influence made it impossible that the Vakatakas could go

forward on a career simultaneously. Either as a result of war therefore, or by a stroke of diplomacy, Chandagupta managed to get Rudrasena Vakataka, the grandson of the great Pravarasena I, to give up the title and remain content with that of *Maharaja* as the ruler of his ancestral kingdom which at the time must have been a fairly extensive one. If this was possible it could only be because an empire was felt to be a general necessity and the only question was among the competing claimants which of the two was likely to achieve it and maintain it efficiently. If Chandragupta had achieved this by a stroke of diplomacy, his son Samudragupta had only to extend his influence farther over territories which had not yet come to acknowledge the overlordship of Chandragupta ; and that seems precisely what Samudragupta did. Samudragupta must have set about it systematically having made up his mind beforehand to celebrate the *asvamedha* in due form, and make it really symbolical of the establishment of the empire. Hence the great importance that he attaches to the celebration of the *asvamedaha* and the conquest of heaven by the conquest of the earth, which his coin-legends unmistakably indicate. According to the most accepted canonical works the *asvamedha* can be celebrated for a variety of objects. An *asvamedha* is celebrated for the purpose of going to the heaven merely as several sovereigns before his time are said to have done, to give a historical example, for instance, Sudraka, the author of the drama 'the Little Clay-cart'. It may be celebrated for the attainment of a son as in the far-famed celebration of Dasaratha for the purpose. It may be at the end of one's career as in the case of the Pandava brothers at the end of the war as a ceremony

of expiation for such sins as might have been committed in the prosecution of a war of conquest. Or, it may be for the attainment of empire as in the case of the celebration of a similar ceremony of the *Rajasuya* by the Pandavas in their career earlier. Gupta inscriptions generally describe the *asvamedha* as one that had long fallen into desuetude (*chirotsanna*). Chirotsanna[31] would literally mean, long decayed or given up, for as a matter of history we do know that after the days of Asoka, who, in his Buddhist fervour, put an end to it, there were several celebrations and several celebrants. Pushyamitra is said to have celebrated it; his contemporary Kharavela of Kalinga seems to have celebrated something akin, and a Satavahana ruler of the Dakhan, the great Satakarni lays claim to having done it equally. It would therefore be difficult to understand *chirotsanna* in the sense that it was given up for long. The term *chirotsanna*, however, is found used in the same connection, of the *asvamedha* in the Satapatha Brahmana itself where it is explained in the sense that it had lost some of the elements constituting the sacrifice, and therefore a sort of expiatory ceremony had to be performed. That means, it is an old time ceremony, which had lost some of the details of its performance even so long ago as the time of the Satapatha-Brahmana. The ceremony is brought to a close by the performance of a special *atiratrastoma* as it is called, which is a ceremonial apology for the shortcomings in the performance of the elaborate sacrifice. It is just possible that in the Gupta inscriptions it has that meaning; but there is perhaps a little

31. The term actually occurs in this sense in the Harisena epigraph further down where his plenipotentiaries are said to be engaged in restoring rule to their territories.

more in it than is implied in this explanation. At the time that Pushyamitra and others are said to have performed this sacrifice, the position of the celebrants could not be regarded as that of unquestioned suzerainty. Pushyamitra had to maintain a struggle through life against the Greeks on the one side, the Kalinga ruler on the other and the Satavahana on the third; and among the three Indian rulers, all the three of them lay claim to having celebrated this sacrifice, which, as they clebrated it, could not be regarded as in any sense, a sacrifice significant of an established empire. If the celebration had been done with other objects in view, the *asvamedha* could have been celebrated by them all at the same time. Even Pravarasena's claim to have celebrated an *asvamedha* could, in the circumstances, be regarded as of qualified application as an imperial sacrifice. Hence the *chirotsanna* here might mean that the *asvamedha* sacrifice was not celebrated for long as a full detailed imperial sacrifice, and Samudragupta might lay claim to have done it, it may be since the days of the famous celebration of the *Rajasuya* by Yudhisthira.

A careful study of lines twenty-three to twenty-eight of the Harisena epigraph will show clearly that all that is said above is not drawn from one's imagination. Line twenty-two ends that the 'severity of his orders was easily met by respectful obeisance, dutiful performance of orders issued and by the payment of tributes agreed to.' 'His fame spread to the ends of the world and received its satisfaction by the re-establishment in their possessions of the various monarchs, who had lost their possession, or were otherwise forcibly deprived of them. Monarchs of distant countries, apparently not among the conquered, such as the Daivaputra, Shahi,

etc., sent to him for his gracious acceptance, beautiful girls and other objects of presentation, with a view to obtaining charters, marked with his *garuda-seal,* for the enjoyment of their own territories, thus making the valour of his arm the protecting wall of the world. He met with no warrior to oppose him in the world. By many good deeds, and, by the possession of many praiseworthy qualities, he brought the fame of the other monarchs low indeed in public estimation. He was master alike in bringing about the prosperity of the good and destruction of evil. He was a man difficult to comprehend by the mind. His heart melted easily at the exhibition of sincere respect. His pity was so great that he granted many cows, and hundreds and thousands of money. His mind was full of solemn vow to raise the low and humble, the helpless and the suffering. It is only war that excited him. He was like the god of wealth (Danada), the god of righteousness (Varuna), the god of rule or protection (Indra) and the god of punishment (Antaka), all in one for doing good to the world. His plenipotentiaries were constantly engaged in the restoration, to their wealth and former position of the many kings whom he had conquered by the force of his arms.' All these seem intended to exhibit by the way that he exercised his authority, that he attained to the unquestioned enjoyment of it. While therefore on the superficial reading, these might seem to imply a thorough disciplinarian to whom severity was no matter of concern, a close examination of the passage shows unmistakably that while his exercise of authority was certainly firm, it was always tempered with mercy at any rate, that is the idea that the writer of the *prasasti* wishes to convey to his readers.

This great ruler is described at the end of the passage as the great-grandson of *Maharaja* Sri Gupta, grandson of *Maharaja* Sri Ghatotkacha, and son of *Maharajadhiraja* Sri Chandragupta, born of the *Mahadevi* Kumaradevi, and therefore the daughter's son of the Lichchavis. He is himself described as *Maharajadhiraja Sri Samudragupta.* In the estimation, therefore of Harisena the author of the document, both the great-grandfather and the grandfather were only *Maharajas,* and it was the father who became the *Maharajadhiraja.* This feature has hitherto been interpreted as involving no particular difference in significance. The conclusion has been arrived at with more facility than logic that it was Samudragupta that was really the first great ruler who attained to the dignity of *Maharajadhiraja,* Chandragupta being so described as a matter of courtesy. If inscriptions are to be interpreted in that manner it would be difficult to understand why that same courtesy should not lead the author to describe the grandfather as well as *Maharajadhiraja* and the great-grandfather. If Samudragupta had made up his mind not to issue an official document, which incidentally describes his whole position and ancestry, one might possibly entertain the notion, even though it would perhaps be at the sacrifice of truth; but the document under examination is a deliberate *prasasti,* and therefore of a peculiarly historical character. A deliberate change from the position of *Maharaja* to *Maharajadhiraja* must have been made to convey what it signifies, and seems an unmistakable indication that it was Chandragupta I who raised the family to the higher dignity, whatever Samudragupta's achievements may have done to complete the work of his father. Nor, could this change of dignity

be regarded as that of a ruler who merely called himself *Maharajadhiraja* as the very change of title would have been challenged at once, as in the previous case of the Sunga monarch Pushyamitra; the Vakatakas were there to do it with adequate power, and perhaps even a justifiable historical position. It is therefore clear that Chandragupta raised himself to the higher position of a paramount sovereign, and Samudragupta merely gave the finishing touches necessary for its acknowledged exercise. The pillar was set up as if to reach heaven itself and carry there the fame of Samudragupta which had already spread throughout the world. This document is described as a *kavya,* and was composed by one of the courtiers who describes himself as a *Mahadandanayaka* who might be a commander of the forces or a judicial officer Kumaramatya, the son of a minister brought up along with the prince and who held the position at the time of minister for peace and war, Sandhi-Vigrahika. His name is Harisena, and he was the son of Mahadandanayaka Dhurva Bhuti, who is described as a Khadyaatapakika. This term has not been understood. One noteworthy feature is that Harisena describes himself as a servant of the great monarch, whose intelligence developed itself by the opportunity he was graciously accorded of being in close attendance upon the person of the sovereign. This was apparently meant as a tribute to the superior learning of the monarch himself, indicating thereby clearly that the character for learning given to him was not meant in mere compliment.

It will thus be seen that Samudragupta was a sovereign who set up before him a high ideal as a monarch according to the notions of the time; what is perhaps more, that he made an honest and earnest effort to come

up to the height of the ideal in actual life. It should be the most inappropriate description of him to call him 'a Napolean who regarded kingdom-taking as the duty of kings.'[32]

VI.—Chandragupta II. Vikramaditya.[33]

The third century in Indian history is a period of transition from the Andhra Empire through its stages of decay and dismemberment to the new empire that came into existence under the Guptas. All the shifting of the powers and the arrangements of the struggling forces are far from clear. At the end of about a century of this struggle, there seem to emerge two powers, one of which was to attain ultimately the position of leadership in India.

These two powers seem to have been the Vakataka and the Gupta. The Vakatakas were somewhere in the Vindhyan region and the Guptas in the Gangetic basin. The leadership seems to have passed ultimately to the Guptas. Although the phases of the struggle that led to this dènouement are far fróm clear, there seems to be but little doubt that the result of it was the establishment of the Gupta Empire under Chandragupta I.

The ancestral territory of the Guptas was a comparatively small region on either bank of the Ganges to which was added the territory of the Lichchavis by

32. Some parts of this section will strike the reader as a repetition of the one immediately preceding. A recasting, it was suggested, may spoil the presentation. Therefore the article is allowed to appear here as it was actually published in the first instance.

33. By permission of the *'Sir Asutosh Memorial' Committee*, Patna.

marriage, and the neighbouring region by conquest, so that it became a compact state stretching out both ways, eastwards and westwards to keep out the enemies of the rising state. The Vakatakas perhaps, suffered a misfortune with the death of the great Pravarasena, and that cleared the way for the ascent of the Guptas, at the supreme moment. It seems that this ascent to supreme power was marked by the Gupta era, which has been accepted as the year A.D. 319-20, though the correctness of this has been recently called into question by Dr. Shama Sastri.

On the foundation that was thus laid by Chandragupta was reared a magnificent imperial structure by his son Samudragupta. The accession of this new ruler seems to have been taken advantage of by those disintegrating forces recently brought under the control of the empire. Samudragupta had to beat off the enemies that assailed him, and make sure that the states which had been brought under control were true to their allegiance, and then launch out on his scheme of expansion, which brought the empire more or less co-extensive with that of Asoka. He succeeded in his effort partly by conquest and partly by diplomacy, and left a compacted empire to his successor, Chandragupta II.

This last is generally known to historians as the ruler who was the original of the traditional Vikramaditya of Ujjain, and his reign was otherwise remarkable in many ways. The following pages attempt to bring together facts so far known about this remarkable sovereign, and are presented as a constructive effort at the history of an important epoch.

Chandragupta was the son of Samudragupta by Dattadevi, and was probably one among many sons.

Chandragupta II ascended the throne after his father Samudragupta, according to the practice of the family, 'by the choice of the father.'* There seems to have been no opposition of any kind to his accession and the succession therefore was a peaceful one. Such a succession gives us the indication that the empire built at such great pains and organized by two of his predecessors had got into a sufficiently settled condition to be handed on as a peaceful possession. Chandragupta's work therefore was not that of the warrior statesman, but was one of a peaceful administrator. All the frontiers appear to have remained without disturbance of any kind except along the south-west where he had to carry on a war, the only war, of his reign. Chandragupta, 'the sun of valour' (Vikramaditya), had comparatively speaking, the minimum of war to wage. Notwithstanding the fact that his reign was essentially one of peace he was undoubtedly a valiant man possessed of great personal courage and as such deserving of the surname. Before proceeding to consider his warlike activity or his peaceful statesmanship it would be useful to take a survey of the general position of the empire. It has been already pointed out in the description of the achievements of Samudragupta that he had brought his empire in many respects co-extensive with that of Asoka, not

*According to the drama *Devichandraguptam*, a brother of his by name Rama Gupta succeeded. He was put aside for pussillanimously surrendering the queen and sacrificing the prestige of the Gupta sovereignty. Prince Chandragupta recovered the queen after defeating the Saka chieftain to whom she was surrendered by her husband. He then married her and ascended the throne. The Ms. of the drama was discovered after these University Lectures were delivered.

necessarily as a unified empire under a single ruler which obviously was impossible in the circumstances of the times, but as something like a federation of states grouped together in subordinate alliance, not without an appreciation of the common interests that such a unity subserved. While the states of nearer Hindusthan formed probably an integral part of the empire the frontier states in the east and north remained practically independent, but on terms of active diplomatic relationship amounting to alliance. That seems to have been the case also in respect of the north-west frontier except in the southern end of it where the Kshatrapa revival had become sufficiently aggressive to attract his attention. The Kshatrapas along the coast and their neighbours, the Vakatakas, seem to have been, to a great extent, at war with each other, and it is this hostility that has to account, at any rate, partly for the decay of the power of the Kshatrapas. After the death of the great Prithvisena, the Kshatrapas appeared to have recovered some portions of their lost territory and a considerable amount of their influence, so much so that they appear to have assumed the offensive and made an effort at recovering the region round Ujjain which constituted the core of their territory in the best days of the Kshatrapa power. Chandragupta seems to have proceeded with all the circumspection of a warrior-statesman in dealing with this new danger to the empire.

It has been made clear that the Vakatakas had obviously been brought to a state of alliance and were content to remain as subordinate allies of Samudragupta. Chandragupta seems to have taken steps to make the assurance doubly sure on his frontier, and entered into a diplomatic marriage either with the reigning prince, or,

what seems more probable, with the heir-apparent. He gave in marriage to Prince Rudrasena, son of the great Prithvisena of the Vakatakas, his daughter by a Naga queen of his, by name Kubhera Naga. We have grants issued by this Gupta princess, and these give us some information in regard to the actual character of this alliance. She seems to have been regent for thirteen years at least for one of her sons Divakarasena, who must have died young, and continued to wield a considerable amount of power while the other Damodarasena-Pravarasena, was actually the sovereign. She describes herself as the crowned queen of Rudrasena II and as the mother of the sovereign for the time being. Besides these indications of her position in respect of the family which she entered, she seems to have felt very proud of her parentage and gives the Gupta genealogy right down to her father Chandragupta II, who is described in Vakataka records generally under the name Devagupta with the title 'Maharajadhiraja'. It seems very probable that Chandragupta II was mainly responsible for this alliance, while it is just possible that the alliance was actually made in the reign of Samudragupta himself. Thus secure on his flank, it was possible for Chandragupta to take effective steps to get rid of the Kshatrapa trouble.

Inscriptions of dates 82 and onwards referring themselves to his reign are found in the region round Vidisa and Sanchi, chiefly in Udayagiri. One of them goes the length of stating boldly that Chandragupta was there in that region on a royal progress 'for the conquest of the world'. The obvious exaggeration of the language seems merely to imply that this was an invasion undertaken by Chandragupta with a view to rounding off his empire in this particular corner and thus making himself

emperor of a vast empire such as his father had left him, with this possibility of danger removed.

That seems the significance of the expression 'conquest of the world' which conveys further the impression that it involved more than one campaign and a gradual reduction of territory for final incorporation in the empire. Hence the inference seems justifiable that the war in the region of Western Malva was a protracted affair, and was not a short and sharp conflict as the numismatic inference would lead one to believe.

Malva had been for more than three centuries in the possession of a foreign dynasty, the Kshatrapas, which was founded by Chastana. It is now generally agreed that Chastana effected the conquest of this region which constituted in all probability a governorship under the Kushans, very probably under Kanishka, but it may possibly be under Kadphises II. The greatest among these Kshatrapas was Rudradaman for whom we have recorded dates ranging from 52 to 78. These dates are now generally accepted as having reference to the Saka era. The last known coin date of the Kshatrapas is 310 or 31 x, which would therefore be equivalent to about A.D. 388, the uncertainty being due to the uncertain reading of the last figure of the date. From a study of the Kshatrapa coins alone, for Kshatrapa history that is almost the only source as yet available, it is found that the dynasty of Rudradaman comes to an end for a time between A.D. 305 and A.D. 348. During this period A.D. 305 to 348, the office of Maha-Kshatrapa falls into abeyance. During the first half of this period, A.D. 305 to 332, there were two Kshatrapas, and even this office disappears in the period 332 to 348. From an elaborate study of the coins of the Kshatrapas, Professor Rapson

draws the following conclusions:—'All the evidence afforded by coins, or the absence of coins during this period—the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the Maha-Kshatrapas and afterwards of both Maha-Kshatrapa and Kshatrapa, seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the Western Kshatrapas were subjected to some foreign invasion, but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful, and must remain so until more can be known about the history of the neighbouring peoples during this period.' The period under consideration is the period of the rise to prominence, first of the Vakatakas in the region of Malava dependent upon Vidisa, and next of the rise to dominance of the dynasty of the Guptas under Chandragupta I. The first of these periods, that is the period of abeyance of the Kshatrapas, covers exactly the period of the dominance of the Vakatakas under Pravarasena I, and the greater part of the period of the rise of the Gupta Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandragupta I. As we have already pointed out,[34] the Puranas make the clear statement that Pravira ruled in the region of Vidisa, celebrated great sacrifices and had four of his sons ruling under him. We have also pointed out[35] that Vindhyasakti, the father of this Pravira of the Puranas was no doubt Vindhyasakti the founder of the Vakatakas on the ground that the great Ajanta inscription seems to refer to Vindhyasakti as belonging to the family of the Vindhyakas. From these statements it

34. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1923, on the Vakatakas.

35. *Ibid.*

becomes clear that whatever was the ancestral territory to which Vindhyasakti laid claim, the greatness of the family under Pravarasena was due to the expansion of the Vakataka territory to take in eastern Malava and even parts of Bundelkhand. If, as is very probable, the homeland of the Vakatakas had been somewhere near Elichpur, this expansion could only have been at the expense of the Kshatrapas for the time being. Therefore, as the power of the Vakatakas rose, the territory of the Kshatrapas must have shrunk, and that is what perhaps is indicated in the cessation of the title Maha-Kshatrapa and the existence still of the Kshatrapas. The crushing blow to the Kshatrapa power, however, came probably from the rising power of the Guptas. Vakataka inscriptions make it clear that Pravarasena I enjoyed the imperial title '*Samrat*' which is given up by his successor-grandson Rudrasena I. This could only mean that the Vakataka power suffered a reverse either at the end of the reign of Pravarasena I, or, what is more probable at his death. The significant omission of this title combined with the glowing reference to the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I, the Naga chief of the Bharasiva family, leads to the inference that a calamity befell the dynasty of Pravarasena, and the Bharasiva chieftain exerted himself to retrieve the fortunes of this family. Even so, the restored Vakataka monarchy could only sustain the inferior title of the Maharaja, and could not maintain the claim to the higher title. The calamity could have come only from one of two rival powers at the time, or by the combined efforts of the two. The latter alternative seems impossible. The Kshatrapas do not appear to have been sufficiently strong to have brought

this calamity to the family of their former rival although they must have exerted themselves in this direction. There seems, however, no doubt about a great struggle for recovery of power and prestige by the Kshatrapas, and they succeeded in it ultimately to a considerable extent. This recovery must have taken place later. Whatever might be the actual cause of the calamity, Chandragupta I was ready to take advantage of it, and made use of the opportunity probably to administer a crushing defeat upon the Kshatrapas and their allies, the Bahlikas, and that perhaps gave him the title to set up an *adhirajya*. A short dynasty of three Bahlikas is referred to in the Puranas as ruling in this region, probably the region west of Mahishmati, and the victory over the Bahlikas by marching across the seven mouths of the Indus, ascribed to the Chandra of the Meharauli Pillar seems to be clearly in reference to such an achievement of Chandragupta I, and that is what gave the title to Chandragupta to set up an *adhirajya* which had the simultaneous consequence of reducing the Vakatakas from their *Samrajya* to the position of mere *Maharajas*. The temporary extinction therefore of the Maha-Kshatrapa and the Kshatrapa offices seems to be due to this defeat by Chandragupta I. The recovery of the Kshatrapas from the effects of this crushing defeat to rebuild their power was made very difficult by the occupation of the Vakataka throne by the Prithvisena I in succession to his father. Prithvisena seems to have been a conquering monarch, and had not merely extended his influence over a part of the territory held by his ancestor Pravarasena I, but extended it southwards to take in Kuntala also within the limits of the Vakataka territory. Hence the conclusion seems

warranted that the Kshatrapas could set up again only as a power, owning at least nominal subordination, to the great Vakatakas. That is what seems indicated by the rise of a new family of Kshatrapas and Maha-Kshatrapas, and what is perhaps more significant in this regard, their uniform assumption of the title 'svami' and the occasional creeping in of the title 'Maharaja' after date 270, or A.D. 348. Their subordination must have been real when the great Prithvisena was ruling. His death probably gave the opportunity for a more active revival of their power, and an attempt at the recovery of their lost prestige and of the territory once in their possession. It is this revived power of the new family of the Kshatrapas that must have called for the activity of Chandragupta in this region. As a counterstroke of policy Chandragupta entered into an alliance with their rival, the king of the Vakatakas, by giving his daughter Prabhavatigupta in marriage to Prithvisena's son Rudrasena II. He then set about gradually reducing and incorporating into his territory the outlying portions of Kshatrapa possessions and ultimately put an end to their power.

Such seems the trend of events that led to the great Kshatrapa war under Chandragupta II. The somewhat enigmatic statement of Bana in the *Harshacharita,* and the unfortunately ambiguous note of his commentator Sankararaya both receive unlooked for illumination from a drama discovered by the search party of the Government Manuscripts Library at Madras. This drama is called *Devi Chandraguptam,*[36] and has for

36. Ascribed to Viśākadatta in a Ms. discovered in Gujarat (see *Puratatva,* v. i. 47).

its subject the capture by the Sakas of the queen of Chandragupta and her romantic recovery by him, just exactly as is mentioned by Bana in the passage referred to above. Some of the passages quoted therefrom, make it clear that Dhruvadevi, the crowned consort of Chandragupta, fell into the hands of the Kshatrapas. The Kshatrapa ruler, whoever he was, made overtures of love to the captive queen of which she managed to give information to her husband. Chandragupta proceeded to adopt a heroic measure for the relief of the queen who was in such imminent danger. He assumed the guise of the queen and took along with him a portion of his guard disguised as women-attendants upon the queen, and managed to effect an entry into the city where she was kept prisoner. Throwing off the disguise there they recovered the queen and returned victorious. All this is said to have taken place in a place which is written Aripura in Bana and Alipura in the drama. The former might be taken to mean nothing more than the enemy's city, the latter probably gives the name of the capital wherever it was. If this should turn out to be the actual and proper name of the city, and if it could be located satisfactorily, we may get a little more insight into this campaign.[37] Having recovered the queen, Chandragupta perhaps took effective steps to

37. There is a place called Alirajapura and a district dependent thereon, but on the mere name it would be hazardous to suggest an identification. There is a place called Simhapura, alternatively Aripura, one of the two capitals of Kalinga, according to the Tamil classics *Silappadhikaram* and *Manimekhalai*. This has to be located in North Kalinga on the south frontier of Ranchi District. This seems too far east for even a Saka raid at this period.

wipe out a dynasty of unworthy rulers such as the later Kshatrapas had apparently become, and the result of a protracted war was the end of the Kshatrapa rule in Konkan, Gujarat and such parts of Malava as they still had possession of. The fact that the queen was actually carried off as a prisoner, and that Chandragupta had recourse to the dangerous strategem of himself going, it may be at the head of a select body of his troops, gives a clear indication of the protracted and dangerous character of the war.* It would therefore be safe to regard that the war was one in which both the Vakatakas and he were alike interested, and the marriage alliance between the Guptas and the Vakatakas was in the nature of a precautionary measure, and not one of a merely superfluous ratification of the treaty as a result of the war. As a result of this war the Gupta empire stretched out to the western sea, and the whole of the western trade of that region came within the sphere of the Gupta empire.

The Gupta empire of Chandragupta II must have included within it practically the whole of Hindustan up to the frontier of the Ganges, if not the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra), beginning from the western mountains. The whole of the territory from north to south between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas was included in the empire. The great bulk of it was, perhaps, practically under the rule of the empire. The region extending southwards from the Vindhyas almost up to the frontiers of Mysore was also under Gupta rule, though less directly. The bulk of this region formed part of the

*This position has to be modified in the light of the text of the drama now available.

kingdom of the Vakatakas. The marriage alliance seems to have brought them not only under the influence of the Guptas but seems to have resulted even in the bringing of their territory under the administrative control of the empire. Prabhavatigupta, daughter of Chandragupta by a junior queen was married to Rudrasena II of the Vakatakas. It would appear as though Rudrasena's reign was a very short one. We have records of Prabhavatigupta as regent on behalf of one son of hers by name Divakarasena, and she carried on the regency, apparently for a long term of years, as the Poona plates of hers happen to be dated in the 13th year; it must be the 13th year of her ward Divakarasena. Apparently Divakarasena died before he attained majority. He was then succeeded by a younger brother Damodarasena, who probably became on his accession, Pravarasena II. A record dated in his 19th year and another of the 21st year seem to have been issued by Prabhavatigupta herself. In his 19th and 21st years, it is very unlikely that Pravarasena could have been a minor. It seems therefore clear that this Gupta princess took an active part in the administration of her son's territory even during the actual period of the rule of that son. That Pravarasena II was not an efficient administrator seems thus clearly indicated. This is put beyond doubt in an unlooked for source in literature.

A drama by name *Kuntalesvara-dautyam,* ascribed to Kalidasa, has a reference which seems to bear directly on the point. The story is that Kalidasa was sent as a Commissioner to the Kuntala country by the emperor Vikramaditya just to see for himself how exactly the administration was being actually carried on. The Commissioner returns to headquarters, and is

accosted by the Emperor with the question 'what does the king of Kuntala'? The answer given by the Commissioner is, 'that Kuntalesa, having placed the burden of administration upon you, is engaged in sucking the honey from out of the lips of damsels smelling sweet liquor'.[38]

This verse is quoted by Rajasekhara in his *Kavya Mimamsa* to illustrate that the drift of a passage could be completely changed by very slight verbal alterations. This very same stanza is quoted in Bhoja's *Sarasvati-kanthabharana* in a similar context. It is however Kshemendra's *Auchitya Vichara Charcha* which refers the passage to the work *Kuntesa-Dautyam* of Kalidasa; but it is the unpublished work *Sringara Prakasa* that gives more details about the passage and makes it clear that it has reference to a Kuntalesvara or Raja of Kuntala. Another Sanskrit work named *Bharata-Charita* contains the verse[39] which ascribes the composition of the Prakrit *kavya Setu-bandham* to a Kuntalesa. This latter *kavya* is, as is very well-known, a work of Pravarasena. The commentary on this work called *Rama-setupradipa* ascribes this work to Pravarasena, the newly installed monarch, from a passage in the text it-

38. *asakalahasitatvāt kṣāḷitānīva kāntyā*
mukuḷitanayanatvād vyakta karṇōt palāni-
pibati madhusugandhīny ānanāni priyāṇām
tvayi vinihitabhāraḥ Kuntaḷānām adhīśaḥ ||

39. *jaḍāśayasyāntaragādhamāragam*
alabdarandhram giri chaurya vṛtyā |
lokeṣvalankāntam apūrva sētum
babandha kīrtya saha Kuntaḷēśaḥ ||

(*Bharata Charita*—Canto 1 now published as No. LXXXVI of the Trivandram Sans. Series.)

self.[40] It ascribes the revision of it to Kalidasa at the instance of Vikramaditya. We already know that Kuntala, the Southern Mahratta country and the south-western portions of the Nizam's Dominions were incorporated in the kingdom of the Vakatakas under Prithvisena I. Under his successors Rudrasena II and his son, Kuntala probably constituted the most important part of the kingdom, and hence one could understand why Pravarasena II is called Kuntalesa. The statement of Ramadasa, that at the instance of Vikramaditya, Kalidasa revised Pravarasena's work coupled with the ascription of the drama *Kuntalesvara-dautyam* to Kalidasa by Kshemendra, makes the position clear that Vikramaditya, Kalidasa and Kuntalesa, the author of the *Setu-bandham,* were contemporaries. That the *Setu-bandham* was a *kavya* of Pravarasena is clear from the statement of *Bana* contained in one of the slokas in the *Harsha Charita*.[41] From the point of view of history, the inference from these details in literature is clear that Pravarasena was an administrator who took his main business very easy, and he did so in the full confidence that, with his maternal grandfather Vikramaditya as his overlord, he need not be particularly anxious about the conduct of his government. This position is reflected in the grants of Prabhavatigupta.

40. *ahinavarāyāraddhā chukkakkhaliyēsu vihaḍima parittāviya*
mettiva pamuharasiva nivvōḍum dukkaam kavvakahā
abhinavarāyārabdhā chyutaskhalitēṣu vighaṭita parisṭhāpita
maitrīva pramukha rasikā nirvōḍumbhavati duṣkaram kāvyakathā.

41. *Kīrtiḥ Pravarasēnasya prayātā kumudōjvalā*
sāgarasya param pāram kapisénéva sētunā. ||

So Vikramaditya's administration had actually to take the kingdom of the Vakatakas within the fold of the empire.

The Gupta empire under Chandragupta II may therefore be regarded as almost co-extensive with that of the empire of Asoka except along the northwest frontier. Along this frontier, it is doubtful, if the Gupta empire extended beyond the mountainous frontier of the west of the Indus. It is very likely that the region of Gandhara and eastern Afghanistan were under petty chieftains, successors of the Kushans under their suzerain the Kush-Newas.[42] This Kushan suzerain was overthrown in the first quarter of the fifth century by the irruption of the White Huns. Before this calamity befell the ruler, the Kushan state under his overlordship seems to have been a fairly compact and strong one, sometimes at war, perhaps more often in alliance, with the ruling Sassanid monarchs of Persia. The empire, therefore, was bounded on the west by mountains on this side of the Kaiber, if it went so far at all; on the north and the east by the bordering kings and kingdoms as detailed in the *prasasti* of Samudragupta; and on the south it went down to the frontier of the present-day Mysore, perhaps including the northern part of it. If it is permissible to draw an inference from what may be taken as the compliment of a poet in the remark of Kalidasa, that the young ruler of Kuntala was devoting himself to a life of enjoyment, secure under the protection of his suzerain overlord, Vikramaditya's empire must have

42. Identified with Toramāna on certain grounds by Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay in a paper presented to the Third Session of All-India Oriental Conference, Madras.

been a well-administered one, where even the most distant provinces felt the influence of the imperial headquarters. As was usual in the organization of Hindu empires of those days, the imperial headquarters had for its charge the internal security by putting an end to all causes of disturbance, or by an efficient method of settlement of differences. It had also to guarantee protection of the frontier. As far as we are able to see from the records of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien, and comparing his account with that of the two later pilgrims Hieun-Tsang and I-Tsing, the empire was traversed by roads, at any rate, so far as Hindusthan was concerned, which enjoyed almost perfect security. This comes out clearly from what Fa-Hien has to say regarding the Dakshina : 'The country of Dakshina is mountainous and its roads difficult for travellers ; even those who know the way, if they wish to travel, should send a present of money to the king who will thereupon depute men to escort them and pass them on from one stage to another showing them the short cuts.' This must be understood in comparison with what he has to say of northern India. It is obvious that Fa-Hien here is drawing a contrast unfavourable to the Dakshina, and this can be understood from what Kalidasa has to say of Pravarasena's administration. In regard to the rest of Hindusthan, Fa-Hien's statements contain his actual experience and not what he gained from hearsay, as in the case of the Dakshina. Fa-Hien travelled through the whole kingdom of Gandhara practically from north to south, and after crossing the Indus marched along the trunk road to as far as the eastern limit of Kosala, and then crossing the Ganges travelled in a triangle from Rajagriha to Gaya, thence to Benares and Allahabad, and back again to

Patna. From there he went across to Tamralipti and set sail for Ceylon. Through all this region no mishap had befallen him such as did to I-Tsing. This is clear evidence of the security of government under Chandragupta. Speaking of the kingdom of Kosala of which the head-quarters was probably Sravasti, Fa-Hien notes: 'In this country, there are 96 schools of heretics, all of which recognize the present state of existence (as real, not illusory), each school has its own disciples, who also beg their food but do not carry alms-bowls. They further seek salvation by building alongside out of the way roads, houses of charity, where shelter, with beds and food and drink, is offered to travellers and wandering priests passing to and fro; but the time allowed for remaining is different in each case.' The last sentence is reminiscent of the rule laid down in the *Arthasastra,* in regard to the stay of travellers in choultries like these, and the good institution of halting places seems to have continued, at any rate, from the days of the Maurya empire down to that of the Guptas in their best days. Describing the kingdom of Magadha, Fa-Hien makes the following observations: 'Of all the countries of Central India this has the largest cities and towns. Its people are rich and thriving, and emulate one another in the practice of charity of heart and duty to one's neighbour. Regularly every year on the 8th day of the second moon they have a procession of images. They make a four-wheeled car of five stories by lashing together bamboos, and these stories are supported by posts in the form of crescent-plated halberds. The car is over 20 feet in height and in form like a pagoda, and it is draped with a kind of white Kashmir painted in various colours. They make images of *Devas* ornamented with gold, silver and strass, and

with silk banners and canopies overhead. At the four sides they make niches each with a Buddha sitting inside and a Bodhisatva in attendance. There may be some 20 cars, all beautifully ornamented and different from one another. On the above-mentioned day all the ecclesiastical and lay men in the district assemble. They have singing and high class music and make offerings of flowers and incense. The Brahmans come to invite the Buddhas; and these enter the city in regular order and there pass two nights while all night long, lamps are burning, high class music is being played and offerings are being made. Such is the custom of all these nations.' One has only to carry himself to a place like Kumbakonam on the day of Makha or to Tiruvidaimarudur on the day of Pushya to see in actual fact what Fa-Hien attempts to describe in words. Describing the capital, he refers to it as the city of Pataliputra, formerly ruled by king Asoka. He then goes on: 'The king's palace and the city with its various halls, all built by spirits who piled up stones, constructed walls and gates, carved designs, engraved and inlaid after no human fashion, is still in existence.' In the following paragraph he refers to a famous Brahman Raivata belonging to the greater vehicle and the habit that he was in of washing his hands when the king touched him, as often the latter came to consult him on matters of importance. He gives the detail that he was over 50 years of age and that all the country looked up to him to diffuse the faith of the Buddha. This seems an indication that Raivata was not much anterior to Fa-Hien and may indicate that Pataliputra continued to be the capital under Chandragupta II though it is not so stated in so many words.

Notwithstanding this position, Chandragupta seems

to have made Ujjain his capital also; and perhaps continued remaining in it for a number of years as the habitual royal residence. It is probable he did so in consideration of the exigencies of his administration, chiefly the war against the Sakas and the consequent organization of the newly acquired provinces in that region. In the period previous to the undated record at Udayagiri, that is, down to A.D. 400 in all probability, his capital was Pataliputra with the alternative Vidisa, near the modern Bhilsa. Thereafter Ujjain became, in all probability, his seat of residence, and therefore came to be regarded by his successors as the capital of the empire. It is common knowledge that Kalidasa refers to this latter city, Vidisa, as a capital.[43] Further on, he refers to Ujjaini by that name in sloka 27, and again speaks of the same city under the name Visala in sloka 30.[44] This presumption that Ujjaini was the capital of Chandragupta in the latter half of his reign is supported by the account that Rajasekhara gives of assemblies (Brahma-Sabhas) which conferred degrees in arts and sciences in early days. One such assembly, according to him, was held at Ujjain to which he refers by the alternative term Visala, and the poets honoured in the assembly at Ujjain were, according to him, Kalidasa, Mentha, Amara, Rupa, Sura, Bharavi, Harischandra and Chandragupta.[45] In the same context he refers also to a similar assembly held for examintion in the *Sastras* at Pataliputra. We have

43. Rajadhāni in his *Mēgha,* śloka 24.

44. The references are to Dr. Hultzsch's edition issued by the Royal Asiatic Society.

45. *Kavya Mimamsa,* p. 55.

shown elsewhere[46] the evidence that Indian literary tradition offers for making Kalidasa a contemporary of Chandragupta II, but he may have been a younger contemporary of the monarch, and if he had to undergo an examination in the Brahma-Sabha held at Ujjain, such a Sabha should have been held under Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya. One of the conditions for holding the Sabha is that the Raja holding it must be a man of learning himself. Kings unlearned should not apparently hold such assemblies. That seems clearly to be the view of Rajasekhara.[47] Even in the matter of learning, therefore, Chandragupta must have been a worthy son of Samudragupta. We have already shown[48] that Pravarasena II of the Vakatakas was, in all probability, the author of the Prakrit *kavya, Setubandham,* and prince pravarasena seems to have been at the court of Chandragupta, as in all likelihood he received his early education there, as he was the son of Prabhavatigupta, the daughter of Chandragupta II himself, and as we have very good reason for believing that she became a widow comparatively early with two young sons (may be three even) Divakarasena and Pravarasena, for the former of whom she was regent for at least 13 years. It is therefore very likely that the young princes were with their maternal grandfather during their period of education, while the mother carried on the administration in the name of the first son. So then Chandragupta's capital Ujjain was the real royal capital during a substantial part of his

46. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* July 1923, The Vakatakas.

47. *Kavya Mimamsa*, p. 54.

48. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute,* July, 1923.

reign, and it seems very likely that Ujjain continued to be the royal capital under his successors during the strenuous times that followed.

Fa-Hien has a note in regard to the condition of what was known as the middle kingdom (Madhyadesa of the Brahmans), which gives a general idea of the condition of administration, though imperfect in many particulars and perhaps even inaccurate in details : 'To the south of this, the country is called the Middle Kingdom (of the Brahmans). It has a temperate climate, without frost or snow ; and the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the king's land have to pay so much on the profit they make. Those who want to go away, may go ; those who want to stop, may stop. The king in his administration uses no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the king's bodyguard have all fixed salaries. Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic ; but *chandalas* are segregated. *Chandala* is their name for foul men (lepers). These live away from other people ; and when they approach a city or market, they beat a piece of wood, in order to distinguish themselves. Then people know who they are and avoid coming into contact with them.

'In this country they do not keep pigs or fouls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places. Only the *chandalas* go hunting and deal in flesh.'

The state of Buddhism and the benefactions that it received, as well as the popularity that it enjoyed, he

notes down in the following paragraphs. In regard to this particular subject Fa-Hien's knowledge must have been more direct and we may accept it more or less, as a correct picture of the general condition of Buddhism and the life of the Buddhists from what we know of the contemporary accounts of Buddhism and Buddhist festivities in the *Mahavamsa* of Ceylon.

'From the date of Buddha's disappearance from the world, the kings, elders, and gentry of the countries round about, built shrines, for making offerings to the priests, and gave them lands, houses, gardens, with men and bullocks for cultivation. Binding title-deeds were written out, and subsequent kings have handed these down one to another without daring to disregard them, in unbroken succession to this day. Rooms with beds and mattresses, food and clothes, are provided for resident and travelling priests, without fail; and this is the same in all places. The priests occupy themselves with benevolent ministrations, and with chanting liturgies; or they sit in meditation. When travelling priests arrive, the old resident priests go out to welcome them and carry for them their clothes and alms-bowls, giving them water for washing and oil for anointing their feet, as well as the liquid food allowed out of hours. By and by, when the travellers have rested, the priests ask them how long they have been priests and what is their standing; and then each traveller is provided with a room and bedroom requisites, in accordance with the rule of the faith.

'In places where priests reside, pagodas are built in honour of Sariputra, Mogalan, and Ananda and Buddhas to come, and also in honour of the Abhidharma, the Vinaya, and the Sutras (divisions of the Buddhist

canon). A month after the annual retreat, the more pious families organize a subscription to make offerings to the priests and prepare for them the liquid food allowed out of hours. The priests arrange a great assembly and expound the faith. When this is over, offerings are made at the pagoda of Sariputra of all kinds of incense and flowers, and lamps are burning all night, with a band of musicians playing. Sariputra was originally a Brahman. On one occasion when he visited the Buddha, he begged to enter the priesthood, as also did the great Mogalan and the great Kasyapa.

'Nuns mostly make offerings at the pagoda of Ananda, because it was he who urged the World-Honoured one to allow women to become nuns. Novices of both sexes chiefly make their offerings to Rahula (son of Buddha). Teachers of the Abhidharma make their offerings in honour thereof, and teachers of the Vinaya in honour of the Vinaya; there being one such function every year, and each denomination having its own particular day. The followers of the Greater Vehicle make offerings in honour of Abstract Wisdom, of Manjusri (the God of Wisdom), of Kuan Yin (Avalokitesvara), and others. When the priests have received their annual tithes, the elders, the gentry, Brahmans and others bring, each one, various articles of clothing and things of which Sammans stand in need, and distribute them among the priests, who also make presents to one another. Ever since the Nirvana of Buddha these regulations of dignified ceremonial for the guidance of the holy brotherhood have been handed down without interruption.'

Except for the one war Chandragupta seems to have enjoyed a reign of peace. This is indicated unmistakably in what Fa-Hien has noted regarding the character of

his administration. Fa-Hien's statements in regard to the excellence of his administration are confirmed in a way by the large variety and the distinctly original character of the coin issues of Chandragupta II. Chandragupta's vast empire, through his long reign of comparative peace, must have had a brisk commercial activity both internal and external which called for the large variety of coins that he issued. This large variety seems to be accounted for as being due to the needs of the various provinces into which the empire of Chandragupta was divided. One feature which does not appear to have received the attention of numismatists is, as is clearly indicated by his silver coinage intended for use in the territory of the Kshatrapas as well as what might be called the Kushan variety, that Chandragupta probably issued for each province a coinage similar to that with which the province was familiar. Such changes as he introduced in the coinage he did while preserving the readily visible external form of it, as far as may be, like the coinage which it was intended ultimately to supersede. This feature of his coinage would account for the long interval that elapsed between the last date on the Kshatrapa coins and the first of those of Chandragupta in the western part of his dominions. There would have been no need for a fresh issue so long as the old coinage was in circulation.

We gain an insight into Chandragupta's provincial administration from the Basarh excavations and the Damodharpur inscriptions. The former unearthed a number of clay seals. From one of these, Dhruvadevi, the royal queen of Chandragupta, seems to have had charge of perhaps the government of a province even under the emperor. Among the clay seals which were

found in the excavations at Basarh (Vaisali) by Dr. Bloch, is, one bearing the following inscription:—

> '*Mahādēvi Śri Dhruvasvāmini, wife of the Mahārājādhirājā Śri Chandragupta and mother of Marārāja Śri Govinda Gupta*'.[49]

There were a number of other seals of officers of various degrees as also of private individuals. Among them there is one of Sri Ghatotkacha Gupta. The variety and character of the seals in this find seem to justify Professor Bhandarkar's suggestion that they were the casts preserved in the workshop of the potter who was the general manufacturer of seals for the locality. There are the seals of a number of officers—of the *Yuvarāja* and *Baṭṭāraka*. These seem somewhat misunderstood and slightly mis-translated as they appear in Dr. Bloch's article in the *A. S. R.* 1903-4 (pp. 101-120). The expression 'Yuvarāja-Bhaṭṭarāka-Kumārāmātya-Adhikaraṇa,' must be taken as a whole and broken up into *amātya-adhikarana* chief among the ministers of the Yuvarāja and Baṭṭāraka-Kumāra. This Kumāra need not necessarily stand for Kumāra-Gupta, but the titles before, Yuvaraja and Battaraka, may seem to indicate that it did. Maharaja Sri Govinda Gupta, another son of Dhruvadevi, whose name appears on the seal of the queen may have been actually carrying on the adminis-

49. The seals, with the inscriptions upon them, attached to the charters issued by the queen Prabhavatigupta about the same time give clear indication of the possibility of Dhruvasvamini's rule. 'Jananyā Yuvarājasya' in place of 'Raja Pravarasēnasya' or something analogous before the expression 'sāsanam ṛipuśāsanam'—this is the last term in these inscriptions.

tration as the deputy of his brother the heir-apparent whose province probably Tirabhukti (or Tirhut) was. The other officers that we find reference to in these seals are similar to those referred to in the Damodharpur inscriptions of the later Guptas, and on the whole give us some idea of the character of the official heirarchy who carried on the administration of the province under the empire. There was a governor or Viceroy who appointed the local governors and who again appointed the governors or subdivisions such as the Vishaya, etc. The headquarters staff of the Viceroy was more or less similar to that of the imperial headquarters themselves, and would seem to have continued pretty much the same from the days of Asoka, who addressed some of his edicts to the Aryaputra (prince) and the Mahamatras (great lords). So here in the days of the Gupta empire some provinces were governed by royal princes such as Tirabhukti in this particular instance. Kumaragupta who was probably the Viceroy must have been detained at headquarters, his brother Govindagupta carrying on the administration in his name. If Govindagupta happened to be too young for carrying on the administration himself, we could understand Dhruvasvamini being in charge of it in the name of her son. We have a parallel instance for this in the position of Prabhavatigupta a daughter of this Chandragupta himself who carried on the administration for her son Divakarasena for 13 years as his regent, and seems to have exercised some authority up to the 19th and the 21st years of Pravarasena II, her other son. The prince and the queen in this case must have been assisted by a board of ministers among whom there must have been a chief, and that is the *amatya-adhikarana;* the chief minister for military

affairs (*Balādhikaraṇa*), the chief commissary officer (*Raṇabhāṇḍāgāra-adhikaraṇa*), the chief of the Police (*Daṇḍapāśa-adhikaraṇa*); there were besides the great chamberlain (*Mahāpratīhāra*), and the chief judge (*Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*). The particular chamberlain Vinayasura is given the additional title *Taravara*, the chief of the Tara or rank. This seems to correspond to the Tamil *Perundaram* who had to countersign documents issuing from headquarters along with the chief secretary, it may be to represent the chief of 'the lords in council'. There were besides the chief of the guild of bankers (*Śrēshṭhin*), the chief carrying traders (*Sārthavāha*), and the chief of the merchants (*Kulika*). These seem to have formed the body of officials constituting the administration. As we find this in regard to one particular province which happened to be in a locality where there was not much likelihood of the disturbance of peace, the inference would be justifiable that this gives the normal constitution of a provincial administration. Tirabhukti was probably regarded as a palatine viceroyalty as it was the accession of that province that constituted the claim to the greatness of the Guptas under Chandragupta I. Chandragupta II probably regarded that this province required to be governed by personages of no less importance than the queen-consort, or a royal prince both as a matter of dignity, and because Ujjain had become his habitual headquarters.

The earliest known date of Kumaragupta I is 96, that is A.D. 415; Chandragupta must have died then. It may be that he died a year or two earlier. In or about the year A.D. 414-415 the vast empire of Chandragupta passed peacefully on to the rule of his son Kumaragupta I by his royal queen Dhruvadevi. Kumaragupta's was a

comparatively long reign going on to the year 136 almost, thus giving him a reign of 40 years. Such materials as are accessible to us at present for the history of the Guptas give us but little information regarding Kumaragupta's reign. This silence of our sources combined with the vast and varied coinage of Kumaragupta would justify the inference that his was a reign of peace throughout.

Much of the credit for the long and peaceful reign of Kumaragupta must be ascribed to the efficient organization of the Gupta empire under Chandragupta II. This benevolent efficiency of organization finds indirect support in the fact, recorded in the Mandasor inscription of Kumaragupta, that a guild of weavers belonging originally to the *Lata* country found it necessary to migrate owing to the disorder prevailing in their native land, and settle down within the empire with a view to ply their trade of silk-weaving and attain prosperity thereby. That a guild of weavers in the course of a generation prospered so well that a considerable section of them could give themselves up to the pursuit of such a leisurely study as astronomy, testifies to the fact that the empire offered the advantages necessary for the prosperity of trade, internal, and perhaps even over seas, in such an article of luxury as silk fabrics. It further shows that even an industrial class like that of silk-weavers could take to the pursuit of a study like that of astronomy, of course among other similar avocations of the cultured. Hints such as these are undoubtedly clear indications of the general condition of prosperity of the empire of Chandragupta, and go a long way to confirm the conclusions to which we are led by a study of Fa-Hien's account of his travels in the country. The Gupta

empire under Chandragupta II reached, therefore, a high level of achievement and would compare to advantage with empires of contemporary and even later times. Is it of this Gupta emperor that the poet has sung:—

Dattvā ruddhagatiḥ Khasādhipatayē dēvīṁ Dhruvasvāminīm
Yasmātkhaṇḍitasāhasō nivavṛtē Śrī Śarma Gupto Nṛpaḥ
Tasminnēva Himālayē guruguhā kōṇakkvaṇat kinnarē
Gīyantē tava Kārttikēya nagara strīṇām gaṇaiḥ kīrttayaḥ ?

[Seventh course of Special Lectures in the Department of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, and as in the Vākāṭaka supplement. Reprinted from the Journal of Indian History, Vol. VII, 1927.]

CHAPTER VIII.

VYAGHRA, THE FEUDATORY OF VAKATAKA PRITHVISENA.

In Volume LV, page 103 of the *Indian Antiquary,* Professor G. Jouveau Dubreuil's identification of the Ucchakalpa chief Vyaghra is presented to us in English by R. C. Temple. The learned professor quotes the recently discovered inscriptions published by Dr. Sukthankar in Volume XVII, page 12, of the *Epigraphia Indica,* where a Vyaghra Deva is referred to "as meditating on the feet of Vakataka Prithvisena." This inscription, as well as the two others of Prithvisena published by Cunningham and Fleet,[1] give no further detail than that the ruler Vyaghra who made the grants was a feudatory of the Vakatakas. As the professor has pointed out, the Ucchakalpas had a neighbouring kingdom ruled over by another family of chieftains. Their boundaries happened to be contiguous along a part of the course of the river Tons (Tamasa) in Central India. A boundary stone fixed by a Divisional Officer refers to the Parivrajaka Maharaja Hastin and Ucchakalpa Sarvanatha as ruling at the time, thus indicating clearly that they were contemporary rulers at the time of the planting of this pillar.[2] The further fact is also correctly stated that the Parivrajaka Hastin dates his grants in the Gupta Era,[3] clearly stating it in so many

1. *Arch. Survey Rep.*, XXI, 97 and *F.G.I.*, pp. 233*ff*.
2. Bhumara Pillar Inscription, *F.G.I.*, p. 111.
3. *F.G.I.* pp. 95, 102, 107, 114.

words. These dates extended from A.D. 475 to 511. Of the other Sarvanatha Ucchakalpa, we have also three inscriptions dated respectively, 193, 197, and 214 of an Era which is not specifically stated. As two of Hastin's dates work out respectively to G.E. 191 and 189 with a possible alternative of 201, and if these two dates for Hastin happen to be correct, and if Hastin was, as the Bhumara pillar inscription states, the contemporary of Sarvanatha, Sarvanatha's dates 193 to 214, though not referring to any particular Era specifically, may have to be referred to the Gupta Era. If it is taken as equivalent to the Traikutaka Era, because in the locality concerned that Era could have been in vogue, there would be a difference of a century almost between the two rulers. It seems therefore, very likely that Sarvanatha's dates are also to be referred to the Gupta Era. If this position is assumed to be correct, Hastin in his last years of rule would have been contemporary with Sarvanatha in the early years of his reign. Sarvanatha was a grandson of a Vyaghra. Of the Ucchakalpas the first chief to achieve any prominent position seems to have been Vyaghra's son Jayanatha, as far as we know about them at present. We have two dates for him, 174 and 177, or A.D. 493 and 497, on the basis that the dates are of the Gupta Era. If Vyaghra the father ruled before him, his probable date would be about A.D. 475.

The region over which the Ucchakalpas ruled is the part of Central India through which runs the river Tons more to the west than to the east. Hastin ruled probably to the west of this roughly. The succession of the two families can be arranged in the following tables for ready reference :—

Parivrajakas

Devadhya or Devahya
|
Prabhanjana
|
Damodara
|
Hastin
dates G.E. 156, 163, 191, 189 (or 201) (c. A.D. 475—511)
|
Samkshobha
G.E. 209 (A.D. 528—529)

Ucchakalpas

Oghadeva
|
Kumaradeva
|
Jayasvamin
|
Vyaghra
|
Jayanatha
date G.E.? 174, 177, (c. A.D. 493—497)
|
Sarvanatha
date G.E. 193, 197, 214 (c. A.D. 512—534)

From these tables it is clear that Hastin could have been contemporary with Sarvanatha, his father Jayanatha, and even his grandfather Vyaghra. If Professor Dubreuil's identification of the Ucchakalpa Vyaghra with the Vyaghra of the Nachna and Ganj inscription should be correct, Vakataka authority must have been acknowledged in Bündelkhand and Baghelkhand. In the immediate neighbourhood, however, Hastin specifically acknowledges the authority of the Guptas, dating his grants in the Gupta Era. There is perhaps nothing impossible in this position, as two friendly powers may have exercised authority in territories contiguous to each other. But the difficulty arises when it is admitted, as the Professor admits, that Jayanatha's and Sarvanatha's dates are in the Gupta era. If they dated their documents in the Gupta era, the presumption would be that they were Gupta feudatories ordinarily. There is the further point that none of the later Ucchakalpas acknowledges the authority of the Vakatakas, while the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions actually acknowledge the authority of Prithvisena Vakataka. Could we imagine that Vya-

ghra about the year A.D. 475 acknowledged the authority of Prithvisena, while his son and successor and his grandson do not make any acknowledgment of Vakataka authority and date their inscriptions in the Gupta era? In fact, the professor's identification of the Vyaghras rests upon the dates of the Ucchakalpa feudatory and Prithvisena II Vakataka being near A.D. 475. There is the further fact, which the professor does not note, that the commands of Prithvisena II's father Narendrasena according to the Balaghat plates, 'were honoured by the lords of Kosala, Mekhala, and Malava,' and he is said to have held 'in check enemies bowed down by his prowess'. It may be possible to presume that the son inherited the territory and extensive authority of the father, and therefore Prithvisena II exercised authority in the same region as well. Prithvisena II's date may be about A.D. 475, perhaps without much margin for error. Having granted so much, have we enough for the identification of the Vyaghra of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions with Vyaghra the Ucchakalpa ?

It would be difficult to sustain the identification. The first point to notice is that while the shorter inscriptions acknowledge the authority of the Vakataka, the more detailed later inscriptions of Jayanatha and Sarvanatha do not do so. Next, the later inscriptions date the documents in the Gupta era as it must be conceded which is incompatible with the acknowledgment of the authority of the Vakatakas who do not use the Gupta era or any other in their documents. Again, the identification might be accepted at least tentatively, if there had been no Vyaghra in that region, and no other Prithvisena among the Vakatakas, whose authority may have extended to that region. On the contrary we have

reference to a Vyaghra in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta ruling over Mahakantara. We have material, satisfactory material, for regarding this Samudragupta as the contemporary of Vakataka Prithvisena I, who is described as a great conqueror and who extended his authority as far as Kuntala in the south, in the Ajanta Inscription.[4] It would be more reasonable to hold, therefore, that the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions are inscriptions of the Vyaghra who acknowledged the authority of the Vakatakas under Prithvisena I. The contemporaneity of Prithvisena I and Samudragupta does not rest merely on the precarious evidence of palaeography. The Balaghat plates of Prithvisena II were on the basis of palaeographic evidence alone referred to the second half of the eighth century by Kielhorn[5], while Dr. Buhler on the same evidence of palaeography assigned the Ajanta inscription of Harisena, who must have been, however, almost a contemporary of Prithvisena II, and came immediately after him to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D.[6] Dr. Sukthankar, editing the Ganj Inscription, considers Buhler's dating too early. and would assign the Ganj inscription to the seventh century A.D., and relies to some extent on Professor Kielhorn's assumption of the eighth century for the Balaghat plates.[7] We have now much more reliable evidence for assigning dates to these rulers on the strength of recently discovered copper plate grants of a Vakataka

4. *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 128.
5. *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 270.
6. *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 138.
7. *E.I.*, Vol. XVII, p. 30.

queen, who claims to have been a Gupta princess. We shall now consider how far this will take us.

A Vakataka queen, Prabhavati Gupta, has been generally known to epigraphists for some time. In the grants of Vakataka Pravarasena II, son of this queen, published by Dr. Fleet in the Gupta Inscriptions,[8] she describes herself as the crowned queen of Vakataka Rudrasena II, son of Prithvisena I. She describes her husband only as a Maharaja. In the same document, she describes herself as the daughter of Maharajadhiraja Devagupta.[9] Notwithstanding the fact that this was another name of Chandragupta, Dr. Fleet sought to identify this Devagupta with the ruler of that name among the later Guptas,[10] to bring the dating in line with palaeographic estimates. It was Professor Pathak who drew attention for the first time in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1912, from another grant of this Prabhavati Gupta since published,[11] to the fact that she described herself as the daughter of a Maharajadhiraja Chandragupta, carrying the genealogy of the Guptas down to Chandragupta II. Another grant since discovered[12] confirms this, and it may be now taken as beyond doubt that Prabhavati Gupta, the crowned queen of Rudrasena II and mother of Pravarasena II, was the daughter of Chandragupta II, the great emperor, son of Samudragupta. Rudrasena's father Prithvisena must have been contemporary with Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya. As Prithvisena I's reign is described in

8. *F.G.I.*, Nos. 55 and 56.
9. *F.G.I.*, p. 33. Sanchi Ins. note.
10. *F.G.I.*, p. 215 and n. 7 on the page.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 39.
12. *Indian Antiquary*. Vol. P.

the Ajanta inscription as having been a comparatively long and prosperous one, we may take it that he was a contemporary of Samudragupta as well. It is just possible that he was contemporary even with Samudragupta's father.[13] That is not very material to our position here.

Among the southern monarchs whom Samudragupta conquered and set free, the second prince in the list happens to be a Vyaghra, the ruler of Mahakantara. The first name is that of the ruler of Kosala. Where was the Mahakantara of which Vyaghra was the ruler? In the period to which these documents have reference almost up to the days of Harsha, Mahakantara must have included the Sagar division of the Central Provinces extending northwards certainly to the Ajaighad state in Bundelkhand. It is likely therefore that this Vyaghra is the chief under reference in the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions, both of which are in the Ajaighad state, and this Vyaghra must have acknowledged the authority of Prithvisena I Vakataka before Samudragupta conquered and set him free, obviously on the understanding that that Vyaghra changed his fealty from the Vakatakas to the Guptas. We require other reasons for holding that this was actually the course of events. In the Balaghat Plates of Prithvisena II, Kosala, Mekhala and Malava are mentioned in order, proceeding east to west and lying across the Vindhya mountains along the northern frontier of the Vakataka dominions proper. In the Samudragupta[14] inscription we begin with Kosala and pass on to Mahakantara, answering more or less roughly to the

13. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute,* Vol. IV, p. 41.

14. F.G.I., pp. 1 to 15.

region extending north to south across Bundelkhand down to the Maikal range (Sanskrit: Mekhala) and beyond. If we can imagine something like a design in the order of conquests of Samudragupta, we ought to suppose that he defeated the rulers of Aryavarta and then proceeded on his southern conquests as a mere matter of ordinary caution, although the inscription for epic purposes puts the southern first. However that be, the consequence of his suppression of the northern rulers is described to be the reduction to his service of the various forest chieftains (*āṭavika Rajas*). That means the region of these forest chieftains begins immediately from the borderland of Aryavarta. We find inscriptions of Hastin describing him as ruler over the 'eighteen forest kingdoms'[15]. These eighteen forest kingdoms must have lain in and about the neighbourhood of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand, and would answer almost exactly to the Mahakantara of Samudragupta, and the region extending southwards from the kingdom proper, if there was such a one. For our present purpose it is just enough if the territory indicated happens to be about the region extending southwards from Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. If the chiefs had been reduced to servitude by the conquests of the northern kings, Samudragupta could safely march forward on his southern invasion. The Nachna and Ganj inscriptions may possibly refer to this Vyaghra, the powerful ruler of Mahakantara, to whose authority the various forest kingdoms may have been subordinate. If Samudragupta felt it necessary to conquer the kingdom, it must have been under another sphere of influence, to use a modern expression. What

15. *F.G.I.*, p. 113, and references thereunder.

is the other authority to which these kingdoms could have been subject ?

It must be the authority of the rival kingdom of the Vakatakas under one of their most important and powerful rulers, Prithvisena. The question may well be asked why the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription does not mention the Vakatakas as such, or Prithvisena as such. The only possible answer to that question seems to us to be that either as a result of a campaign of Samudragupta or before, the two must have come to an understanding and been in some kind of alliance, the relative spheres of their overlordships being more or less indefinite on the extreme frontier. That is the only satisfactory explanation for Samudragupta marching southwards almost as far south as Kanchi and returning along the coast road, without attempting an invasion of the Dakhan and the Southern Maharatta country, specifically stated to be under the authority of the Vakatakas. This position is, to some extent, supported by the fact that the stone inscriptions of Nachna and Ganj frankly acknowledge the overlordship of the Vakataka, although in the form accessible to us the inscriptions are not quite full. As they are, they do not show any elaborate genealogical details with which the later inscriptions of the Gupta period are usually prefaced, whether they be Gupta inscriptions or Vakataka. The inscriptions, as far as their form goes, are in keeping with early Gupta inscriptions even of Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya. The inscriptions merely state the actual ruler and proceed to detail the grant. This ought to be decisive that the Prithvisena referred to in these inscriptions should be regarded as Prithvisena I, the earlier of the two kings of the name.

As against this there stand the palaeographical objections, the dates assigned to these on palaeography alone being apart by almost three centuries. These palaeographical objections should not be regarded as insuperable, as in the present state of palaeographical studies we do find an error of two-and-a-half centuries possible. Such an experienced palaeographist as the late professor Kielhorn referred the Balaghat inscription *on palaeographical grounds* to the latter half of the eighth century. It was already pointed out that the inscription was intended to be issued by the Vakataka Prithvisena II, only two generations removed from Pravarasena II, the son of Queen Prabhavati. Prabhavati Gupta being the daughter of Chandragupta II, her son Pravarasena must have been a contemporary of Kumaragupta, and his son Narendrasena and grandson Prithvisena II could not have gone very much beyond the forward limit of Kumaragupta's long reign. We may, therefore, ascribe to Prithvisena II a date about the end of the fifth century. Prof. Kielhorn's estimate is the end of the eighth century, the margin of error being as wide as about three centuries. Similarly in the case of the Ganj inscription Dr. Sukthankar's estimate is the sixth or seventh century, whereas on the basis of the Prabhavati Gupta's dating, it should be dated about the middle of the fourth century A.D., if it be accepted that the inscription was issued by a feudatory of Prithvisena I. With this possibility of error in palaeographical estimates, it would be hardly possible to attach to palaeography a decisive importance in fixing narrow periods, admitting to the fullest extent the possibility of comparative estimates of age on palaeographical grounds: but palaeographical arguments should not be pressed to the extent of being deci-

sive, where other evidence of value or even of mere validity should indicate another dating.

If it is open to a comparative layman to offer an opinion on matters palaeographical against such well-known experts, it strikes me that the Ganj inscription is of about the same character as the Udayagiri[16] cave inscription of Chandragupta, and it is not altogether without similarity of character to his Sanchi inscription.[17] If sufficient allowance be made for the difference of material, it is not without similarity of character to the copper-plate inscription issued from Sarabhapura.[18] It would be difficult to institute comparisons with inscriptions at great distances. Admitting the possibility, therefore, of differences due to material, and differences due to the skill of the individual who cut these out, I am not inclined to believe there is sufficient difference of character to warrant a difference of two or three centuries in point of age between the one set and the other.

There is a further point to which due weight ought to be given. Ucchakalpa Vyaghra's date is somewhere between A.D. 475 and 493. Almost in the middle of this period, the region concerned was under the authority of Budhagupta and his subordinates. In the year G.E. 165, corresponding to A.D. 484-485, Budhagupta was the overlord, and he had a viceroy in that region, Surasmichandra, who was governing the country between the rivers Jumna and Narbada. There were sub-governors in the region of Eran, of whom we know of two brothers, Matrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu. Matri-

16. *F.G.I.*, p. 28, plate opposite.
17. *F.G.I.*, p. 36, plate opposite.
18. *F.G.I.*, Nos. 40, 41.

vishnu was contemporary with Budhagupta, and Dhanyavishnu was contemporary with *Maharajadhiraja* Toramana, who seems to have succeeded to the government in that region. We have still another record dated G.E. 191, corresponding to A.D. 510-511, from which an inference seems possible that even Banugupta ruled in that region and fought a battle against some enemy, losing his faithful general in the person of Goparaja, who fell fighting. The presumption, therefore, that the rule of the Guptas lasted through the whole of the fifth century, in that region, and possibly during the earlier years of the sixth century, seems to be well-founded on fact. In the face of so much evidence to the contrary, it would be necessary to have much stronger evidence than has so far been produced for postulating the rule of the Vakatakas in that region in the last quarter of the fifth century. Having regard to the different lines of evidence set forth, and the more or less well-established synchronism between the Vakatakas and the Guptas on the relationship of the two families through Prabhavatigupta, it would seem much more justifiable to identify the Vyaghradeva of Nachna and Ganj inscriptions with the Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara of the Samudragupta Pillar Inscription rather than the Ucchakalpa Vyaghra, regarding whom we do not even know the fact that he actually ruled. Fresh evidence may upset this conclusion, but till then this seems the more justifiable position to take.

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CHAPTER IX.

FORGOTTEN EPISODES IN THE HISTORY OF MEDIAEVAL INDIA

'Harsha's death must have loosened the bonds which have restrained the disruptive forces, always ready to operate in India, and led them to produce their natural result, a medley of petty states with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in internecine war. Such was India when first disclosed to European observation in the fourth century, and such it always had been except during the comparatively brief periods in which a vigorous central government has compelled the mutually repellent molecules of the body politic to check their gyrations and submit to the grasp of a superior controlling force.' These are the terms in which the talented author of the *Early History of India* described the condition of affairs that followed the death of Harsha. The century following, namely, the period from A.D. 650 to 750 is comparatively barren of events so far as Hindu India as hitherto known, is concerned. There are, however, some few glimpses into the condition of India at the time from a few sources, the piecing together of which may give us an idea of the actual position of affairs during the period of the three or four generations from that of the great Emperor. From these it is found that an attempt, not altogether unsuccessful, was made to revive the empire of Magadha, so as to make it the dominant force at least in Mid-India. This empire perhaps held together for

four generations when it passed on to another dynasty under Yasovarman of Kanauj, of whom we have had but a few glimpses so far. It would be interesting, therefore, to pursue the painful process of building up which would give us a fuller view of the political condition of India in the century following the death of Harsha.

The death of Harsha, without leaving a successor with a title beyond question, would in the ordinary course of things have resulted in the empire breaking up into the separate kingdoms composing it. It would have been the legitimate ambition of each of these to achieve the imperial position in its own turn. Such, however, does not appear exactly to have been the case in this instance. It is generally taken that there was a usurpation, and the usurper fell a victim to the consequences of his own unroyal treatment of the ambassador from China. For this so-called usurpation and what followed in consequence, our only sources of information are such references as we find in the history of the Tang dynasty of China. As far as the available details take us, there is nothing clear to indicate that Arjuna, or Arunasva as he is called, usurped the empire. It seems to be much rather that Arunasva was the ruler of the province called Tirabhukti in that period, embracing within it the region between the Himalayas and the Ganges, and extending eastwards from the Gangetic Doab to the Kharatoya River. That would mean no usurpation in the ordinary sense of the term, unless by usurpation is meant the assertion of independence by a governor when the empire ceased to exist in consequence of the death of the emperor and the absence of a successor. This inference seems

clear as, among the details relating to the Tibetan war, there is no indication of Arunasva having mobilized the whole of the military resources of the empire against the Tibetan army under the Chinese ambassador. There is a positive statement that Kumara Bhaskara Varman of Assam supplied provisions and rendered other assistance of the kind, to the Tibetan army. This he could not have done if it was the empire that was at war with the Tibetans. Besides Maghada, the south of the Ganges seems to have remained absolutely unaffected by the war.[1] It seems, therefore, better to regard the war as a local affair concerned only with a single province of the empire of Harsha which at the time, had set itself up as an independent kingdom.

This conclusion comes out clearly from the dispositions that Harsha made of his empire in the later years of his reign. We learn from the *Harshacharita* and from Hiuen T'sang that one ruler who defied Harsha's power even after he established himself firmly upon the throne of the united kingdoms of Thanesar and Kanauj was Sasanka of Bengal. Apparently the operations against him committed to the charge of Bhandi by Harsha did not have the result of crushing the enemy out of existence.[2] Far from it, Sasanka was still ruling Bengal with considerable power till almost about the year A.D. 620. The only possible inference from this is that the punitive expedition against him ended merely in an agreement, the actual terms of which we do not know; but the fact that Sasanka was still

1. On this see Waddel's article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, for January 1911 and the *Indian Antiquary*, 1900.

2. *Harshacharita*, translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 224.

left in considerable power—perhaps even extended power—indicates that the terms were not all to the advantage of Harsha. The issue of the Ganjam grant in the Gupta *Samvat* 300, that is A.D. 619-20[3] would justify this inference. Up to the year therefore A.D. 620 Sasanka lived and exercised his authority unimpaired over the eastern kingdom of Bengal and the adjoining territory.

Hiuen T'sang makes the statement in his description of Gaya, that Sasanka uprooted the Bodhi tree there root and branch, and that a succeeding ruler, Purnavarma by name, of the dynasty of Asoka repaired the damage and let the tree grow twenty feet. He further states that Purnavarma was the ruler till some time before the visit of Hiuen T'sang. These remarks of the Chinese traveller warrant the inference that Purnavarma became ruler in the region where Bodh-Gaya is situated in succession to Sasanka, and ruled till a short time before the visit of Hiuen T'sang.[4] It seems probable that, after the death of Purnavarma, Harsha annexed the territory to his own dominions, if he did not do that before, and this conclusion finds support in another remark of Hiuen T'sang that about the year A.D. 640, Harsha was returning from an expedition to Kongyodha.[5] There is further support for this position in the fact that Kumara Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa (Assam) issued a copper plate grant[6] from Karnasvarna, the capital actually of Sasanka. As this

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, vi, 143.
4. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, ii, 115.
5. *Ibid.*, i, 349, *Life*, p. 159.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, xii, 65-79 and *Indian Antiquary*, 1914, p. 25.

ruler and Harsha were on terms of a treaty alliance, and very friendly to each other, it would be safe to infer that Karnasvarna and a part of the territory of Sasanka were made over to Kumara by Harsha after the death of Sasanka. It was probably in this general arrangement, that Purnavarma became ruler of at least a part of Magadha, it may be the whole of Magadha. The death of Purnavarma probably occasioned the need for Harsha's intervention in Magadha, and that is perhaps what is indicated in his expedition to Kongyodha referred to above. It seems, therefore, justifiable that the death of Sasanka led to the annexation to the empire of Harsha of the extensive kingdom of Bengal, and that Harsha did not straightaway annex it to the empire but made his own dispositions by dividing the territory of Sasanka among the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms or viceroyalties by rounding off their frontiers on a systematic basis. It seems, therefore, clear that the territory east of the Doab and extending from the Himalayas to the sea was, in the last years of the emperor, divided into the following viceroyalties:—(1) Tirabhukti taking in the whole territory between the Himalayas and the Ganges, and westward of the Kharatoya River to the very frontiers of the Doab; (2) the territory of Assam to the east of the Kharatoya River taking in bits of Bengal in the near border; (3) Magadha with perhaps a considerable slice of territory added extending its frontiers up to the Ganges in its lower course; (4) Bengal itself must have been reconstituted by including in it all the territory in the lower course of the Ganges, and must have comprised in it the districts lying along the coast of what is now Bengal and all Orissa. This we find to be the actual disposition of powers in the

century following the death of Harsha from such records as are accessible to us. Tirabhukti must have been a viceroyalty of very great importance, and so also Magadha. Kamarupa was undoubtedly a kingdom in alliance, subordinate alliance though it be. Bengal was perhaps a feudatory kingdom also, but may have been under the rule of a local dynasty, which may have been even that of Sasanka himself. If Harsha made such a disposition of his territory during his lifetime, it is possible to infer that this territory broke up into four kingdoms on the death of Harsha, without leaving a successor.

Of these divisions of the empire in the east it was only Tirabhukti, or the region between the Ganges and the Himalayas, that was actually involved in the war against the Tibetans and the Nepalese, who intervened on behalf of the Chinese ambassador Wang Hiuen T'se. The war went against the Indian ruler, who was taken prisoner along with his family, and was carried over ultimately to China by the ambassador, where he died. As far as the details of the war accessible to us go, we do not find that the neighbouring province of Magadha, the part of it south of the Ganges, or any other part of the empire was involved in it, except for the assistance which the ruler of Assam gave to the Tibetans by way of supplies, etc. Therefore it may be taken that the war was actually confined to the single province of the empire, which may for convenience be called the viceroyalty of Tirabhukti. Almost ten years after the war, the self-same Chinese ambassador, a high placed official of China, the Minister in charge of the Imperial Archives, visited India again on a tour of pilgrimage in the course of which he

was able to proceed unmolested to all the Buddhist holy places within the sphere of a Buddhist pilgrim's beat. What was more he returned without molestation across the north-western frontier. The actual date of this pilgrimage is A.D. 657. In A.D. 657 therefore the country must have enjoyed a certain amount of peace and provided a sufficient amount of security for an official of the importance of Wang Hiuen T'se to pass through unmolested. More than this perhaps we may even presume that there was something like a common authority recognized though this need not necessarily be an inevitable inference. Was there such a power which may be taken to have exercised extensive authority over the region of Mid-India to be regarded more or less as a successor of the empire ?

We have some records of a dynasty of rulers who affiliated themselves in their grants to the family of the later Guptas, though not to that of the imperial Gupta dynasty. One ruler by name Adityasena has left behind him half a dozen records of his, of which all but one are undated.[7]

The dated one belongs to the year 66, obviously of the Harsha era, which would mean the year A.D. 672. Another feature of these records is that in some of them he does not give himself the suzerain title of Maharajadhiraja etc., while in some he gives himself those titles. The inference therefore is clear that he started as a subordinate ruler, and at some stage of his career he transformed himself into a suzerain power. This is confirmed by the fact that his father is referred

7. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, Nos. 42-46.

to with no higher titles than that of a *sāmanta,* and nothing more is stated of him than that he was the intimate friend of Harsha. This reference to Madhavagupta in association with Harsha in the records gives us the clue to an identification, which perhaps would throw light upon the connection of this feudatory family of the Guptas, with Magadha.

If this Madhavagupta, the father of Adityasena, was the same as the Madhavagupta who figures in the *Harshacharita* as the friend and companion of Harsha, we may draw the inference that when Harsha rearranged the province in consequence of the death of Sasanka, he may have appointed his friend to the viceroyalty of the important and even palatine principality of Magadha.

The Aphsad stone inscription[8] of Adityasena gives a list of eight generations of Guptas in the following order:—

Krishnagupta
|
Harshagupta
|
Sri Jivitagupta
|
Kumaragupta
|
Damodaragupta
|
Mahasenagupta
|
Madhavagupta
|
Adityasena

In regard to some of these, the following points of historical interest are also noted. No. 4, Kumaragupta

8. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, No. 42.

is said to have defeated the ocean-like army of Isanavarman, and entered, as if plunging in water, the fire specially lighted in Allahabad. This means that he fought against Isanavarman and ascended the funeral pyre, perhaps because he was defeated. His successor Damodaragupta died in battle against the Maukharis, whose elephants caused the death of the Huna soldiers. His successor Mahasenagupta defeated Susthitavarman's army, 'the fame of which deed of heroism was heard on the banks of Lauhitya'. Then come Madhavagupta, whose friendship Sri Harshadeva sought. Then followed Adityasena. Of these Mahasenagupta was probably a ruler connected by marriage alliance with the family of Harsha. Harsha's grandfather Adityavardhana is said to have married Mahasenaguptā, who from her name was probably a sister of Mahasenagupta. If so he must have been a maternal uncle of Prabhakaravardhana, the father of Harsha. Mahasenagupta is said to have defeated the army of a Susthitavarman. This Susthitavarman is taken to be the ruler of Assam and the father of Kumara Bhaskaravarman by some scholars on the ground that the River Lauhitya is mentioned in the connection. This, however, does not necessarily follow. The River Lauhitya is not mentioned as anywhere near the scene of battle; it is merely mentioned as a place on the uttermost eastern frontier up to which the fame of the heroic deed had spread. It cannot, therefore, bear the weight of the inference that the Susthitavarman referred to is the ruler of Assam. There is undoubtedly an Assam contemporary of Mahasenagupta by name Susthitavarman. If this Susthitavarman had gone to war with Mahasenagupta, the fact is likely to be mentioned in connec-

tion with the embassy that came to Harsha from Assam.[9] The *Harshacharita* is not likely to have overlooked a detail like that. The probabilities, therefore, are that this Susthitavarman was a Maukhari ruler, though the name has not come down to us in any of the records or coins so far accessible, of this dynasty. Notwithstanding this want of direct reference, it would be more in keeping with the history of the relations between the Maukharis on the one side and the ruling dynasty of Thanesar on the other, to regard this Susthitavarman as a Maukhari, a brother probably of Sarvavarman rather than a son. Apart from that it is clear that this Mahasenagupta was the Gupta contemporary of Prabhakaravardhana. Where did he rule, and what was his kingdom ? These are the points that we shall have to settle on the basis of such evidence as we have.

In the dynastic list of these Guptas, the first three names have no historical association. The next three names come into close connection with the Maukharis as almost hereditary enemies. The following two belong to a period following Harsha, which we have dealt with already in part. The Maukharis had their headquarters at Kanauj, and had a comparatively extensive kingdom.[10] Among them there are eight rulers in succession forming a dynasty up to the date of Harsha or Madhavagupta. Their names may be set down in order as follows:—

9. *Harshacharita*, pp. 246-7. Trans. C. & T., p. 217. The translators adopt the reading Stithivarman. The *Nirnayasagara* text gives the correct reading Susthitavarman.

10. Fleet, *op. cit.*, Nos. 47-52.

Harivarman
|
Adityavarman, married Harshaguptā
|
Isvaravarman married Upaguptā
|
Isanavarman
|
Sarvavarman — Susthitavarman
|
Avantivarman
|
Grihavarman

The fourth Isanavarman seems to be thought of as the ruler of this dynasty who really brought it into importance. Of the first we have no information; of the second and the third, the only useful information is that they married apparently two Gupta princesses, and if we may assume from the name that they were related to the contemporary Gupta rulers; the queen of Adityavarman must have been a sister of Harshagupta, and the queen of Isvaravarman a princess perhaps similarly related to Jivitagupta. Whether that be so or no, Isanavarman assumed the title of *Maharajadhiraja,* and was the son of Isvaravarman by Upaguptā. It is against him that Kumaragupta fought and failed. His son was Sarvavarman, who styled himself *Paramamahesvara* and *Maharajadhiraja.* We have already stated that Susthitavarman, must have been a successor or Sarvavarman, either a brother or a son, and as such fought against the Maukharis. Next follows Avantivarman, whose son Grihavarman was married to Rajya Sri, sister of Harsha. We thus see that Susthitavarman may have been the contemporary of Mahasenagupta. Passing on to the family of Harsha himself, we find that Prabhakaravardhana was the son of Adityavardhana by his queen Mahasenaguptā.

The latter name Mahasenaguptā raises a presumption that she was a sister of Mahasenagupta who fought with Susthitavarman. If this should be correct Prabhakaravardhana took rank with Avantivarman, his son Harsha with Grihavarman, a position which seems to be warranted by what appears in the *Harshacharita*. Where did this dynasty of Guptas rule ? Was it in Magadha ?

We know that Madhavagupta's successors were associated with Magadha. This would naturally raise a presumption that the family ruled in Magadha. We see in the *Harshacharita* and in the inscriptions that a certain number of Gupta princes played a prominent part in Harsha's reign. Of these three names are worthy of notice. The first is Devagupta whom Rajyavardhana destroyed according to the Madhuban grant of Harsha.[11] Rajya during his short life fought only two wars the one against the Huns and the other against the Malva ruler who carried on a war against Grihavarman, his brother-in-law, killed him and threw Rajya Sri into prison. Rajya had to conduct a war of reprisal against him. He conducted the war successfully, killed the Malva ruler, and returned victorious with his cousin Bhandi as his companion. When Rajya in his turn was assassinated by Sasanka, Bhandi led the army of his master successfully back to Thanesar and is said to have brought along with him a number of Malva notables in chains.[12] It therefore, seems indubitable that Devagupta was the ruler of Malva. Again the *Harshacharita* makes reference to two

11. *Ep. Ind.*, i, 67.

12. *Harshacharita,* pp. 254-5. See also note on this subject by Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval India*, vol. i.

princes of Malva,[13] Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta, slightly older than the brothers, Rajyavardhana and Harshavardhana. These were sent by their father to the court of Prabhakaravardhana. Of these two brothers, Kumara was made the companion of Rajya and Madhava occupied a similar place with respect to Harsha. It is obviously this person to whom the *Harshacharita* refers as the Malva prince (*Malava Rajasunu*)[14] when Bana paid him the first visit.

The Malava Raja from whom these princes came to the court of Thanesar must have been in alliance with and related to, the royal family, or else it would be difficult to understand that these princes should be sent as pages in attendance. If Mahasenaguptā, the mother of Prabhakaravardhana was the sister of Mahasenagupta he would then be sending his sons to the court of his nephew, and there would be certainly nothing undignified in it. It appears therefore that Mahasenagupta, the father of Madhavagupta and Kumaragupta was the ruler of Malva being allied by marriage with the family of Thanesar and kept the peace with them while carrying on an unremitting war against the Maukharis of Kanauj. The fact that the brothers Madhavagupta and Kumaragupta were sent to Prabhakaravardhana's court was probably because there was another prince who succeeded to the throne with whom these princes could not have been as happy as at the court of Prabhakaravardhana. Devagupta whom Rajyavardhana punished must, therefore, have been the ruler of Malva in succession to Mahasenagupta.

13. *Harshacharita,* p. 153 and Translation, 119.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 87 and *Ibid.*, p. 66.

So we can take it that Mahasenagupta and his predecessors ruled in Malva in all probability and were Gupta rulers of Malva.[15] After the conquest of Malva the dynasty came to an end with Devagupta, and the two princes belonging to the royal family were in the court of Harsha himself. Harsha made other arrangements to carry on the government. That accounts for the statement of Hiuen T'sang that there was a Brahman ruler in Malva. Devagupta and Kumaragupta get omitted in the inscriptions of Adityasena and his successors, because they were collaterals and Madhavagupta had perforce to be mentioned as he was in the direct line. Even so the Aphsad inscription has nothing more to say of him than that he was sought in friendship by Harsha. There is no other person who appears to have been as good a friend of Harsha as the Malva prince Madhavagupta in the *Harshacharita.* We can, therefore, safely take it that the Madhava of the inscription referred to is no other than the Madhavagupta, the friend of Harsha according to the *Harshacharita.* This Madhava was in the company of Harsha almost in all the critical moments of his life. He was the one companion on whom Harsha rested his arms when fatigued by his wandering in search of his sister, as he had to go on foot in the last stage of it.[16] He seems to have been the person to whom he addressed the remark about the young gallant when Bana first paid him a visit in his camp on the river Ajiravati. This Madhavagupta, the father of Adityasena was clearly the Malva prince of the name. How did he come to be the ruler of Magadha ?

15. Mr. C. V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, note referred to above.
16. *Harshacharita,* p. 265. Translation, 235.

This could only be by Harsha's appointment. As we have pointed out already Harsha must have made new dispositions of the territories in the eastern part of his empire after the death of Purnavarman, and, in the arrangements, must have constituted the viceroyalty of Magadha, to which he probably appointed his trusted friend Madhavagupta. Adityasena inherited the territory from his father. He probably assumed independent titles, and even styled himself paramount ruler some time after the Tibetan war when there was no chance of a revival of the empire. After the death of Sasanka, Harsha must have reconstituted the province by creating a viceroyalty for the whole of the region of Tirhut carrying its eastern frontier up to the Kharatoya River. All east of it was within the kingdom of Kumara Bhaskaravarman, whose authority extended even to this side of the Kharatoya river, as he issued a grant from Karnasvarna, near the capital of Sasanka. The territory on this side of the Ganges, extending as far as the frontiers of Orissa, was constituted as the province of Magadha, appointing Madhavagupta to the charge of it. The kingdom of Bengal must have been reconstituted and with the addition of Orissa, and possibly a part of Kalinga, should have been formed a province by itself. That it was so under the empire is clear from the fact that Hiuen T'sang refers to Harsha's return from an expedition to Kongyodha which is referred to in the Ganjam inscription of Sasanka. Arjuna or Arunasva was apparently ruler of Tirabhukti, and his defeat and imprisonment as a result of the Tibetan war must have induced the others to seek their own safety. That was probably the occasion when Adityasena assumed independence which may be about A.D.

650. His inscription is dated A.D. 672 and gives him paramount titles; and these were probably assumed by Adityasena some time about the period when the Chinese ambassador Wang Hiuen T'se visited India on his third mission. The position thus founded by Adityasena continued intact through the reigns of his son Devagupta, his grandson Vishnugupta, and his great grandson Jivitagupta. The Deo Barnark inscription of the last makes reference to grants of Baladitya, Sarvavarman and Avantivarman which he renewed by this grant. This is additional evidence that he was ruler over the territory not only of the two Maukharis, but even of Baladitya, in all probability the Maharaja Baladitya of Hiuen T'sang. The territory of Adityasena should have been the same as the territory over which the Maukharis ruled in this part, and supports the view put forward here that the earlier Guptas were rulers of Malva, and the father of Adityasena was transplanted in Magadha.

What was really the position or the extent of the empire of Adityasena, if it is permissible to call it such? Of the few inscriptions that have come down to us relating to this period and of this dynasty the actual records of the dynasty do not give us any idea of the extent of his empire, or the character of his authority. But there is a record at Deograh in Bihar,[17] in the heart of his territory proper, which states that he was ruler of a comparatively extensive empire, and that his authority at any rate, extended as far as *Cholapura*. He is said to have brought vast wealth obtained at the capital of the Chola, and with that, celebrated the third *Asvamedha*. He is further said to have constructed a temple of Vishnu in

17. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 212, No. 6.

the form of Narasimha, and in connection with this establishment the record purports itself to have been originally made. Unfortunately however, the record is found in a temple dedicated to Vaidyanatha, that is Siva, and is in the Maithili characters of about the sixteenth century. As the record itself contains reference to a further establishment of Vishnu in the form of the Primeval boar (*Varaha*), the document that has come down to us cannot be the original, but a comparatively late copy. One feature in it is worthy of note. Adityasena is said to have brought the wealth and built the temple referred to before, in the *Kritayuga,* that is in the golden age of the Hindus, and the queen's name is given as Koshadevi, instead of Konadevi which was her actual name. The latter feature can be explained as a copyist's error, and the former feature would mean that at the time the record was put in its present form, it was so ancient in the estimation of contemporaries that the temple was taken to be of immemorial foundation. Notwithstanding these defects, we may take it that the record is a copy of an older, and even genuine original. At the same time it must be admitted that the *Cholapura,* which would mean nothing else than the capital of the Chola country, may contain an error in transcription. It may not be safe, therefore, to draw the inference that he actually went to the Chola country, or laid the Chola under tribute. In the latter half of the seventh century, the Chola power may have existed, but in no high position in the Chola country proper. But there was perhaps a Chola country in the region extending from Kalahasti to Cuddapah, to which Hiuen T'sang refers in his Chuliye. Whichever be the Chola country under reference it would perhaps be unsafe to take it that Adityasena's authority or even

influence, extended as far south as the Chola country. But the mere general achievements ascribed to him seem possible from the other records of his, and would make the inference sustainable that he was a sovereign of very great influence in Magadha and the surrounding territories, and that his influence and power were great enough for him to put forward a claim to imperial authority, without the claim being seriously called in question.

We have the date for Adityasena of A.D. 672 as was mentioned already, and according to a Nepal inscription,[18] he married one of his daughters to a Maukhari prince, by name Bhogavarman, which means that at the time of the dominance of Adityasena's influence in the central region of Hindustan, the Maukharis, had not gone quite out of existence. They were still in a position of sufficient influence and retained so much of their prestige, as to enter into marriage relations with the suzerain dynasty for the time being.

This Bhogavarman's daughter married the Nepal prince, Sivadeva, and her son was a Jayadeva for whom we have a date in the Harsha Sam. 153, which would correspond to A.D. 759-60. At the time of the Tibetan invasion, Nepal was in alliance, perhaps in subordinate alliance with Tibet, the Tibetan ruler having married one of the princesses of Nepal. This Jayadeva of Nepal was the great grandson of Adityasena in the female line. Jivitagupta was his great-grandson in the male line. We shall not perhaps be far wrong if we take it that Jivitagupta of the Deo Barnark inscription was almost a contemporary of this Jayadeva of Nepal. Therefore Jivitagupta's date would be roughly about the middle of the eighth century when according to Kalhana's *Rajataran-*

18. *Indian Antiquary,* ix, p. 180.

gini the Kashmir ruler, Lalitaditya, Muktapida defeated, and overthrew completely the ruler of Kanauj, Yasovarman. This perhaps indicates that the suzerainty of Adityasena and his successors gradually shifted from the Guptas of Magadha to the ruler of Kanauj, who might possibly have been of the dynasty of the Maukharis. This seems to be borne out by the statement in the inscription of Jayadeva of Nepal, referred to above; for the record mentions the fact that this Jayadeva married princess Rajyamati. Rajyamati is said to have been *the daughter of a Sri Harshadeva, Lord of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga, Kosala* and other lands, *and was of the race of Bhagadatta.* The race of Bhagadatta was the race which ruled over Assam, as Bhagadatta was the son of Narakasura, and the family of Kumara Bhaskaravarman claimed descent from him. This Harshadeva must, therefore, have been the ruler of Assam, to which perhaps, he had added by his own efforts, or by those of his immediate predecessors, the province of Odra, Kalinga and Kosala, as Pundra had already been added to the territory of Kumara perhaps in the last years of Harsha. This description of Harshadeva's territory keeps clear of Magadha, and is almost along three frontiers of it. Therefore at the period of rule of Yasovarman the rulers of Pundra or Bengal must have exercised authority or rule over a considerable extent of territory along the eastern frontier, extending from Assam to Ganjam in the Madras Presidency. When Muktapida had overthrown Yasovarman and started on his *digvijaya*, the first ruler he could attack was the ruler of Kalinga, according to the *Rajatarangini*[19] as the territory of Yasovarman had

19. Translation by Stein, Book I, p. 145, etc.

already been subdued. In another of his adventures he had to get across to the ruler of Bengal to try his strength against. When he wanted to gain assistance against the Bengal ruler, having escaped from prison by stratagem, he could apply to the king of Nepal. Thus the reduction of Yasovarman to subjection brought the Karkotaka ruler of Kashmir into conflict with the ruler of Kalinga with none other between. Yasovarman's authority must, therefore, have extended not only over the territory of Kanauj proper, that is, the ancestral kingdom of the Maukharis, but must have taken in the whole of Magadha. That again is an indication that the dominant authority passed from the family of Adityasena, that is, from the Guptas of Magadha, to Yasovarman of Kanauj.

Of Yasovarman we have hitherto known but little beyond what is contained in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. So far as that work is concerned it mentions Yasovarman only incidentally as an important ruler of Central India who had been overcome in war by Lalitaditya Muktapida, in the course of a description of the incidents of the reign of the Kashmir ruler. It adds one more detail regarding Yasovarman, namely that he was a patron of two great poets Bhavabhuti and Vakpatiraja. Bhavabhuti is the well-known author of the three dramas, *Mahavira Charitam, Uttara Rama Charitam,* and *Malati-Madhava.* Vakpatiraja describes himself as a pupil of this Bhavabhuti who ultimately succeeded to the position at court occupied by Bhavabhuti as poet laureate.[20] In his Prakrit poem Gaudavaho (Gaudavadha, the slaying of the Bengal ruler), he is described

20. Gaudavaho, 797-804. Introduction xxxiii.

in true epic fashion as a great ruler, a vertiable incarnation of Vishnu, whose chief achievement and title to fame was his conquest of Gauda (Bengal) and the killing of the Gauda ruler, which forms the subject of the Prakrit-epic. Lalitaditya Muktapida who vanquished Yasovarman in his turn claims to have overthrown and killed another Bengal ruler. From what has been said above, Harsha was the great ruler of Assam in whose territory was included Bengal and the province appurtenant thereto. He is given the name of Harish in the traditional history of Assam.[21] That probably was the ruler who was overthrown by Yasovarman, and hence the great glorification that is made of this incident in the Gaudavaho. In the *History of Assam* the dynasty of Bhagadatta is said to have come to an end either directly or indirectly with the ruler Harish. Is this not a variant of the name Harsha ? There was a short succession of two or three rulers following this revolution, and another dynasty settled itself upon the throne. Has this not a reference to the death of the two successive rulers one of them having been put to death by Yasovarman and the other by Lalitaditya Muktapida ? If this should happen to be correct, Yasovarman must have established an empire in succession to Adityasena in Mid-India, as his first title to greatness, according to Gaudavaho, is the overthrow of a Magadha ruler. He extended this empire to include Vanga (Bengal) and all that formed part of it at the time. The empire, therefore, founded by the later dynasty of the Guptas in Magadha was continued under Yasovarman and was put an end to by the overthrow of Yasovarman by the ruler of Kashmir. This put an end

21. *Vide* Sir Edward Gait's *History of Assam*.

to the suzerainty of the central powers, and it was now the turn of the frontier kingdoms to assert their power and establish an ascendency if possible. Three powers stood out almost in competition to achieve this ascendency, the frontier kingdom of Kashmir, the rising kingdom of the Gurjaras in Maru or Marwar, and the newly established kingdom of Bengal in succession to the rulers of Assam. The latter half of the seventh century and the greater part of the eighth century were taken up with the revival of the Gupta empire in Magadha followed by that of Yasovarman, possibly a Maukhari, and this central Indian Empire made way for the struggle between the Gujaras and the Palas of Bengal and culminated in the establishment of the empire of the Gurjarars at Kanauj.

NOTE

The poem of Gaudavaho of Vakpatiraja, published so far, consists of 1209 slokas in the Bombay Sanskrit series (No. 34). On the face of it, it deals with the slaying of the Gauda king on the analogy of the poem Ravanavadha. The poem therefore is expected to deal with the death of a Gauda king at the hands of the enemy presumably in war, or after a combat of some sort. In the form in which it is available to us it seems an incomplete poem. The 1209 slokas, all that is available so far, do not carry us far into the narrative. The Editor, Mr. S. P. Pandit, sets himself up to consider whether it is a complete work or no, and adduces many arguments of value to prove that the poem is incomplete. He nowhere refers to the colophon of the work which states in clear terms, that what is printed, the whole of 1209 *slokas,* is *Katha-*

mukha or introduction which makes all discussion on this question superfluous. Obviously therefore, he had some reason to regard this colophon as not genuine or not forming part of the original. Even if it should be so, there is but little doubt that the part printed is nothing more than the introduction.

If the published part of the 1209 *slokas* is the *Katha-mukha* that it pretends to be, there must be a hint at any rate of the Gauda monarch who died at the hands of the hero and some indication of the greatness of the achievement. The first 697 *slokas* describe a sort of *digvijaya* of the hero, and what follows is merely an account of the author and the circumstances under which the poem came to be composed. Is it legitimate to expect any indication of the main topic in the first as Mr. Pandit has done ? This part has reference only to the anterior history of the hero and what follows is really the introduction to the main theme. In the first 697 *slokas* there is frequent reference to the defeat and death of a Magadha king[22] and to an invasion of Vanga territory involving a defeat of the king.[23] There is no warrant for equating the *Magadadhipa* of the *slokas* as equivalent to the Gauda, nor does the commentator do so in these cases. He falls into the blunder, so it must be called unfortunately, as the poem refers to Magadha, Vanga and Gauda separately only in *sloka* 844[24] which states that *formerly*, Magadha-nayaka was uprooted and dispossessed of his kingdom.

This was not all. The Magadha king fled from the

22. *Slokas* 354, 414 and 696.
23. *Slokas* 417 and 420.
24. *niṭṭāviyo purā magaha-nāyayo*.

field and was taken and killed, his queens having been taken prisoners and reduced to servitude. Hence this achievement against the ruler of Magadha stands out distinct as a separate achievement, and this is clearly indicated in the expression *purā* in *sloka* 844 meaning a former achievement of the monarch.

Following this comes the successful invasion of Vanga and the defeat of its ruler. Then the hero is taken to the Dakhan and the South, then against the Parasikas and ultimately against the Himalayan regions almost on the lines of the *Raghuvamsa*. In all this Gauda as such or its ruler, finds no mention whatever.

Sloka 1184 describes Yasovarman as *Chāṇakycharita* meaning thereby that he was a proficient in the arts of statecraft and diplomacy. It is in *sloka* 1194 that we get the first direct reference to the Gauda ruler as the *sloka* states, your sword prospers by cutting the throat of the Gauda ruler.[25]

Does it not follow from this that, in the first half, Vakpatiraja merely describes the anterior history of Yasovarman and then gives the actual introduction to the subject which he intended to treat in true epic form in the rest of the work whether it ever was written or no. It would be too much of an idiosyncracy in an author of the eminence of Vakpatiraja to call his work Gaudavaho and refer to the Gauda uniformly as the Magadha king. In what is actually no more than the *Kathāmukha* or the introductory chapter,[26] Yasovarman first of all conquered Magadha killing its ruler in war, and having established

25. *Tuha dharma sandhaniya-gayinda-mukta-halo asi jayayi Gauḍa gaḷa cchēdā valagga santhye āvali ovva.*

26. Cf. *Kathāmukha* in the *Kathāsaritsagara* of Somadeva.

an empire in consequence in succession to that of Adityasena, went further and annexed to it Bengal though only for a very brief period of time. This seems the only legitimate inference from the Gaudavaho in the form in which it is accessible to us so far.

[This formed the introductory part of the course of Ordinary University Lectures on the Gurjaras by the Professor of Indian History and Archaeology at the Madras University. *Journal of Indian History* for 1926, Vol. V. 313-330.]

CHAPTER X.

THE GURJARA EMPIRE IN NORTH INDIA

INTRODUCTORY

Among the ancient kingdoms of India, Kashmir has the unique distinction of having a recorded history of its own. This history however is a comparatively late production, and having been written in the twelfth century from such material as came into the possession or knowledge of the writer, labours from the disadvantages of a secondary work. Its value as a historical composition is in a great measure discounted, in regard to the earlier periods particularly, as Kalhana the author compiles his information from sources which are generally not indicated, and perhaps even of doubtful historical value. Such as it is, therefore, while we are in a much better position in respect of this kingdom than in regard to very many others, the possession of this history does not advance our knowledge of the history of India very far. When we come to the age of Harsha, however, we get on to some firm ground of history in regard to Kashmir. A dynastic change took place about that time, it may be somewhat earlier, and a new dynasty called the Karkotaka dynasty came to power. With the beginning of this dynasty the Kashmir account gains in value as history, and we have the means of checking it in the coinage of the country, which is available in some quantity and from references in dated Chinese annals. With the aid of these we may arrive at a

chronological order for Kashmir which is not perhaps very far from the actual. In this particular period an error of twenty to twenty-five years seems possible, and Kalhana perhaps antedates the reigns by about that period.

The first ruler of this dynasty, according to Kalhana, was a man of humbler origin from the point of a view of Kashmir royalty, and it is to remove this bar sinister, that a descent from Naga Karkotaka had been invented, this fictitious descent actually giving the name to the dynasty. He made himself a very useful official, and gradually rose into favour with the last ruler of the Gonarda dynasty, Baladitya by name, and rose to the rank of becoming a son-in-law of the monarch. Durlabha, as a result of this marriage, was able ultimately to succeed to the throne either because of the natural extinction of the previous dynasty or by usurpation. Durlabha apparently was the ruler of Kashmir when Hiuen T'sang visited the kingdom in about the years A.D. 631-633. There are numbers of coins of rude make bearing the inscription Durlabhadeva. This coinage may be ascribed to this ruler; even here we cannot be certain as his son bore a name somewhat similar, but as he had a different title, the probabilities are that the first Durlabha issued these coins. We have, however, more certain references in the Chinese annals, which mention a Tu-lo-pa as the king of India, at some date within the period A.D. 637-649, and controlled the route from China to Kipin, that is, the Kabul Valley. From the somewhat full account which Hiuen T'sang gives of Kashmir during the period of his visit we can draw the inference that the country was peaceful and prosperous, and the authority of the ruler actually extended to include all the

adjacent territories, the frontier reaching down to the plains. All the hilly portions of the Punjab seem to have been under Kashmir, and even the kingdom of Takshasila seems to have been brought under control recently. Hiuen T'sang also notes that in religion Kashmir was not Buddhist, but much rather Hindu. According to Kalhana he had a long reign of thirty-six years, and was succeeded by his son, Durlabhaka, who had the title of Pratapaditya.

Durlabhaka Pratapaditya II succeeded his father Durlabhavardhana. The Karkota copper coins with the legend Sri Pratapa are ascribed to him. They are of two varieties, and are found in some number, thus justifying to some extent the long period of rule ascribed to him; but of the actual events of the reign Kalhana records nothing of importance. He married Narendraprabha, the wife of a foreign merchant under somewhat romantic circumstances, and had by her three sons, Chandrapida, Tarapida, Muktapida, who ruled in succession after him. Barring the construction of certain buildings of minor importance, Kalhana records nothing more of value. He had a long reign of fifty years and was succeeded by his eldest son, Chandrapida.

Chandrapida finds reference in Chinese records as King Tchan t'o-lo-pi-li mentioned in the Chinese annals as ruling over Kashmir in A.D. 713 and again in A.D 720. He applied in A.D. 713 to the Chinese Emperor for assistance against the Arabs. The second reference is that, in the year A.D. 720, the Chinese Emperor granted to this ruler the title of King. This second reference implies of necessity that Chandrapida must have been alive at least up to the previous year A.D. 719. According to Kalhana's dating his reign of nine years would fall

between A.D. 666 and 695. This makes a difference of twenty-five years, Kalhana antedating. Chandrapida, according to Kalhana, had a noble character, and had been apparently remembered in Kashmir as an eminently humane administrator of justice. His name is associated with the founding of a number of temples to Vishnu. His death is stated to have been brought about by the use of witchcraft on the part of a wicked brother of his, Tarapida, who succeeded to the throne. Tarapida who ascended the throne in this manner, succumbed to magic again used against him by the Brahmans whom he had oppressed. This intervention of magic in regard to the two rulers indicates that at the time belief in magic must have been current, and it must have been believed in largely. Thus, almost about a century after the founding of this dynasty, the Kashmir throne was occupied by a ruler, Lalitaditya Muktapida, the last of the three sons of Durlabhaka. Muktapida's reign is of some importance in Indian history, and, allowing for the twenty five years' correction already noted, would begin somewhere about A.D. 725 at the latest.

According to Kalhana, Muktapida ruled for a little over thirty-six years from A.D. 699 to 736. Notwithstanding this long reign no coins of Lalitaditya have come to light. But fortunately we have foreign notices with which we can check Kalhana's chronology in this particular. The annals of the T'ang dynasty refer to the name of Mu-to-pi, a king of Kashmir, who sent an embassy to the Chinese court during the reign of the Emperor, Hiuen T'sang, A.D. 713-55. This embassy is said to have arrived after the first Chinese expedition to Po-liu (Baltistan) which took place sometime between A.D. 736 and 747. It is unfortunate that the precise date of

this invasion should not have been recorded, as then it would have provided us with a valuable confirmation of a correction needed in Kalhana's chronology. Adopting the correction already made on the basis of the reference to Chandrapida, Muktapida's reign must have commenced in A.D. 724, and if we accept the thirty-six years' length of reign, would have terminated in A.D. 760. Whatever be the value of this precise dating we may accept the period as roughly correct. Muktapida is referred to as Mu-to-pi in the Chinese annals. But Alberuni calls him Muttai which may have been formed from some Prakrit or Apabhramsa form of the name, Mukta, and seems to conceal the Prakrit or Apabhramsa form Muttapit. We get another variant of the name in the Itinerary of Ou-k'ong who speaks of him as the founder of the Mungti *Vihara* where he stayed for some time. From the geographical details which he gives of this *Vihara*, it seems to refer to a monastery built by Muktapida. Since his name appears in the contracted form in connection with his buildings, such as Muktakesvara and Muktasvami, it seems probable that the *Vihara* built by him was called Mukta, which, in the Chinese transcription, has become Mungtis. Muktapida's appeal to China shows him as in imminent danger of an invasion of Kashmir from Tibet. He sought the assistance of the Celestial Empire for an auxiliary force of two hundred thousand men for which he agreed to provide provisions and encampment on the shores of the Mahapadma Lake (Vular Lake). Incidently it is also recorded that he was in alliance with the ruler of Central India, and together they blocked 'the five passes' leading from Tibet. This puts a different complexion on the character of his reign from that which the Kashmir account implies. Notwith-

standing this difference, there is little room for doubt that the ruler referred to in these records is Muktapida and no other.

Who was this ruler of Central India who at the period of the threatened invasion from Tibet could have blocked the five passes along with the ruler of Kashmir against Tibet? A ruler who could block all the five passes leading from Tibet into India except on the Kashmir side must have been one whose authority extended over the central block of territory which constituted the Gupta Empire, and would include three separate geographical and political divisions. In other words, he must have been the one ruler over the whole territory comprised in the kingdom of Kanauj as under Harsha, the kingdom of Magadha and the province of Tirabhukti, leaving Pundra farther east. This leaves out the passes to Assam which go too far east for the purpose. Hence this statement implies the existence of a powerful Central Indian ruler who might, without any violence to the words, be described as an imperial ruler. The same T'ang annals mention under date A.D. 731 an embassy from Central India from a ruler Icha-fan-mo, who is said to have sent his minister Seng-po-ta on the mission. Pauthier has identified Icha-fan-mo with Yasovarman, and the suggestion seems quite acceptable from the point of view of Phonetics. This mission from Yasovarman probably has had the same object as that from Muktapida, and hence the date given for Muktapida's mission, by H. Cordier from Chinese sources, of A.D. 733, may be accepted as correct. Thus it becomes clear that during the years A.D. 721-733 Yasovarman was the acknowledged ruler of Central India, and was in alliance with Muktapida of Kashmir, and both together had

arranged to take common action against the powerful neighbouring state of Tibet to prevent its aggression across the mountain frontiers. The war between Muktapida and Yasovarman, therefore, must have taken place later than the year A.D. 733 and we might even say later than the year A.D. 735. The year A.D. 735 therefore gives the lower limit of the war.[1] Having regard to all that Muktapida is credited with having done in the *Rajatarangini*, a further reign of about twenty years does not seem impossible, and therefore the period actually ascribed above to the reign of Muktapida, say A.D. 724-760, does not appear to be far from correct. Yasovarman himself must have begun to rule earlier than Muktapida, and must have gradually built up an empire for himself in Mid-India. He could have done that only by succeeding to the position of the Later Guptas of Magadha, starting from his own ancestral estate, the territory of the Maukharis, very much circumscribed at the time. Although Maukhari greatness had vanished with the death of Grihavarman, there had been Maukhari chieftains of sufficient dignity to enter into marriage alliance even with Adityasena. In fact Adityasena's daughter was married to the Maukhari Bhogavarman, and the latter's daughter Vatsadevi married Sivadeva II of Nepal, whose son Jayadeva was a ruler of great influence and importance at the time. And this Jayadeva had in his turn married the daughter of the ruler of the east, Harsha by name, who came of the race of Bhagadatta, which means that he came of the royal family of Assam, and exercised authority over the kingdoms of Kama-

1. For the chronological and other details, see Stein's translation of *Rajatarangini*, Bk. IV.

rupa, Pundra, Odra, and Kalinga; in other words, all the east and south including within it Assam, Bengal, Orissa, and Kalinga[2] What was left between the eastern ruler, and the extended Kashmir of the days of Durlabha, must have been included in the territory of Yasovarman. That this was so is borne out to some extent by the Prakrit poem Gaudavaho by one of the court poets of Yasovarman, Vakpatiraja. The poem has for its subject matter the killing of a King of Bengal. The hero was no other than Yasovarman. In the course of this narrative it makes much of the conquest of a Magadha ruler by Yasovarman. So the two cardinal achievements of Yasovarman are the conquest of Magadha, and the defeat which ended in the death of the ruler of Bengal. The latest date that we have for Yasovarman is a reference in the *Tapagacchapattavali*, which gives the date Anno. Vik. 800 to 895 (A.D. 743-838) for Jaina Acharya Bappabhatti who came in contact with Yasovarman and Vakpatiraja. The Jain account describes Yasovarman as of Maurya descent, and describes Vakpatiraja as a Paramara. It is not impossible that Yasovarman continued to be ruler till about A.D. 744, possibly some years later. The war, therefore, between Muktapida and Yosavarman might have actually taken place after this date. We may, therefore, tentatively take it that the war did take place in A.D. 745 and as a result of the war, the Central Indian power went out of existence, involving as a consequence the non-existence of anything like a central government claiming suzerain authority, and guaranteeing, to some

2. *Indian Antiquary,* ix, 180 ff.

extent, internal peace and providing the only efficient means of defence against external dangers.[3]

The middle of the eighth century, it must be remembered, was a period when the security of the Indian frontiers was very much shaken by the advance of the Arabs on the one side, and by the aggressive conquests of the Tibetans on the other. The Tibetan danger seems to have passed off without harm to India, probably because of the rising power of China under the great rulers of the T'ang line. But the danger of the north-west frontier from the Arabs proved to be far more real, and after the fall of the Persian Empire, the Arab expansion seems to have taken the form of advance on two lines. The landward expansion took the time-honoured route towards Kabul and the north-west, against the Turkish tribes of the borders of the steppes. The southward expansion seems to have advanced through Kandahar and Baluchistan to the frontiers of Sindh by land, and from the ports of the Indus Delta from the sea. The Arabs had already effected a foothold in Sindh as early as A.D 713 and this, together with their activities in the region round Kabul, must have been the direct cause of the embassy that Chandrapida of Kashmir sent to the T'ang monarch of China, Hiuen T'sang. The period, therefore, was one that called for the active vigilance of the Indian states and it is on emergencies like these that occasion is found for the formation of empires. Four powers stood forth to essay this, after Yasovarman was put out of the way, and all the four of them happen-

3. For fuller information, see *J. Bom. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1927; my article on *Bappabhaṭṭicharita* and the Gurjara Empire.

ed to be, from the point of view of Hindustan and north-western frontier, frontier powers more or less. The chance of an imperial central position lay before that one among the four which could make itself master of the central region, the Madhyadesa of the Buddhists or the Magadha Empire under the Guptas. The first effort was made by Kashmir to exercise this authority over the central region, and it was only when Kashmir failed for reasons peculiar to her own history that the triangular equipoise arose among the rising powers, of the Gurjaras of Bhinmal, the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, and the Palas of Bengal. The century therefore from A.D. 750 to 850 is a century of this transformation, and we shall take up the tale of that transformation.

Kashmir, the paradise of the Muhammadan emperors of India, lay to a very great extent outside the current of Indian history, because of its geographical seclusion for one reason. But notwithstanding this geographical fact, she did not remain in that isolation in all probability which, absence of really historical information, makes us ascribe to her history. Even so it has been brought into touch with the main current of Indian history in certain periods whenever the centre of gravity of the empire was near enough to her borders. Kashmir seems to have formed an integral portion of the Kushan Empire, and of the Asokan, if Buddhist tradition is to be believed. It is not clear that she formed any part of the empire of the Guptas. But it had been brought into the main stream of Indian history with the invasion of the Huns, and the doings of Mihiragula. She does not appear to have played much of a part in the imperial organization of the age of Harsha, although it was in the reign of Harsha that she first extended her authority over the

borders to take in subordination as feudatories three or four of the kingdoms of the plains according to the account of Hiuen Tsang. It has already been pointed out that the Kashmir contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, and therefore, of the Emperor Harsha, was no other than Durlabha, the grandfather of Muktapida. It was probably in his reign the expansion actually took place, and the two reigns following do not seem to be of much importance in the career of expansion of Kashmir. It was with the accession to the throne of Kashmir of Muktapida that the foreign relations of Kashmir took form. It was already pointed out that Chandrapida, his elder brother, had to send an embassy to China, soliciting imperial assistance against the Arabs. That could mean no more than that the pressure of the Arabs was real on one side of the frontier. That an embassy should have gone to China in A.D. 713, the year in which the Arabs first effected a foothold in Sindh makes the connection between the one and the other indubitable. The short reign of Tarapida could do nothing, if Tarapida was hardly worthy of his position. But with the accession of Muktapida the call upon Kashmir became clear. Muktapida seems to have realized clearly the dangers surrounding him. The Arab trouble had passed owing to changing circumstances at the Arab head-quarters. But the real danger was from Tibet. Muktapida attempted an alliance with the central power, and the alliance apparently served well as against Tibet. For one reason or another which is not clear to us, this alliance could not hold together, and we see the allies going actually to war, resulting in the overthrow of the central Indian power. Muktapida, therefore, has to stand as champion not only for Kashmir, but for the whole of India—India

north of the Vindhyas. If, as Kalhana says, he went to war against Bengal, it was not probably as a knight-errant seeking adventure, but as almost a necessary consequence of the conquest of Mid-India, which called for a settlement of the relations with the eastern frontier. That naturally would also have involved a war against Kalinga, as at this time what was known to the Hindu historians as Kalinga went as an appanage of the ruler of Bengal. These two, the invasion of Bengal and the invasion of Kalinga, may be regarded as historical incidents in the conventional *digvijaya* that Kalhana ascribed to Lalitaditya Muktapida. Having settled these frontiers of his new responsibility on the east and south of his new conquests, he could return home as monarch of Kashmir and Emperor of India. He could turn his attention to the state of things across the mountains both on the side of Tibet and across the north-west in the territories still held by the Turkish tribes. That he undertook an invasion of these tribes, and, having gone too far into the desert regions, lost his life like a very hero of romance according to Kalhana, could only mean that he lost his life in an effort to subdue some of the troublesome tribes across the frontier, which took him to an unknown region and made him succumb to his thirst for war necessary though this war was. With his death Kashmir received a set-back in her imperial career. Muktapida could not have been the knight-errant that one would take him to be on a superficial reading of Kalhana. Though among his works of public utility, it is only temples, tanks and works of that kind which are ascribed to him, he must have been a capable monarch interested in the administration, and possessing the requisite amount of knowledge to transform that

interest into channels of beneficent activity. He apparently undertook the reorganization of the administration, perhaps to meet the extensive needs of an enlarged kingdom. The administration of a larger empire, and the carrying on of war which a career of aggression must have necessitated would have involved the reorganization of the finances of the state. His financial administration must have been rigorous and even grasping, as Kalhana ascribes to him principles and maxims worthy of Alau-d-din, although it is put in a form much more in keeping with the character of a Hindu monarchy rather than in the gross form in which Alau-d-din is reported to have put it. The cultivator must be left enough to meet his needs adequately, but should not be left anything more to make his position attractive to the marauders from across the frontier. Lalitaditya Muktapida's was indeed a glorious reign from the point of view of Kashmir, but his efforts at realizing an imperial ambition were too much for the role of Kashmir to play.

The period occupied by the new Magadhan Empire of Adityasena and his successors down to the end of the reign of Yasovarman of Kanauj was occupied in Kashmir by the reigns of the first five rulers of the Karkotaka dynasty. Applying the correction of twenty-five years of antedating in Kalhana, which, on Chinese evidence, is proved very probable, the end of Lalitaditya Muktapida's reign comes to somewhere about A.D. 760. It was already pointed out that Yasovarman's reign perhaps came to an end somewhat earlier possibly about the year A.D. 750. But he seems to have survived his defeat by Muktapida and continued substantially in power for some years longer. The end of his reign may be placed some-

where about A.D. 755,[4] so that the two great rulers may have passed out of Indian politics almost about the same time, and that is the middle of the eighth century. Lalitaditya's rule was followed by four reigns, namely, those of Kuvalayapida and Vajraditya, his two sons, with a reign of one year and of seven years respectively; and again by those of Prithivyapida and Sangramapida I with periods of four years and a month, and seven days respectively. This brings us to the period A.D. 770, or possibly A.D. 771, when the other great ruler Jayapida, came to the throne. Jayapida's reign, according to Kalhana, covered thrity-one years, which would mean that he ruled through the rest of the century. Jayapida's reign is of importance for our purposes, as it brings him into touch with the rulers of Kanaūj, Central India and Nepal. Whatever be the truth regarding the kings actually mentioned by name, the details given by Kalhana regarding Jayapida's history, give us an idea of the condition of affairs in Northern India, and to that extent, at any rate, Kalhana's account of Jayapida is of very great value to the historian.

Jayapida came to the throne after a decade of weak rule of four successive rulers, the successors of Lalitaditya Muktapida. After some years devoted to introducing order in the administration of Kashmir and otherwise putting his own affairs in order, he felt called upon to imitate the exploits of his predecessor, the great Muktapida, and started on a *digvijaya*, as the chronicler has called it. The first expedition took him to the kingdom of Gauda to an attack on Pundravardhana, 'a city

4. According to *Bappabhaṭṭicharita* in *Prabhavakacharita*; vide *J. Bom. Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1927.

at that time under the rule of the kings of Gauda and protected by a king called Jayanta.' We are told that in that city, he had a love adventure with one of the courtesans, by name Kamala, with whom he happened to be living for some time. He had occasion to perform a feat of killing a lion single-handed which attracted the attention of the king, who found means to discover the real character of Jayapida. As a result he gave his daughter Kalyanadevi to Jayapida in marriage.

Soon after he had an opportunity of rendering service to his father-in-law by killing the five Gauda chiefs and making his father-in-law sole sovereign of Gauda. That perhaps means that Bengal was distracted by anarchy at the time and was divided among five separate rulers, and Jayapida assisted to bring them back to union and loyalty to a single ruler in the person of Jayanta. Having done this, he set out on the advice of his minister Devasarman, the son of Mitrasarman, who was the foreign minister under Muktapida, to return to his own country. On the way he defeated the Raja of Kanyakuvja[5] (Kanauj) in battle and carried off the throne of the monarch with him. During his absence his throne in Kashmir was occupied by a usurper, his own brother-in-law, Jajjuga by name. After putting down the usurper by a victory on the field of battle, Jayapida settled down to introducing order in the administration after the usurpation, and found time to construct temples for religion and extend his patronage to learning. One great act of his in regard to the latter particular was that seeing that the study of the *Mahabhashya* had been interrupted in

5. Taken to be Vajrayudha, ruler of Kanauj, mentioned by Rajasekhara in his *Karpuramanjari*. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, (4th edn.), p. 392, and *f.n.*

the state, he imported a number of pandits expert in the subject and resuscitated the learning of the great work, thus promoting the study of the science of grammar. He himself underwent a course in grammatical science under a teacher by name Kshira, who may be the same as Kshirasvamin, the commentator of *Amarakosa.* He was known among the learned as Pandit Jayapida. He looked for promoting learning and learned men, and in his court flourished such great men of learning as Bhatta Udhata who was his *sabhapati,* and Damodaragupta, the author of *Kuttinimata.* Vamana was another great name, now identified with the author of the work *Kavya Alankara Sutra.* There were besides the poets, Manoratha, Sankhadanta, Chataka and Sandhimat.

Having done these and other necessary acts to ensure sound administration, he started on another great expedition of conquest. He advanced at the head of a large army on an expedition eastwards till he reached the eastern ocean, where his design was to attack the king of that region called Bhimasena. We have to take Bhimasena to have been the ruler of Assam and Bengal extending down to the sea. Here again the knight-errant got the better of him, and instead of taking the enemy at the head of his army, he assumed the disguise of an ascetic, and entered the fortress with a few friends, and was betrayed by a Kashmir fugitive, a brother of the usurper Jajja, who happened to be there. He was thrown into prison. Feigning attack of a very contagious disease he was taken out of the kingdom and set free there, and thus he escaped. After some time apparently he found that the ruler of Nepal, Aramudi by name, was making efforts to get the better of him by diplomacy. Jayapida replied by actually invading his territory. The

Nepal ruler retired before him till he encamped himself on the bank of a stream near its junction with the sea, which could only mean one of the innumerable mouths of the Ganges. Seeing the enemy's army arrayed on the other bank of the river, Jayapida thoughtlessly ordered the crossing of the river, at the time of the tide. When the whole of the army was thus entangled in the flood-tide, the enemy managed to take Jayapida prisoner. He was immured in a stone-built castle on the banks of the River Kalagandika, in all probability the Kali-Gandaki, the two names of the Sarayu combined. It looked as though there was no chance of effecting his escape when the Brahman minister Mitrasarman came to his rescue. Collecting the remnant of Jayapida's forces and placing them on the other side of the river, Devasarman went to the king of Nepal and, pretending to be anxious to betray his master, obtained his permission to interview his own sovereign to find out where he had hidden the treasure. In the course of the interview, he devised means of escape for the king by suggesting that he might drop from the high-walled battlements of the castle into the stream and cross it by means of a float, which was to be his own dead body, as it would not burst like an inflated skin. Without telling the king about this latter part of the device, he wrote it on a slip of paper and committed suicide with the letter between his teeth. When the king saw it, he understood what was meant and used the dead body of his minister as directed therein. Thus escaping from this difficulty, he returned to his own territory of Kashmir. He undertook an invasion of the land of the amazons (*Strirajya*) and returned victorious.

After this he did not go upon any more wars, but

carried on the administration with great oppression and cruelty, as the chronicler reports. Notwithstanding his learning and previous good administraton, he degenerated into a cruel tyrant and met with an unworthy end for a monarch of his character. His oppression of the Brahmans produced a reaction. Jayapida is said to have died as a result of the anger of a Brahman, Ittila by name.

From this account of Jayapida's reign as given by Kalhana, we can draw the following inferences in regard to the general condition of India. Kashmir was separated from the territory of Nepal by the River Kali-Gandaki. Even now the Kali River is the western boundary of Nepal. In the earlier part of his reign, his Bengal contemporary seems to have been his father-in-law Jayanta, preceded by an anarchy, which showed Bengal divided among five chiefs. The kingdom of Kanauj still retained some of its power and perhaps Jayapida's defeat gave the last blow to the tottering kingdom. The farther east was perhaps in the possession of Bhimasena, who probably was a successor of Harsha, the ruler of Assam, Bengal, Orissa and Kalinga about ten years before. Stripped of all romance therefore, we find the eastern kingdom still retaining some power, while the kingdom of Gauda or Bengal seems to have been overwhelmed in the course of his reign by the Nepal ruler. It is probably this Nepalese invasion which brought about anarchy in Bengal and gave the occasion for the people to elect a new sovereign. What exactly brought about the retreat of Nepal within its own borders, we are not enabled to understand. Jayapida was perhaps responsible for ultimately bringing about the end of the kingdom of Kanauj. Thus Bengal reduced to anarchy, Kanauj becoming a ready prey to whoever was able to take pos-

session of it, the theatre was ready for the struggling powers on the more distant borders to fight for the imperial position.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

A.D. 713. Chandrapida, Tchen-to-lo-pi-li of Kashmir applied for aid against the Arabs, to the Chinese Emperor (Hiuen Tsang, A.D. 713-755).

A.D. 720. The Emperor granted Tchen-to-lo-pi-li the title of king. Klaproth: *Memoirs relatifs a la Asie*, vol. ii, 275, etc.; A. Remusat, *Nouv. Melanges Asiat*, vol. i, p. 196, etc.; Buhler, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. ii, p. 106. Max Muller's *India*, *Gaudavaho*, and Reinaud's *Memoirs*.

Mu-to-pi, king of Kashmir, sent an embassy in the reign of Hiuen Tsang, (A.D. 713-755) and after the first Chinese expedition to Balistan (Poliu) between the years 736-47, requesting a Chinese auxiliary force of 200,000 men against the Tibetans. He promised to find provision for this army and provide encampment for the army on the banks of the Vular Lake (*Mahāpadma*). The embassy also reported that, in alliance with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five routes of Tibet,—Levi and Chavannes, *J. Asiat*, 1895, p. 351, in addition to reference under item 1.

The embassy is dated in A.D. 733, for the additional information that the emperor received the embassy and recognized the king, but declined to enter into the alliance, see H. Cordier, *Histoire General De La Chine*, vol. i, p. 463.

Alberuni's Muttai is obviously in reference to this, and Ou K'ong's *Moung-ti Vihara* probably has reference to him.

A.D. 731. Suggestion of identity by Pauthier of Icha-fan-mo of Central India with Yasovarman who sent his minister Seng-po-ta to the Chinese Court in 731.

A.D. 744. (*Sam.* 800). Jain *Tāpagacchapaṭṭāvaḷi* mentions Yasovarman and his court poet Vakpatiraja.

CHAPTER XI

THE BAPPA BHATTI CHARITA AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GURJARA EMPIRE

The work *Prabhāvakacarita,* written by Candraprabha Suri, is a work which purports to give the lives of the Jaina saints extending over a very considerable period of time. It professes to be biographical in character, and is based on the material preserved by a continuous tradition among the Jainas. Among these the life of Bappa Bhatti contains details of a historical character, and has been drawn upon freely by scholars dealing with the history of the period. It would be of some value, therefore, to consider the whole account with a view to appraising its historical value, as it has come to be regarded as a source of great authority chronologically and otherwise. That we are not overstating the matter will be clear from the following extracts from the works of scholars who have utilised the material.

Dr. Klatt who has given a summary account of the *Tāpagaccha Paṭṭāvaḷi,* in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, p. 253, has the following extract and note on that page:—"1270 (V) or Sam. 800, Bhadra Sukla, 3 Bappa Bhatti,[1] who converted king Ama was born; died 1365 V, or Sam. 895, Bhadra Sukla, 6." It will be seen from the extract that the precise *Samvat* dates are borrowed from the

1. At this time lived Vakpatiraja at Lakshanavati (in Gaudadesa) author of Gaudavadha and king Yasovarman of Kanyakubja. See Prabhavakacarita XI.

Prabhāvakacarita, as also the matter incorporated in the note.

The next in order is a note which occurs in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV, p. 179, note 3. Here Pandit Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha, editing an inscription of Gurjara Mahendrapala II, has the following note: "The *Prabhāvakacarita* speaks of the death of king Nagavaloka of Kanyakubja, the grandfather of Bhoja, as taking place in Sam. 890 (A.D. 833-34)." (Nirnaya Sagara edition, page 177, v. 720-725). The Nagavaloka of the *Prabhāvakacarita* can be identified with no other than Nagabhata II of Kanauj, and the date seems to be accurate, as the first known date of Bhoja is A.D. 843.

The next one is from the article on the Gujara Pratiharas by Dr. R. C. Majumdar of the Dacca University. On page 45 of Volume 10 of the *Journal of the Department of Letters* of the Calcutta University, occurs the following sentence:—"As regards the Gurjara Pratihara power, we learn from a Jaina Book, *Prabhāvakacarita,* that king Nagavaloka of Kanyakubja, the grandfather of Bhoja died in 890 (V. S.) and this Nagavaloka has been rightly identified with Nagabhata II." Dr. Majumdar quotes for authority the extract given above from the *Epigraphia Indica.*

These extracts make it clear that the first accepts the dates as confirming that of the *Paṭṭāvaḷi,* the two others make also certain identifications on the basis of the statements in this work. Can we accept these as altogether beyond question? That is the point that we shall investigate in what follows.

As a rule, writings of this kind, wherever found, partake more or less of the character of what may perhaps be described as legendary history as they necessarily in-

corporate in them a considerable amount of the miraculous as almost essential parts of the scheme. The really miraculous side of it is somewhat subdued in this account, and it may be easily separated from what may really be historical. Divested of all miraculous matter, the history of Bappa Bhatti, as recorded in this work, may be considered as a whole. In the city of Patala in Gujarat there lived a venerable Jaina saint Siddhasena, by name, of great fame among the Jainas, respected even by monarchs for his learning. While sleeping in the temple of Mahavira on the occasion of a visit to it, he dreamt that a lion cub was playing about on the top of the temple spire, which, when he awoke, he interpreted to the assembly of the orthodox the next morning as indicating the accession to the *Sangha*, the Jain body of monks, of a lad of extraordinary intelligence. Next morning while he went into the temple for worship, after performing the three rounds, he saw there a lad of about six, by himself alone. To the question who he was and where he came from, he gave the answer that he belonged to the Pancaladesa, was the son of a man by name Bhatti; and that his mother's name was Vapya (Bappa). Having been prevented by his affectionate father from his continuing in the destruction of his enemies, with the name Surapala,—as his father did not quite understand that, in the performance of the heroic, age is a matter of no consequence—he came away to the presence of the holy one out of sheer affection for being there.[2]

2. *kaskaḥ kautaskutastavaṁ bho asau pṛṣṭas tadāvadat*
pancāladeśa vapyākhyaputro'haṁ Bhaṭṭidehabhūḥ
śurapālākhyayā śatrūn nighnan pitrā nivāritaḥ
ajānateti vātsalyādahetor vikrame vayaḥ.

The saintly Siddhasena, seeing the beaming intelligence of the lad, assented and allowed him to live with the *Sangha*. After a year of stay, the *ācārya* admitted him to the *Sangha* by giving him the *diksa* and the name Bhadrakirti. At the request of the father however, he allowed the lad to be known and spoken of by the name of Bappa Bhatti which combined in it the names of both his father and mother. The boy continued to reside with the *Sangha* receiving his education from the seniors there.

Once upon a time, owing to rain, the lad went for shelter into a temple ; a young boy looking like one from heaven, also came there. Lad Bappa Bhatti kept reading works in Sanskrit to while away the tedium of waiting. While so occupied, he interpreted what he read to the other to whom he was attracted by his looks. The Prince in his turn felt equally drawn to the other as a result of his extraordinary intelligence. They became friends in consequence, and when the rain gave over they went back together to Bappa Bhatti's residence. The elders of the assembly offered their blessings to the new arrival, and enquired who he was. Somewhat shamefaced at having to give an account of himself, the boy detailed his illustrious birth by stating that he was the son of Yasovarman, the illustrious ruler of Kanyakubja, who was the head-jewel of the famous dynasty of Candragupta, by whom was made illustrious the already illustrious family of the Mauryas. So saying he also wrote on the ground, with a piece of chalk, his name Ama. Closely scrutinising the boy, because of his illustrious looks and parentage, some of the elders of the assembly recollected that they had seen him, as a baby of six months, in a place called Ramasainya, where they

learnt from his mother that she was the queen of Yasovarman of Kanyakubja, and that she was there leading the life of an exile having had to give up her position as chief queen through the intrigues of a co-wife. Not willing to go to her parents as a neglected wife she chose to live in the forests although she was enceinte. After a few months of forest life she had the baby. The co-wife having come to her deserved end, Yasovarman called her back again and installed her in her due place. Having recollected these details and seeing the illustrious look of the boy, they told him to live with his companion Bappa Bhatti in the Jaina hermitage, and asked him to learn as quickly as he could all the arts that were being taught to the young novitiates there. He picked up with remarkable rapidity all the seventy-two *kalas*, and the more important branches of learning came to him without particular effort on his part. Through this continuous course of life with Bappa Bhatti, the boy's affection for him grew to such a degree that he told him that, if ever he succeeded to the throne, he would make over his kingdom to his friend. A few years after, the father sent for him for installing him as a ruler. The chief officials of the court obtained permission with great difficulty to take the lad away to his father. When, in course of time, king Yasovarman died, Prince Ama performed the due funeral ceremonies for his late father, and sent some of his ministers to bring Bappa Bhatti from Gujarat. They obtained permission with the greatest difficulty, and brought Bappa Bhatti from Motera. Ama received him with royal honours. After some stay there, Bappa Bhatti was sent with a suitable escort to the saint Siddhasena at Motera with a request that Bappa Bhatti may be initiated into the mysteries of Jainism, and sent

back to Kanauj as a Jain *Ācārya*. Although Siddhasena was unwilling to part with such a brilliant lad, he at last yielded when it was pointed out to him that it was the cardinal teaching of Jainism that Jaina saints lived for the benefit of others and not for their own selfish ends. Siddhasena, therefore, taught him the *arhattatva* (the secret teachings of Jainism) and other accessory arts required for a regular full-blown Jaina teacher in A.D. 754 (in V. S. 811 Caitra, Krishnashtami). After this the principal minister of Ama took leave of Siddhasena and brought Bappa Bhatti over to Kanauj again. As soon as he reached the outskirts of the city Ama arranged for his royal entry into the town, placed him on the royal throne, and conducted himself as his humble servant.

While living at court, Bappa Bhatti took occasion to point out that the performance of acts of Dharma was the only way to attain to a good life hereafter, and in such deeds of charity he pointed out the most important was the building of temples to Jina in the seven holy places. Next to that was the making of statues of Jina and placing them in these temples. Then came the getting of the holy books on Jainism written out. Then came in order the kind and respectful treatment of the four orders of the Jains. Among these good deeds the best is, of course the building of Jain temples as the *Śrutas* (those who actually heard the teaching) living in them were the upholders and teachers of Jainism. King Ama accepted the recommendation with all his heart, and issued orders for the provision of funds to the treasurer, and instructed his officers of the Works Department to put in hand the construction of a Jain temple at the capital. In a short time they completed the building, rising

to a height of 101 *hastas* (hands literally). They also constructed for the temple a golden statue of Vardhamana weighing 18 great weights (*bhāra*). Bappa Bhatti officiated at the installation of the image in the temple. Similarly at Gopagiri (Gwalior) Amaraja got constructed another temple along with a statue of Jina rising to a height of sixty *hastas*. He also spent a lakh and a quarter of gold pieces in the construction of a pavilion. He got these constructed there "as if in his own kingdom". Bappa Bhatti continued to live in court after this, perpetually teaching humility and control of passion, and other virtues according to the Jain persuasion. Both of them being scholars of great ability, they whiled away their leisure time in propounding questions in a part verse, which were to be answered by completing the verse. In one of these intellectual contests, Bappa Bhatti gave an answer to a question propounded by the king regarding his queen which somewhat displeased the monarch. Noticing a change of countenance, Bappa Bhatti thought it best to leave the court, and took himself away without taking leave either of the king or the *Sangha*. He left behind a verse written on the outer gate of his residence and travelled away from the country of Kanyakubja, and reached the capital of Bengal, Lakshnavati (Lakhnauti of the Muhammadan historians). Vakpatiraja, the head-jewel among the wise, the most excellent among writers of classical works, was there at the court of king Dharma of Bengal. Vakpatiraja intimated to the king of the arrival of the saintly Bappa Bhatti. King Dharma asked him to reside at his court on one condition, as a consequence of his long cherished great desire for war against king Ama of Kanauj. The condition was that Bappa Bhatti was to remain at his

court and should not think of returning to Kanauj until king Ama should personally come to his court and invite the Jain saint to return. Bappa Bhatti agreed and stayed there as at the court of Ama, respected by the king and admired of the learned at the court.

Disconcerted as Ama felt at the departure of his friend, his search for him was all in vain. He consoled himself as best as he could, till some time after he came upon a very strange sight in one of his solitary wanderings. He was wandering about alone outside his capital when he saw a reddish cobra attacking a mongoose and killing it. He was struck with wonder at the achievement, and, looking closer, discovered that the cobra carried on its head a jewel of uncommon brilliance. In order to examine it closer, he took hold of the cobra by the neck firmly and carried it home. Keeping it well secured, he went into the assembly and propounded a puzzle in the following words:

śastraṁ śāstraṁ kṛṣir vidyā anyo yo yena jīvati

By what means could one manage to live other than by weapons of war, or science, or agriculture, or learning? All the efforts of the poets at court did not please him, and he therefore advertised that he would make a present of a lakh of gold pieces to him who would give a satisfactory solution. A gambler who had lost his all at dice was anxious to recover his position by this opportunity. He wandered far and wide in search of one who could give a satisfactory solution of the puzzle. He came at last to the court of Dharma at Lakhnauti, and hearing that Bappa Bhatti was there, appealed to him with profound reverence to help him out of his position. Without hesitation Bappa Bhatti gave the solution that

the hold must be made fast as in the case of the mouth of the *krishnasarpa* (dark cobra).[3]

So saying he gave the name Nagavaloka, to king Ama which thereafter became the title by which he was known "the world over." The gambler brought the half verse to king Ama, and obtained the prize, informing the king in reply to a question, that he got the answer from Bappa Bhatti, who was in residence at king Dharma's court. King Ama immediately sent some of his chief ministers to the court of Lakhnauti to fetch the sage. Bappa Bhatti sent back a message in verse that he was under an obligation not to leave the court of King Dharma except at the personal invitation of king Ama delivered at Dharma's court. He may assume some disguise and appear at the court if he wanted Bappa Bhatti to return to Kanauj. Ama immediately made up his mind to do so notwithstanding the fact that he was placing himself within the power of his mortal enemy by proceeding to the capital of Bengal. He mounted a fast camel, and went south to the banks of the Godavari. Staying there for a while in a temple of Khandadeva, he started again towards Lakshanavati and arrived there in course of time. Assuming the guise of a betel bearer, he arrived at the court sending out in the meanwhile an invitation to Bappa Bhatti in proper form indicating how sorry he was at the parting from Bappa Bhatti. The sage read the letter couched in moving terms to the king. King Dharma asked the messenger what king Ama looked like. The messenger answered that he looked exactly like the betel-bearer beside him. Finding that the messenger had in his hand a pomegranate, Bappa Bhatti

3. *sugṛhītam hi kartavyaṁ kṛṣṇasarpamukhaṁ yathā.*

asked what he carried in his hand to which the messenger gave an answer in Prakrit that it was a *bījapūra* (full of seeds). When the messenger again showed a paper the sage pointing to the betel-bearer said it was an *aripaṭṭa* (aripatra or letter from the enemy). When the messenger was dismissed and the court broke up, Ama took himself away from court, and having spent the night in a dancing woman's house, gave her for reward one of the bracelets which he wore before he left early in the morning. He left the other at the gate called Indrakila, and took himself away from the capital. When the court assembled for the day Bappa Bhatti asked for permission to return to Kanauj. King Dharma evinced some surprise at the request and asked how it was that he wanted to go when the conditions had not been fulfilled.

Bappa Bhatti interpreted the verse and all that took place at court somewhat elaborately to indicate the true significance of what had actually taken place. It was only then that Dharma understood that Ama of Kanauj had been there at court, and blamed himself for having been so dense as not to be able to grasp the meaning of what took place at court, and in consequence for not having entertained his enemy with the hospitality due to a guest, or put him to death as a mortal enemy. Then Bappa Bhatti explained that Amaraja was actually at court, and that he did actually make his invitation to him in the letter which he called *aripatra*, and the presence of two kings in the assembly was indicated when the messenger used the term '*Dōra*' (prakrit for two rajas) as part of his reply *Bījapūra* (Prakrit *Bijaurata*). While this colloquy was taking place, the chief of the guard brought the bracelet that was found at the gate and handed it over to the king. When the king looked at it,

he found written on it the name Ama. Thus confirmed, he had no alternative but to let Bappa Bhatti go, the condition having been fulfilled.

Bappa Bhatti took leave of him, and soon was with Ama, in the outskirts of Lakhnauti. They soon arrived in Kanauj, and in a short time after, information came to court that Siddhasena at Motera was drawing near his end, and was meeting death by an act of voluntary starvation, as was the custom among the Jain saints. The messengers intimated that he desired to see Bappa Bhatti. Bappa Bhatti obtained leave to go to Motera and saw his *Guru.* He prayed Siddhasena to confer upon him the *Saṁnyāsa,* the life of an ascetic. Siddhasena, however, prevented him from assuming asceticism, but entrusted him with the management of a community, giving the particular offices of the headship of the *gaccha* and the *sangha* to Govindasuri and Nannasuri respectively. After discharging the last duties to the saintly preceptor, Bappa Bhatti returned to the court of Ama at Kanauj. After this, some time was spent by the two together at Kanauj in their usual avocations when they received a messenger from king Dharma of Gauda (Bengal) with a commission from Dharma to invite king Ama and Bappa Bhatti for a disputation which he had arranged on the border of his kingdom adjoining that of King Ama. The messenger said in the words of his master, that there was a great Buddhist controversialist by name Vardhanakunjara in his kingdom. He had sent out a challenge to controvert anybody who would meet him, and invited Ama and his court to be present at the controversy with those among his court Pandits who would like to accept the challenge. King Aṁa told the messenger that his master was anything but a suitable man to judge between con-

troversialists, as he showed himself incapable of understanding that which was conveyed to him as plainly as circumstances admitted, of his own presence at his court. Notwithstanding this feature of king Dharma's judgment in learning, he would certainly accept the invitation if his own presence was desired by the king of Bengal. He, however, insisted on the condition that, if, in the controversy with the Buddhist divine of Bengal, his own nominee should win, then king Dharma should agree to surrender the whole of his kingdom (*saptāṅgaṁ rājyam*). After some further conversation, he dismissed the ambassador with the message and suitable amenities. Dharma fixed up a place for the controversy and arranged for invitations to issue to all concerned. On the day appointed, everybody assembled at the place, and among them was Vakpatiraja "the head-jewel of the Kshatriyas and born of the Paramara clan of the Kshatriyas." He was counted unparalleled among the learned, and was therefore particularly welcome on the occasion. A great learned assembly came together, and along with it Vardhanakunjara. From Kanyakubja Amaraja, Bappa Bhatti and other learned men arrived and installed themselves in a separate camp of their own. When the necessary arrangements of getting a learned meeting together were completed, the Saugata, the Buddhist controversialist, was asked to begin. He stated his case with great ability. Bappa Bhatti took up the opposition with equal ability and the controversy continued for six months without reaching a conclusion. King Ama got impatient and asked Bappa Bhatti whether he had no thoughts of concluding the disputation. Bappa Bhatti with great confidence, told him that he could have silenced his opponent long ago, but as the assembly seemed interested,

he was letting them have the pleasure of it. He promised that he would bring the controversy to a close the following day. Having taken upon himself this resolution, he went to bed praying to the goddess Sarasvati, and had a dream in which Sarasvati herself appeared as usual and explained to him the secret of the Buddhist controversialist's possession of a little pill which gave him facility of expression. She said it was a favour done by herself alone in response to his prayer, and if, by a device of washing the face and rinsing the mouth, he could be got to throw out his pill even by chance, the Buddhist would be at the end of his wits. Bappa Bhatti took care to mention it to Vakpatiraja, his friend. Vakpati arranged it in the course of the controversy that everybody was provided with water to wash himself, and Vardhanakunjara also joined the rest. As was anticipated he threw out the pill by chance and could no longer continue the argument with the facility with which he had done previously. Bappa Bhatti easily got the better of him, and Amaraja insisted upon the bet with Dharma. Through the intervention of Bappa Bhatti, however, Amaraja restored his kingdom to Dharma, and, having become friends with him after a life-long enmity, Ama returned to his capital with the victorious Bappa Bhatti. Taking the Buddhist to Gopagiri (Gwalior), Bappa Bhatti showed him the image of Mahavira there and recited a prayer within his hearing. Seeing the Buddhist moved by it and inclined to give up the Buddhist garb and assume that of the Jaina, he initiated him into the secrets of the Jaina religion. After a further demonstration of Bappa Bhatti's superiority they parted company, each one to his own particular place. So also the two kings, who had by now got rid of the long-standing enmity and become

friendly like brothers, each one returning to his own capital. On another occasion, the defeated Bauddha told king Dharma that, defeated though he was by Bappa Bhatti, he had no grievance against him, but that he felt really aggrieved against Vakpatiraja, who was responsible for having brought about the device by which he was actually worsted. King Dharma however took no notice of it because of the great respect he had for Vakpatiraja's learning. Vakpatiraja had previously been in the court of Bengal under another ruler Dharma by name. Yasovarman invaded Bengal, defeated Dharma and finally put him to death. Vakpatiraja was taken prisoner with him to Kanauj. He composed the poem Gaudavadha, and by means of that got himself released from prison. He now again came to Kanyakubja and met Bappa Bhatti there. He was received with due respect by Amaraja, and lived there a respected guest with ample provision for his living. He composed two works while at Kanauj in the court of Ama. These were Gaudabandha (distinct from Gaudavadha) and Madra-mahivijaya (conquest of the Madra country).[4] Learning from Vakpatiraja that Dharma had ceased to treat him with the usual consideration because of the dissatisfaction implanted in him by the Buddhist controversialist, king Ama doubled the provision that he had already made for him, and thus provided, Vakpatiraja lived for a long time with him.

In the course of conversation one day king Ama re-

4. *Gauḍabandho Madramahīvijayaśceti tena ca*
kṛtā vākpatirājena dviśāstrī Kavitānidhiḥ
vṛttim Kṛtā hēma tanka laksham taddviguṇīkṛtam
nṛpeṇāsau mahā saukhyāt kālam gamayatisma saḥ.

marked that Bappa Bhatti was unparalleled for learning and that even in the court of Indra there was not likely to be his equal. Bappa Bhatti remarked that there were many people in the good old days, and that, even at the time, there was a considerable number that could be regarded superior to him in point of learning, and quoted for example his own gurus, Govindasuri and Nannasuri. Ama went to Gujarat *incognito* to verify this statement, and came back with a rather mixed feeling when he found Nannasuri teaching Vatsayayana's Kamasutras to his disciples in the hermitage of the Jains. The bad opinion formed by the king was somehow known to them, and they found means to correct him by a demonstration at his court that the teaching or the learning of a work like that could do no harm to those who had sufficient discipline of mind. Thereafter some time passed away without incident at the court.

One day there appeared at court a troop of dancers anxious to exhibit their skill. Among them happened to be one, a *Matangi* by caste, whose beauty and accomplishments attracted the king so much that he fell a prey to her charms so far as to forget that the object of his affection was a *Matangi* by caste. The king so far lost himself as to provide for her residence near by and to give himself up to her company. Bappa Bhatti, however, managed to wean him from his newly-found object of affection by pointing out how unbecoming it was in a ruler of men. Ama admitted that he had done wrong and wished Bappa Bhatti to prescribe a method by which he could get clear of the effects of the commission of sin. Bappa Bhatti referred him naturally to those proficient in the Dharma Sastras, who, after consulting authoritative law, prescribed that the only expiation for the wrong

according to the Sastras at any rate, consisted in the king embracing a heated copper figure made in the form of the women that he loved so much. That meant certain death. Bappa Bhatti now struck in and pointed out that the sinful deed was the result of sinful thought, and if he would keep his mind pure from sinful thought, there would not be the sinful deed and the best way of expiating for the sin was practising austerity, if need be, and by the eschewing of all sinful thought. The king agreed and returned to the capital and his old blameless life.

Vakpatiraja having come to know of this transformation in the king obtained his permission with great difficulty, and retired to Mathura, there to end his days. He engaged himself in daily contemplation of Vishnu, in the form of Krishna, and had taken upon himself the vow of starvation till death should come on (*prāyōpavēśa*). While he was in this condition here at Mathura, Bappa Bhatti was one day exhorting the king on *Dharma,* and happened to mention in the course of the exhortation that the king might usefully examine the Jaina *Dharma* with a view to adopting it in preference to that in which he was born. The king pointed out that, having been born a *Śaiva,* and having been brought up in the *Śaiva* faith, he found that, somehow or other, he could not wean himself of his devotion to Siva, and put it to Bappa Bhatti that, if he was really of the conviction that the Jain *Dharma* was the best of it all, he might then and there proceed to Mathura and convert, if possible, Vakpatiraja, the Samanta, who was in the last stages of meditation upon Vishnu in the temple of Varahasvami. Bappa Bhatti started immediately, and in due course was in the presence of Vakpatiraja completely wrapped in

contemplation. In order to wake him from the reverie of contemplation, Bappa Bhatti recited a few charming verses in praise of Vishnu in the form of Krishna. Vakpati who was almost unconscious at the time, just exhibited signs of returning consciousness, and waking up, remarked in surprise: "How kind of you, my good friend, that at this moment you should have arrived here and should have awakened me by pouring into my ears such delicious psalms in praise of Vishnu"? Bappa Bhatti said in reply that he did so to wake him up from his reverie, and make enquiry of a particular point or two from him. "My question is this," Bappa Bhatti said, "that if the God whose form I described in my chant is the Truth, how is it that you appear to feel somewhat out of mind about it? If your being out of mind implies that you are not convinced of the Truth, would you please consider whether the Jaina Dharma would appeal to you? Vakpatiraja requested him to expound his Dharma which Bappa Bhatti did with clear impressiveness and concluded by saying that he would worship that god, by whatever name he be described, provided he had a mind which is absolutely clear of the impurities of desire. Vakpatiraja, the king of *Brahmavids,* (those who had knowledge of Brahmana) delighted with what he heard, said that till then he was in a delusion, and that he was quite prepared to accept the teaching of the Jina from him. Bappa Bhatti initiated him into the mysteries of Jainism in the temple (stupa) of Parsvanatha in the immediate vicinity of Varahasvami temple. Assuming the garb of a Jain mendicant, he received the teaching and, after remaining for eighteen days in contemplation, gave up life. Bappa Bhatti returned to Kanauj a few days after. The king had already heard of what had taken

place at Mathura, and told Bappa Bhatti that, convinced though he was of the teaching of the Jina, there was something within him which made it impossible for him to reconcile himself to the giving up of Saiva Dharma; probably some kind of a bondage which he inherited from his previous existence. Bappa Bhatti expounded his condition in a previous existence, and showed how fruitless all his devotion to Siva was by evidence brought from the Kalanjara hill.

After some time spent in the usual way, a painter came to the court of Ama. Not meeting with the king's approval for the paintings of the king which he made, he was about doing something violent when Bappa Bhatti came to his rescue, and got him to make four copies of a representation of Vardhamana. He distributed the four for being suitably set up among the Jain temples of Kanyakubja, Mathura, Anahillapura (Anhilvad) and Satavakapura. After this, king Ama laid seige to Raja-giridurga, which was ruled over by king Samudrasena. Finding it impossible to take the fortress, he consulted Bappa Bhatti, who told him, after consulting the Sastra, that King Ama's grandson Bhoja would take it and not Ama himself. Disinclined to give up the effort, the king settled down before the fortress till twelve years after a son was born to his son. The boy at birth was casting his looks on the top of the hill, and ultimately Ama was able to take the fort. Having successfully achieved this, he consulted a Yaksha who was living in the fortress how long he was going to live and the Yaksha replied that he would be informed of it when there were six months left before him, and, as he was departing, he said that Ama would meet his death in the holy place called Magadha in the midst of the Ganges as he was crossing by a boat

near a village the name of which began with Ma. He was to take note of the spot where smoke should come out of the water. King Ama undertook a pilgrimage to holy places. He went to Pundarikadri and there worshipped Adinatha; he went to Raivataka and offered worship to Neminatha. After overcoming the Digambaras in disputation, Bappa Bhatti enabled him to worship Arishtanemi; from the top of the hill Raivataka, he worshipped Samudravijaya, and passed on after worshipping Vishnu, Damodara and Madhava. He went on to Dvaraka, and worshipping Krishna there, made great gifts to people. He then passed on to Somesvara and performed the worship of Somanatha with gold. Having completed this round of pilgrimage, king Ama returned to his own capital. Placing his son on the throne at the proper time, he started for the place indicated in the kingdom of Magadha on the banks of the Ganges. Taking a boat, he sailed across the Ganges for taking bath when he saw in the middle of the river smoke rising. Bappa Bhatti, who was near, then advised him to accept the Jaina teaching, to which the king agreed. After due ceremony, he was intiated into the mysteries of Jainism and Bappa Bhatti told him to pass away happily, as he himself would follow him, having only five more years of life left yet. In the Vikrama year 890 in the month of Bhadrapada, Sukravara, Sukla, Panchami in the nakshatra Chaitra, in the Rasi Tula, king Nagavaloka gave up his life after worshipping Panchaparameshthi (the Five Great Ones), pinning his faith firmly in Jina and his own Guru Bappa Bhatti.

After Ama's death Bappa Bhatti returned to Kanauj, now ruled by Dunduka. Dunduka had already begun devoting himself to a dancing woman by name Khandya

and made himself very obnoxious to his subjects and even his own relations. Even his queen felt so disgusted with him that, under the excuse of celebrating the birthday of her son, she accompanied her brother to Patilipura. After five years of life spent somehow, Bappa Bhatti himself gave up his life in the practice of Yoga, rather than comply with the king's request to go and fetch Bhoja from Patalipura. Bappa Bhatti was born in the Vikrama year 800, Bhadrapada, Tritiya, Sunday, Hastanakshtra; in his sixth year he was intiated, in his eleventh year he received the *diksha,* in his ninety-fifth year he came to the fulfilment of his life in this world. The date of his death was Vikrama year 895, Nabha, Suddha, Ashtami, Svati nakshatra.

On hearing of the death of Bappa Bhatti, Bhoja was very much affected on his part, and wanted to put an end to his life when his own mother dissuaded him from doing so. He did his duty by the dead very much as his grandfather would have done it, and very much as he himself would have done it for his grandfather. He put on the burning pyre his upper cloth in lieu of himself, out of respect for his mother's feelings. After some time, he made up his mind one day to go to Kanauj to offer condolence to his father. At the entrance he saw the royal garland-maker carrying three pomegranates in his hand. At the sight of the prince the garland-maker made a present of these to the prince in token of respect. Entering the court, he saw king Dunduka seated on the throne wearing a jewelled necklace. The prince at the sight of him killed him by throwing the three pomegranates at his chest. The dead body had been dragged out of the royal palace and thrown out contemptibly because of his having entertained the thought of bringing

about the death of his own son. The son then ascended the throne of his father, and received the fealty of the *samantas,* the leading citizens, the leading inhabitants of the country and the ministers. Going to bathe in the tank constructed by Ama he there discovered two of the disciples of Bappa Bhatti. Finding them not showing due respect because of his cruel deed, he sent for Bappa Bhatti's gurus, Govindasuri and Nannasuri from Modera, and after showing them the respect due, he sent back Nannasuri and retained Govindasuri at court. Having thus provided himself with good advisers, he conducted the government even better than his grandfather, Amaraja, and brought back into submission to him such territory as had been allowed to fall out of control.

The above is a somewhat abridged account of the work Bappa-Bhatti-Carita. It is hoped that there is no omission of any material point which may be important to this investigation, although it is just possible that I have not in all cases brought out the niceties of the somewhat obscure text. The first point that challenges attention is the name or title Nagavaloka which has been the subject of an important identification. The first point to note in this connection is that the period during which this Nagavaloka lived and ruled is practically coeval with that of the Jaina divine Bappa Bhatti. Bappa Bhatti is stated specifically to have lived from V. S. 800 to 895, or A.D. 743 to 838, and the Nagavaloka, under reference in this work, was his contemporary. He probably was somewhat older, but died five years earlier. He is clearly described by his ordinary name Amaraja, as the son of Yasovarman, ruler of Kanyakubja, who is said to have descended from the family of Chandra-

gupta the Maurya. He acquired the title 'Nagavaloka' in the somewhat peculiar circumstances of his taking hold of a poisonous cobra which succeeded in killing a mongoose in fight. So much being clear from the story, we have now to examine whether the identification of this Nagavaloka with Nagabhata II of the Gurjaras, the son of Vatsaraja, is satisfactory.

The one date that we have for the Gurjara Nagabhata II (Nagavaloka) from inscriptions is A.D. 815. The period, therefore, seems to agree since Ama-Nagavaloka died in A.D. 833. Nagabhata II had for his son Ramabhadra and had a grandson who had the name Bhoja among others. Ama-Nagavaloka had a son by name Dunduka who had a son Bhoja. Both of them therefore had a grandson by name Bhoja. But the names of the sons differ. We have no clear evidence that Nagabhata II had a title Nagavaloka. It is just possible however he had it, as the title Nagavaloka is given to his grandfather in the Sagar Tal or Gwalior inscription of Bhoja, the Gurjara. Assuming that Nagabhata II had the title Nagavaloka, have we enough ground for identifying Ama-Nagavaloka of Kanauj with Nagabhata II? On the actual evidence available, the answer to this question must be in the negative. But the position is not so simple as to admit of that categorical negative. The history of the times in respect of Kanauj, of Bengal and of the Rashtrakutas and the Gurjaras throw light upon the question, and all that light only contributes perhaps to make the darkness more clearly visible. We shall examine that position a little more in detail.

Yasovarman was undoubtedly ruler of Kanauj in the generation immediately preceding, and must have died about A.D. 750 from what is said of him in Kalhana's

Rajatarangini and such evidence as is available from Chinese History of the T'ang period. This point is confirmed by what is said in the Bappa-Bhatti-Carita, according to which he must have died a little before A.D. 754 (V.S. 811, the year of the *dīksha* of Bappa Bhatti). According to the same authority, prince Ama succeeded to the throne of his father. He obtained the title "Nagavaloka" as stated already, later in his life.

We have a special datum for the Saka year 705 or A.D. 783 from a verse in the Jain Harivamsa of Jinasena. The verse, which has been the subject of a considerable amount of discussion and of even different interpretations, is as follows:—

śakeṣ śabdaśatēṣu ṣaptasu pañcottaréṣūttarām
pāti Indrāyudhanāmni Krishṇ-anṛpaje Śrīvallabhē dakṣiṇām
pūrvām Śrīmad Avantibhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādhirāje aparām
śoryā (ra) ṇām adhimaṇḍale (dalam) jayayute vīre Varāheavati.

That in the Saka year 700 increased by 5, the north was ruled by king Indrayudha; king Krishna's son Srivallabha ruled in the south; the east was ruled by a king who was ruler of Malva and the west was ruled by Vatsaraja. The last line proceeds to state that the work was composed in the rule of Jayavaraha, who was ruling in Sauramandala or Gujarat.

Leaving aside grammatical possibilities and taking the verse as a whole, these points stand out clear, and any interpretation of the verse, therefore, must be in accordance therewith. The author who was a resident

of Wadhwan in Gujarat wishes to define his position in place and time, as is usual in the orthodox habit, of the completion of his work. The time datum is quite precisely the Saka year 705; the place is defined equally precisely as in the province (adhimandala) of Gujarat, land of the Suras or Sauryas. Viravaraha with the attribute "Jaya" was then ruling; in other words, the work was completed in the region of the valiant king Jayavaraha. That disposes of the first and the last lines. The intervening two lines have reference to the political disposition of India at the time. This ought not to be interpreted as having any specific reference to the centre where he lived and wrote. It is more or less a rough distribution of political power among the well-known rulers of the times. Among these the ruler who stood out in the north was one by name Indrayudha; the corresponding ruler of the south was a Srivallabha, son of Krishna. The east was ruled by a person describable as the king of Malva, and the west by Adhiraja-Vatsa. That seems to be the clear meaning of the verse. Indrayudha is a specific name, and there can be no mistake about it. Srivallabha is a generic name and has to be defined by the adjunct Krishna's son to make it intelligible. Therefore the attributive phrases could not be taken with Indrayudha as it is taken by some of those scholars who have set themselves to the task. Again in the following lines Vatsadhiraja is clear and definite, at any rate, to the contemporaries of Jinasena. There can be no mistake about the king of Avanti who was ruling in the east. It seems therefore unnecessary to work the verse into yielding meanings other than these. There is no reason for us whatever to imagine that the directions here indicated are with reference to Wadhwan or for

equating Vatsadhiraja with the ruler of Avanti which seems to be contradicted by statements in inscriptions and other records referable to this time and to the period immediately following. Two definite points however have been made out by interpreting the verse otherwise. While it is grammatically possible, this interpretation has been made to yield the meaning that the northern ruler Indrayudha was the brother of Govinda III.[5]

It is clear therefore that, whoever the Avanti ruler was, he certainly was not Vatsadhiraja, or any one of his successors. It becomes thus obvious that the interpretations put upon the verse are forced, as the conclusions drawn therefrom lead to palpable historical absurdities. We have to take meaning of the verse plainly; Indrayudha was ruling in the north, Srivallabha, son of Krishna in the south, a king of Avanti was the dominant ruler in the east and Vatsaraja was the most influential ruler in the west. Beyond this the verse gives us no warrant to proceed.

5. On the face of it, it seems absurd. The name given in the verse is Indrayudha, who is spoken of as Indraraja in the Bhagalpur plates of Narayanapala. But this possible equation need not be carried farther by making Indrayudha the same as prince Indra of the Rashtrakutas, who is specifically stated in Rashtrakuta grants to have been appointed ruler of the Latesvara mandala and nothing farther north. The second point is that Vatsadhiraja in the third line is taken along with the king of Avanti in the previous part of it, and a whole theory has been hung upon it that the Gurjaras of historical fame were rulers of Malva as distinct from the Jodhpur Gurjaras their cousins. This is contradicted by contemporary Rashtrakuta inscriptions where once again they say that the king of Malva always looked up for support from the Rashtrakutas in the wars of the latter with the Gurjaras.

This brings us face to face with the position as to who the Indrayudha referred to in the phrase is and where exactly he ruled. In connection with him, the verse of Jinasena makes no mention of who the ruler of Kanauj at the time was. Kanauj having been the headquarters of an imperial sovereign to the date of the death of Yasovarman, the omission of any mention is certainly very significant. We know from the Bappa-Bhatti-Carita that we are actually discussing that, at the date A.D. 783, Kanauj was under the rule of king Amaraja, who may, on the strength of the account, be taken to have by that time acquired the title "Nagavaloka." But the ruler of the north referred to is not in Jinasena's verse the ruler of Kanauj, and is actually referred to by another name Indrayudha, who is neither Amaraja nor Nagavaloka, his new title. We shall return to this point. Another significant omission is in regard to the mention of the ruler of the east. We are told that the ruler of the east is the ruler of Malva. There is no mention whatsoever of the ruler of Bengal. If A.D., 783 could be taken to refer to the period of rule of king Dharmapala of Bengal on the basis of the dates ascribed to him by historians, the omission would certainly be very significant indeed. Dharmapala had become comparatively early in his reign though it cannot be very early, a powerful ruler whose influence prevailed westwards; he dominated Kanauj at one time, and his name figures in the Rashtrakuta inscriptions of the period among those against whom the Rashtrakutas intervened in the politics of the north. The fact that his name is not mentioned in the specific year A.D. 783 as the ruler of the east ought to be interpreted as a clear indication that he had not as yet advanced to the position of

power and influence to which he had attained early in his reign. It would therefore, be permissible to draw the inference that in the year A.D. 783 either Dharmapala had not ascended the throne at all, or, if he had, it was still too early in his reign for him to have achieved the ascendency which would have warranted his mention as the most important ruler of the east, where the ruler of Avanti is mentioned.

Inscriptional records upon which the history of the Gurjaras have hitherto been built are very few of them datable to the period; whether they be Gurjara records or Pala records. The most important dated records bearing upon the history of this period are all of them dated in the period following. The only records of contemporary date are those of the Rashtrakutas, not to mention the work under examination, the biography of Bappa Bhatti. From the Rashtrakuta records we can fix almost with certainty two special invasions of Upper India, in the course of which the names of certain of the Gurjara rulers, that of Dharmapala, the Pala ruler of Bengal, and Indrayudha and Chakrayudha, the successive rulers of Kanauj figure. Taking note of these, therefore, and proceeding on these bases, we shall have to rearrange the succession list of these rulers and fix their chronology. It is in this arrangement that the position of Amaraja as the ruler of Kanauj and his date of death in A.D. 833 introduce a disturbing factor of consequence.

From the Rashtrakuta records we can date the first invasion of the North under Dhruva, the father of Govinda III. The Radhanpur plates of A.D. 808 state that Vatsaraja playfully conquered Bengal (Gaudarajya). Dhruva turned him back from there into the middle of the Maru country (Marwar) and captured from him two

white umbrellas belonging to the kingdom of Gauda (Bengal). This verse makes it clear that Dhruva invaded the North and turned Vatsaraja back from Bengal into the country of Maru, *which must have been his ancestral territory*. We may perhaps assume that the invasion was undertaken on behalf of the ruler of Bengal who had suffered defeat at the hands of the aggressive Gurjara (Vatsa). We can fix the period of the invasion as in the reign of Dhruva, the Rashtrakuta. It is now certain that Dhruva's elder brother, Govinda II, ruled in succession to his father Krishna I, and his rule extended up to Saka 701 or A.D. 779.[6] Dhruva must have set him aside subsequent to this year. He could not have undertaken a northern invasion very soon after, having regard to the character of the succession. The northern invasion, therefore, could have taken place some time after A.D. 780 and before A.D. 794 when his son Govinda III succeeded to the throne. Perhaps A.D. 792 just a decade after Jinasena's date, would be the date of this northern invasion. About that year, A.D. 792-3 Vatsaraja, the Gurjara ruler of Marwar (Maru) must have been active and aggressive, and carried on his aggression into Bengal, from which he was turned back by the exertions of Dhruva. How did this ruler of Marwar (not Malva, be it remembered) advance into the territory of Bengal (Gauda)? Was it through the territory of Kanauj, or did he avoid the territory of Kanauj and march into Bengal through the territory of Malva. He could have got into Bengal only by either of these two ways; which was the more likely at the time to which this invasion has reference, say about A.D. 790? In the Rashtrakuta

6. Dhulia plates of Karkaraja, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. 8, p. 183.

records the Gurjara is generally stated to have been hostile to the interests of Malva, and Malva therefore constantly turned to the Rashtrakutas for countenance and support. It is probable therefore that he invaded Bengal through Malva. The *Bappa Bhatti Charita* however states that through a considerable period of the reign of Amaraja, son of Yasovarman at Kanauj, he was at enmity with the ruler of Bengal, who is there stated to have been one by name Dharma, Dharmabhupa or Dharmabhupala, almost certainly Dharmapala of Bengal. Dharma actually states, in the course of the narrative, that, having been thwarted several times, his long cherished feeling of enmity to king Ama of Kanauj became almost undying in its character, which would mean that he made several aggressive attempts on Kanauj and was baulked in his effort. The enmity, therefore, between himself and the ruler of Kanauj was almost a permanent factor of their existence, for which a very good reason is not wanting. Speaking of Vakpatiraja, the poet, the Bappa Bhatti Charita has the reference that at one time previously, another Dharma of Bengal was defeated by Yasovarman and ultimately killed on the field of battle. Vakpatiraja himself was taken prisoner, carried over to Kanauj and was kept in prison there.[7] He then composed the poem, Gaudavadha (which had for its subject the killing of the Bengal ruler by Yasovarman) and, presenting it to the king, he secured his release from prison. It was probably this disgrace to his family that was rankling in the Bengal ruler, contem-

7. *Vide* my article *in the Journal of Indian History* on Forgotten Episodes of Mediaeval Ind. Hist. Vol. 5, p. 312 *ff*, and note on pp. 328 and 29.

porary of Ama, another Dharma. Dharmapala's efforts to overthrow the Kanauj ruler and bring Kanauj under his influence was more or less a permanent factor of his foreign policy, which he was not able to carry into effect during the life-time of Ama, if the Bappa Bhatti Charita is to be believed. Having regard, therefore, to the fact of the contemporaneity of Dharmapala II of Bengal and Ama through much of the lifetime of the latter, Vatsaraja's invasion of Bengal must have been an invasion of the Bengal territory under Dharmapala. Therefore the Bengal ruler defeated by Vatsaraja is Dharmapala, and Dhruva's intervention in the affairs of the north was in favour of Dharmapala either explicitly or in effect, on the basis of the current chronology of the Palas.

One of the most glorious achievements of Dharmapala, according to Pala inscriptions, was the defeat of an Indraraja of Kanauj, also referred to as Indrayudha, and the installation upon the throne of Kanauj again of another ruler Chakrayudha by name. This statement comes out clearly from the inscriptions of the Palas and is confirmed by the inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas. Therefore we may accept it as an established historical fact of Pala history. Who was the Indrayudha of Kanauj, and who was Chakrayudha ? Could we identify either name with that of Amaraja Nagavaloka of Kanauj ?

The answer to the question propounded above would depend a great deal upon what we can glean of contemporary history from other sources, particularly in regard to the light which it throws upon the history of Bengal generally. The Pala dynasty is generally taken to be founded by a certain Gopala, whom, according to the inscriptions[8] of the Palas, people elected to recover the

8. Khalimpur plates. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. 4.

country from anarchy. Dharmapala is regarded as the ruler who succeeded this Gopala, although the Tibetan lists interpose two or three names[9] between. Leaving this aside for the present, what is likely to be the period of anarchy referred to ? A starting point is provided in the Nepal inscriptions of Jayadeva, dated 153 (A.D. 759). when Jayadeva's father-in-law, Harsha, was a powerful ruler in the east including in his kingdom Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and Kosala in addition apparently to his ancestral territory of Assam. Soon after this ruler, or his successor, disappears the dynasty of Bhagadatta, and a revolution takes place in the course of the rest of the century, and Assam passes under the rule of another dynasty. About that time, or a few years after, Jayapida of Kashmir is said to have undertaken an invasion of Bengal, in the course of which he defeated the Bengal ruler. When Jayapida retired, Aramudi, king of Nepal, undertook an invasion of the same territory as well as Tirabhukti, and carried his arms successfully down to the Bay of Bengal. There is a significant remark in the chronicle of Kalhana that at the time of Jayapida's advent into Bengal, Bengal was in possession of five chieftains, apparently independent of each other. After this invasion of Bengal and when he entered into a treaty with the ruler having married his daughter previously he got rid of this anarchic condition and brought all Bengal under the single rule of his father-in-law, Jayanta in all probability. It cannot be to this particular state of anarchy that the Pala inscriptions refer. That anarchy was got rid of and order was introduced. When Jaya-

9. See Appendix, *History of Mediæval Indian Logic*, S. C. Vidyabhushana.

pida had returned and the Nepal invasion took place, as was said above, anarchy must have supervened, and this could have taken place only comparatively late in the seventies of the eighth century. Lalitaditya Muktapida's rule must have extended up to A.D. 760 on the basis of Kalhana's chronology corrected by the more reliable dates in the T'ang Annals of China, and there was a quick succession of three or four rulers for a period of about ten or eleven years. Jayapida, therefore, could not have come to the throne earlier than A.D. 770. His invasion of Bengal in the *Digvijaya* could not have taken place earlier than about A.D. 775, and Aramudi's invasion must have taken place soon after, that is, the next year or soon after. So the anarchy in Bengal referred to in the Pala inscription must be in the period following the year A.D. 777 more or less. Gopala's accession, therefore, could not have been much earlier than A.D. 780 or even a few years later. If Bengal had been in a condition of anarchy till about A.D. 780, Gopala's election could not have introduced order at once, and therefore Bengal should have exercised no influence upon the politics of northern India at the time. This would be a justification for the omission of Bengal under the Palas in the verse of Jinasena quoted above. Dharmapala's accession to the throne must be dated therefore much later than this, even on the assumption that Gopala's was a short rule. But Gopala's could not have been a short rule if he succeeded to an anarchy and was able to pass the kingdom down to his son without trouble. A period of about fifteen years may not be too long for him, and that would bring the succession of Dharmapala, to a time very near that of the accession of Govinda III of the Rashtrakutas if not even later. If Dharmapala therefore succeeded to the throne

somewhere about A.D. 795, his transactions in Kanauj, such as the displacement of the ruler Indrayudha and the placing of Chakrayudha on the throne instead, must have been considerably later than A.D. 795. Vatsa's invasion of Bengal and Dhruva's intervention therefore must have take place in the reign of Gopala and not that of his successor; Dharmapala-Vatsa's aggression against Bengal on this occasion probably kept clear of Kanauj and took place by way of Malva. That perhaps is the justification for the reference to Malva in the Radhanpur plates themselves, in connection with Govinda III, that the ruler of Malva found his safety only in obedience and loyalty to Govinda III.[10] This finds some confirmation in the reference to "*Chitrakūṭagiri Durgasthāna*" in the Nilgund inscriptions of Amoghavarsha I in reference to Govinda's intervention in the north. The Malavas, the Gaudas, together with the Gurjaras are there stated to have been met by him at Chitrakuta. Chitrakuta would be on the borderland outside the territory of Kanauj at the time, as the Bappa Bhatti Charita itself refers to Gwalior as being outside the territory of Kanauj. Dharmapala's accession, therefore, could not have taken place earlier than A.D. 795, though it is possible that it did actually take place later.

Assuming then that Dharmapala ascended the throne about A.D. 795, he and Amaraja of Kanauj would have been contemporaries for a period of about thirty-eight years before the latter's death. Amaraja's date of death is given as A.D. 833 in the Bappa Bhatti Charita. It is possible that Dharmapala lived for some years after Amaraja's death,

10. Verse 3, Bhagalpur plates of Narayanapala, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 15, pp. 304 *ff*.

it may even be for about twenty-five years if the Tibetan historian Taranatha is to be believed as he gives Dharmapala a reign period of sixty-four years. The intervention of the Rashtrakuta Dhruva could, on this datum, have reference to the period previous to this, and therefore could refer only to the reign of Gopala. Dharmapala is said in the Pala inscriptions, to have attacked Kanauj, set aside an Indraraja, possibly Indrayudha who was ruling there, and set up instead, to the delight of the feudatories and subjects of the kingdom of Kanauj, Chakrayudha.[11] That is one incident in his life. Another time he figures as almost a suppliant in the camp of Govinda III along with his friend Chakrayudha. These incidents could not have taken place after Govinda had ceased to reign in A.D. 814. Therefore Dharmapala's attack on Kanauj and the displacement of the ruler Indrayudha or Indraraja, must have taken place before the year. It must be after this that Chakrayudha was a fugitive guest of Dharmapala, as otherwise it would be difficult to understand how he came to be with him, and the two together made their submission voluntarily to Govinda III.

In the Radhanpur plates of A.D. 808 mention is made of the defeat of the Gurjara who would not think of again going to was against him even in a dream. The Malava ruler looking up to him as the only guarantee of his prosperity is another statement of importance in it. The conquest of the Gurjara referred to above is not mentioned in the Wani grant of the previous year, and therefore this conquest and what followed must have taken place in the year A.D. 807-8. The statement in the

11. Verse 22, Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 18, pp. 235 *ff*.

Baroda grant, as well as in the Kavi grant, of the appointment of Indraraja to the ruler of the Latesvaramandala, and of Indra's defeat of the Gurjaras referred to therein, may be connected with the above, though it is just probable that they actually took place somewhat later as Indra is said to have defeated the Gurjara single-handed and by himself alone. The whole of this series of transactions may be taken together as one set of warlike operations of Govinda III.

The statement made about Govinda III in the Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarsha I, dated 866 and in the Sanjan plates of the same king of A.D. 771 must have reference to a period subsequent to the date of the Baroda grant of A.D. 812-13. Two clear statements appear in those grants. One is that he brought a number of rulers to subjection, among whom are mentioned the Keralas, the Malavas, the Gaudas, and the Gurjaras at Chitrakuta-giri-durga, as also the ruler of Kanchi. By this achievement against all these he got the title Kirti-Narayana. The Sanjan plates give the same title, Kirti-Narayana, and refer to his invasion of the territory right up to the Himalayas as giving him the justification for the title. But before proceeding on this distant expedition, or in the course of that expedition, he received the voluntary submission of Dharmapala and Chakrayudha, obviously Dharmapala of Bengal and Chakrayudha the former's nominee. These incidents follow in the order of recital. Regarding his defeat of two other rulers, Nagabhata and Chandragupta, there can be no doubt that the Nagabhata here referred to is the Gurjara king Nagabhata II, Chandragupta is identified with a Kosala king, but that identification is not of importance to us just at present. What is the meaning of this northern invasion of Govinda

III? Against whom did he proceed, as he had defeated his neighbour Chandragupta, as he had vanquished his chief enemy Nagabhata II, and as he received the voluntary submission of Dharmapala of Bengal and Chakrayudha, the ruler of Kanauj, if the Pala inscriptions are to be believed? Was it Chakrayudha as ruler of Kanauj that rendered submission, or was he a fugitive with Dharmapala wherever the latter was? These are the questions which would have to be answered, but for another complication that the Bappa Bhatti Charita introduces.

According to this last, Ama was still a powerful ruler of Kanauj, and Dharmapala professed himself to be his life-long enemy, although he was not able to effect much against him and gratify his wish to subdue the enemy. How are we to reconcile these statements? One easy solution would be to dismiss the Bappa Bhatti Charita as absolutely unreliable from the point of view of history, and therefore every statement made in it necessarily of no historical value whatsoever. Admitting the worst that could be said against the Bappa Bhatti Charita as falling short of a historical composition in many ways, it would be still demanding too much to dismiss the whole work as completely worthless from the point of view of history. The work was compiled by Chandraprabha Suri in the year A.D. 1277, and, as he says, the narrative was taken from the tradition handed down by learned men and well known to all. Such a tradition coming about six or seven generations later cannot be all of them false, and would not admit, therefore, of that summary treatment. We must, therefore, seek other alternative explanations possible, rather than adopt this somewhat drastic one. The Bappa Bhatti Carita is the life of Bappa

Bhatti, and the other characters that figure in it do so only to the extent that they come in contact with the life career of Bappa Bhatti. If therefore we find none of the historical incidents mentioned in the Rashtrakuta inscriptions or the Pala inscriptions, or of the Gurjara inscriptions is even so much as referred to in it, it would be reasonable not to ascribe it either to the ignorance or perversity of the writer, but as lying outside his particular sphere of work. Therefore the omission of any reference to these incidents does not amount to the incidents not having taken place or of the author not having known them necessarily. So then we have no alternative but to regard that in so far as Amaraja is said to have been ruler of Kanauj from circa 754 to 83 A.D., he was the ruler of Kanauj in the period of the transactions of the Rashtrakutas and the Gurjaras and the Palas referred to above. If so, which of the two rulers of Kanauj should we identify him with? Is it with Indrayudha, or Chakrayudha who supplanted him according to the Pala inscriptions? There being no doubt that the incident of setting aside Indraraja and of placing, in his stead, Chakrayudha upon the throne took place in the decade on either side of the beginning of the ninth century, they must refer to incidents of the reign of king Amaraja of Kanauj. In the circumstances, the more reasonable course would seem to be to regard Amaraja as the Indraraja or Indrayudha under reference. Chakrayudha must be regarded as a rival claimant to the throne whose claims received support from Dharmapala. The Bappa Bhatti Charita may not be regarded as altogether silent on the matter. Dharmapala says openly that it was a long-cherished object of his to defeat Amaraja of Kanauj, only that he had not had the good fortune to give effect

to his idea successfully. If so the only inference seems to be the possibility that Dharmapala defeated Amaraja and displaced him just for a while by placing Chakrayudha on the throne. Amaraja very soon after turned out Chakrayudha and occupied the throne again, all Dharmapala's influence being unable to place Chakrayudha again on the throne of Kanauj. That probably is the occasion when both Dharma and Chakra voluntarily rendered submission to Govinda, whose northward march up to the Himalayas could only have been against the kingdom of Kanauj.

Another point comes out clear. It becomes quite open to doubt whether all the activities of Nagabhata II gave him possession of Kanauj. It may be Nagabhata's attack on Kanauj which gave the occasion for the temporary success of Dharmapala which enabled him to place Chakrayudha upon the throne of Kanauj and when Amaraja asserted himself again, all the work of Dharmapala was without doubt undone, and Nagabata's efforts could have made no impression upon him either. It is a reflection of this position which we find in the Rashtrakuta inscriptions where they speak of the Gurjaras being near Chitrakutagiri and no farther north. Therefore we shall have to regard the capture of Kanauj by the Gurjaras to have been an achievement of possibly the Gurjara Bhoja, and not by any of his predecessors, namely his father, Ramabadhra and even his grandfather Nagabata II.

From this examination of the Bappa Bhatti Charita the following points seem sustainable :—(1) That during the period of struggle for empire up to the end of the reign of the Gurjara Nagabata II, Kanauj continued to remain under the rule of the successor of Yasovarman, that is Amaraja. The throne even passed to his son for a short

period of five years, and then to his grandson, another Bhoja. (2) That Dharmapala's achievement does not seem so well proved nor could it be stated that it had any permanent or lasting effect, Kanauj still remaining an important factor, if not a dominant one, in contemporary politics. The Pala empire probably reached its height under Devapala, the son, and not Dharmapala, the father. Incidentally, it is also sustainable that whatever was the original possession of the imperial Gurjara Pratiharas, it certainly was not Malva.

The late Dr. Vincent Smith has assumed, in the fourth edition of the *Early History of India,* that the ruler of Kanauj whom Jayapida of Kashmir defeated and whose throne he is said to have carried in the Rajatarangini was probably Vajrayudha, referred to as ruler of Kanauj by Rajesekhara. This is a position for which there is hardly any support other than the statements of the Kashmir chronicle. Jayapida's invasion if the Bappa Bhatti Charita is to be believed, must have taken place in the reign of Amaraja himself, and unless we are prepared to make Vajrayudha another name of his, we must leave the statement of the chronicler open till we find evidence of a more definite character either to support it or to reject it.

Having gone so far in regard to the doubtful validity of some of the identifications accepted, we may draw attention to another point which arises from the Pathari Pillar inscription of Parabala of A.D. 861. That inscription states clearly that Parabala's father Karkaraja invaded the territory of a king Nagavaloka[12] and defeated

12. Pathari Pillar inscription (vv. 14 *ff*), *Ep. Ind.* Vol. 9, p. 253.

him in an extraordinarily bloody fight. Pathari, it must be remembered, is in the region not far removed from Chitrakutagiridurga, and Parabala at the time of the inscription A.D. 861, was apparently ruling the province there in the interests of the Rashtrakutas. Parabala's father is said to have distinguished himself in a campaign against Nagavaloka. More than this, an uncle of his father Karkaraja, named Jejja, is stated in the inscriptions to have defeated certain Karnatas and taken possession of the Lata kingdom. Starting from the point of reference in A.D. 861, it is not difficult to see what campaigns these actually refer to. Jejja's conquest of the Karnatas and the taking of Lata probably has reference to the conquest of the Lata kingdom by Govinda III, and the appointment of his younger brother Indra to the rule of Latesvaramandala, which occurs in other inscriptions. Jejja, the Rashtrakuta chief, probably bore an honourable part in this conquest of Lata by Govinda III. His son Karkaraja found chances of distinction, in all probability, in the later campaigns of Govinda as he reduced to submission several enemies, among them the Gurjaras, the Gaudas, etc. It would be a justifiable inference from these that the Nagavaloka defeated by Karka was no other than Nagabata II, if we could equate, without uncertainty, the title, "Nagavaloka" with Nagabata II. But all the while we have no direct evidence that Nagabata II actually bore that title "Nagavaloka." On the contrary, we have the definite statement that Amaraja of Kanauj was known by the title "Nagavaloka" after the particular incident in his life when he is supposed to have taken hold of a living cobra. Could not Karka's achievement be in the course of the invasion of Govinda III that took him up to the Himalayas, and which has been re-

ferred to the year A.D. 812-13 above. After Govinda's achievement in the region of Chitrakuta, he is said clearly to have marched up to the Himalayas. He could have done this only by going through the territory of the ruler of Kanauj. According to the Bappa Bhatti Charita, the ruler of Kanauj was still Ama-Nagavaloka. Dharmapala's supersession of an Indraraja of Kanauj by a Chakrayudha has been held to justify the inference that Chakrayudha was still ruling in Kanauj. If this position is accepted and if Chakrayudha and Dharma, both of them voluntarily submitted to Govinda II, where was the reason for Govinda III to march up to the Himalayas ? The more reasonable inference therefore seems to be that Govinda actually undertook an invasion of the kingdom of Kanauj under Ama-Nagavaloka, it may be on behalf of Chakrayudha and in alliance with Dharmapala of Bengal. When he retired from the territory of Kanauj it may be as a result of agreement with Amaraja, or by some other method of pacification between the contending powers ; Amaraja might have recovered his kingdom or might have retained it as a result of the treaty, Chakrayudha's claims being abandoned. Whatever was the actual character of the settlement, Govinda's death and the disturbance in the Rashtrakuta empire as a consequence left the northern powers again free, each one to follow his own course of ambition. It seems likely that Dharmapala found it not possible to overcome Ama-Nagavaloka of Kanauj, and place Chakrayudha on the throne again, and that was probably the reason for his disappointment that he was not able to get the better of his enemy, as recorded in the Bappa Bhatti Charita. Ama having been succeeded by Dunduka, for a short period of about five years at least, and he being followed, after

he met a violent death, by his son Bhoja. Kanauj still maintained its integrity till about A.D. 840, whatever change might have come over it afterwards. As a consequence Dharmapala's empire cannot have been as great as it is claimed to be by the the historians of the Palas.

This conclusion is reinforced to some extent by another reference in the Bappa Bhatti Charita, this time in connection with the poet Vakpatiraja. Hitherto, we had known of Vakpatiraja only from what is contained in the Rajatarangini of Kalhana. This chronicle lets us know that he was a court poet of Yasovarman of Kanauj and the author of the poem Gaudavadha in Prakrit, and Gaudavadha itself does not give us more information than to state that he was a devout disciple of Bhavabhuti and ultimately attained to the position that the latter held as a "Vidyapati" in the court of Yasovarman himself. The Bappa Bhatti Charita throws a good deal more light upon the life and work of Vakpatiraja. Vakpati is described as belonging to the Kshatriya lineage of the Paramara clan of the Rajputs as they are called by historians. He is described in one place a *Sāmantanāyaka*, chief of the Samantas. In another place he is described as chief of the *Brahmavids* (those versed in Brahmanical learning and philosophy). He was a poet at the court of a king Dharma of Bengal, a predecessor of Dharmapala. Yasovarman undertook an invasion of Bengal, defeated Dharma in war and subsequently killed him in battle. Vakpati was among the prisoners whom Yasovarman kept in prison after his victorious return at Kanauj. Vakpati composed the Gaudavadha celebrating the exploit apparently of Yasovarman's invasion of Bengal, and thus got released from prison. In all probability, he took himself away from Kanauj, and return-

ed to the court of Bengal, and was a much-respected court poet in the court of Dharmapala of Bengal himself. He felt at one time that Dharmapala did not show him the respect due to his position because of the intrigues of a Bauddha teacher and controversialist who had some influence with Dharmapala. Therefore he retired from Bengal and reached the court of Amaraja of Kanauj, where he became very soon a *persona grata* with king Amaraja and his friend the Jaina divine. He lived at court a great honoured poet, and composed during his stay there two poems, Gauda bandha (a different work from Gaudavadha) and Madra-mahi-vijaya (conquest of Madra country, East Punjab) both of them apparently in honour of Ama, who doubled his annuity in consequence. After some time, feeling dissatisfied that Ama was not up to the height of his position in respect of his conduct, he retired to Mathura, the staunch Vaishnava that he was, and was about putting an end to himself by a process of religious starvation when he was rescued from imminent death by Bappa Bhatti at the instance of Amaraja. He is said to have changed to the religion of the Jina as a result of Bappa Bhatti's intervention, as was related already. These are details in regard to the life of Vakpati which to our knowledge have not been noticed before. There is nothing improbable as far as we can judge of them just at present, in the details of his life. It would be well if the various manuscript collectors and libraries keep an eye to discovering one or other of these new works of his which may ultimately settle the question how far the Bappa Bhatti Carita could be held to be reliable in regard to these particulars.

CHAPTER XII

NAGARA, VESARA, DRAVIDA, ETC.

These are technical terms applied as a rule to classes of style in architectural and sculptural works. In their general application, they are usually taken to imply North Indian, Dakhani and South Indian styles generally. Other groups are occasionally referred to, and of these the most remarkable are Varati, Kalingi, and even Pañchali. Varati, of course, would ordinarily be derived from Varad (Berar), Kalingi from Kalinga, and Panchali similarly, from the Panchala. These again are usually combined with another term *Sarvadēśika,* common to all the *Dēśas* or divisions of the country. The use of the last term in contrast with the others by itself would indicate that the differences are fundamentally according to the *Dēśa* or region, in which the particular style prevails as the dominant style of the locality. These distinctions are made to apply not only to buildings ordinary *Griha* or *Vāstu,* and palatial, *Prāsāda,* but also to the constituent parts of these buildings. Nay more, it is carried even to apply to the *Linga* in the sanctum as well as to the images of various kinds used as decorations on walls, pillars, etc. The distinction is again carried through both in regard to the walls and even pillars, to the same minutiae of detail as in the case of the buildings or structures as a whole. The divisions therefore seem fundamental to all works of art, that of the mason in particular, and seem definitely to be based upon localities primarily. Localities differ according

to the character of the soil, the nature of the flora that grows from out of the soil and the characteristic qualities (*guṇas*) that they produce, and coming round again therefore to the features peculiar to large areas or regions of the country. On this basis, therefore, the primary division is *Nāgara,* India north of the Vindhyas, *Vēsara,* India between the Vindhyas and the Krishna corresponding to the Dakhan of secular history, and Drāvida or India south of the Krishna corresponding to Tamil India.

It may be admitted without question that the derivation of the words Nagara and Vesara is not as clear as Dravida, Kalinga and even Varata. But to infer from this that they had no territorial significance would be to argue too much, in the face of the explicit statement by text writers. Whatever the derivation of these words, which we shall for the present have to leave unsettled, they are undoubtedly technical terms, and text books bearing on the subject must be regarded as authority for the significance of these technical terms. Our derivation may fail or may prove satisfactory. But that is something entirely different from what the artist or the craftsman understood by the terms. These are not the only two terms of architecture or iconography which require illumination. There are various others in similar familiar use. Their significance can be understood by reference to authoritative books. But their derivation is still unknown, at least so far as we are concerned. The terms *Pinḍi* and *Bhēram* are examples from among a triplet *Lingam, Pinḍi, Bhēram.* Of course from the context we could make out Lingam as the symbolical representation of Siva, Pindi as the Pita or the pedestal on which it is placed, and Bheram is the whole figure of

a shapen image. The term Nagara figures not only in association with the Nagari script, but even in association with women of a class, according to the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana.[1]

While these topics are discussed both in the Silaparatna and the Mayamata published in the Trivandrum Archaeological Series, as also in various other works, *āgamāik*, architectural or other, still we have chosen the text from the *Kamika Agama*, because that is quoted as authority by other works referred to above, and because it devotes a whole chapter to the elucidation of these fundamental terms, the number of the chapter being 49, and the heading *Nāgarādi Vibhēda Paṭalam.* The chapter is obviously intended to explain the difference between the terms, Nagara etc.

For the purposes of this classification, the country is divided into three parts southwards from the Himalayas,

1. But in regard to Vesara from Vesya, Mr. Jayaswal, J.I.S.O.A., Vol. I, No. 1, p. 57, has little authority to rest on, as his quotation from the *Silparatna* fails to be of authority altogether. The passage in *Silparatna* I, Ch. XVI, 50 (Trivandrum Sansk. Series LXXV) which he refers to where the term Vesya occurs, and which he interprets as the equivalent of ornamental, contains an obvious misreading. The term in use there being Vaisya, one of the top strokes being missed perhaps by the scribe who made the manuscript copy from which the work is actually printed. That it is Vaisya is unmistakable, not only by parallel references elsewhere, but the very sloka which refers to classes of buildings connected with Brahmana and Kshatriya. The next following division must be Vaisya and not Vesya. In our present state of knowledge therefore, and, notwithstanding the fact that we do not know enough of the nature of these technical terms and their derivation, we should be well advised still to follow authority.

the Vindhyas and the Krishna forming the two boundaries. This division is taken to be based upon the three well-known qualities, *Sattva, Rajas,* and *Tamas,* of the earth in these parts. A fourth class in addition to Nagara, Vesara and Dravida is called Sarvadesika as having features common to all these distinct divisions, thereby indicating clearly that the division is regional primarily. Two other divisions are quoted, such as Kalinga and Varata, which obviously are again territorial. Then it is laid down that the buildings of the Nagara class ought to be built on land where the *Sāttvika* quality predominates, Vēsara where the dominent quality is *Tamas,* and Dravida where *Rajas* predominates, the Sarvadesika buildings being common to all. The other two classes Kalinga and Varata are built where the two gunas, *Sattva* and *Rajas* are found to prevail together and perhaps in an equal degree.

Proceeding to buildings generally of an architectural character, such as ordinary residential buildings, palaces and temples, they contain features which fall into eight divisions: namely, (1) *Mūlam* (the base), (2) *Masūrakam* (the plinth over it), (3) then comes *Jangha* (torso), (4) then *Kapōtam* or *Śikharam,* (5) *Gaḷam* (neck), above these, (6) *Āmalasāra* surmounted by the (7) *Kumbha* (pot) or (8) *Śūlam* (finial). The distinction between the classes of buildings depends upon the variations in the disposition of these eight parts, and the different kinds of ornamentation. Nagara buildings may have other finials than those indicated. They must have the eight component parts, must be decorated with pairs of cars, set at the angles against each other. The *Bhadrakas* (portico-mouldings ?) must be rising one above the other, must exhibit angles, in three, five, seven,

or nine tiers, with projecting eves with a series of cavettoes for birds, ornamented in either part with steps upwards from *Prastara* (entablature) to Prastara, provided with *Ūha* (moulding) and *Pratyūha* with dome-like turrets, either in singles or in pairs, with decorative work or without, and set with round Amalasara. They should also be provided with the halls called *Śukhanāsi* (vestibule) both in front and back as well as on the sides, which may also be shown with the subordinate parts. These decorative features may be varied according to the skill of the architect, and to subserve the demands of good appearance. Such a building is of the Nagara type.

Where the building exhibits a well formed plinth over the base, with decorative work alike on the pillars and the walls intervening between pillars set apart at equal distances, and divided into parts in good symmetry, and showing distinctly the first eight parts, the building is of the Dravida type. The Bhadrakas (porticoes) in these building ought to be set at the angles, outside the prescribed measurement. The intervals between pillars must be equal and the intervals between Prastaras (entablatures) must be built up. They should have pipes for running out the water, with statuettes in the intervals, decorated with garlands and carrying planks for setting the beads on. The edges must provide cavettoes. They must have the main entrance, *Brahmadvāra,* with flags leading into the vestibule-hall (Sukhanasi) provided also with a hall at the back, the larger sized ones falling into thirteen divisions and the smaller into twelve. They may have six or seven floors. They may be divided into fifteen or twenty-one parts. Similarly these structures may be built with even eight or

nine floors in houses. Other structures may have nine, sixteen, seventeen and even eighteen parts, with the usual six different forms,[2] each part adorned with decorative work. These might also contain emerging from the middle of the decorated tower (*Vimāna*), miniature structures of a similar kind. Buildings which in this wise are ornamented in the Vimana are regarded as Dravida, structures of the Dravidian class.

Where the setting is Dravida with decorative work of the Nagara kind, and otherwise containing features peculiar to Nagara or Dravida structures, with the roof either divided in parts or being undivided, the upper structures diminishing in size as they rise, buildings of this kind with the Vimanas decorated in this wise, are called Vesara. Where from the base buildings can be raised in series one above the other, in which the pillars are decorated with portico-mouldings carrying above the suitable neck, dome and spire, the different parts of which are suitably decorated with Bhadrakas, the inter-spaces as well being filled with decorative work; in which even the pillars which are set on the floor are of the form of statues, the decorative work being arranged in line, the eves projecting from the Prastara so as to cast a shadow, such buildings so decorated are described as of the Varata class.

Without supporting arches or statues, decorated with flags on the outside, provided with subordinate arches or statues under the beam and decorated with members standing erect or in postures of flexion, all the parts alike covered with decorative work, being either square or

2. The eight divisions mentioned above less the base or pedestal, and the finial or spire.

octagonal with both neck and dome, buildings such as these are regarded as of the Kalinga variety. Buildings provided with water pipes and decorative arches, or statues ornamented with garlands on the neck, provided with dovecots, the main entrance bedecked with flags, falling into six classes in respect of form, buildings such as these constitute the class called Sarvadesika. Nagara buildings ought not to show broken sides which must be equal. They must conform to the measurements prescribed, while in Dravida buildings, the defects in the sides are made up by the provision of decorative Bhadrakas. Buildings of the Vesara class should be without shortage or excess of the prescribed measurements; must be provided with front portals and must rise in tiers one above the other marked by cross beams.

One other feature deserves mention, namely the general shape. In some cases, the variation of shape applies to the whole building beginning with the base and running consistently through all the parts to the finial. In some cases, this is prescribed only for the upper part, the Vimana, etc. In the Nagara class, it is the square form that is prescribed. In the Dravida, it is the octagonal shape usually, the hexagonal being permissible also. While in the Vesara, the form is circular, at least curvilinear if it is not exactly circular. The whole building from top to bottom ought to be square in Nagara. In the Dravida this formation applies only to the structure above the ground floor. These characteristics of the different styles are again maintained consistently through the subordinate parts. These subordinate parts have to show six out of the eight features, with which we began, the six being those omitting the first, or the base and the last, or the finial, out of the

eight given. This consistency of form is insisted on not merely in respect of whole structures or buildings,[3] but is held to apply with the same consistency to parts, such as the Vimana, etc. Furthermore it is held to apply, as far as may be, not merely to the forms of God installed in the sanctum whatever the actual form be. One will notice this in the shape of the Linga of the Rajasimha type in Mamallapuram. It falls into three parts; square below the ground level and above to a certain height; octagonal above this through the greater parts, and circular at the top, somewhat less in length than the octagonal part. These are described respectively as Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, a Pauranic classification adopted also in the Agama literature for architectural and other purposes as well. But even in regard to the statues forming part of the decorations of these buildings, the whole of these various divisions is described in Chapter 49 of the Kamika Agama.[4]

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3. *Mayamatam,* Ch. 19.
4. See also *Silparatna.*

CHAPTER XIII

KALINGADESA[1]

SALIENT FEATURES OF ITS HISTORY

The modern expression, Orissa is a corruption of Odradesa and takes into it the territories known by the names Kalinga, Utkala, Odra or Odda and even a part of Dasarna. It took in the whole territory which at one time in history was included in the name Kosala, obviously South Kosala, as distinct from the north. The exact territorial limits of this Kosala in the eleventh century seem to have corresponded more or less to the present day territorial limits of the tributary states of Orissa.[2]

Of these, the territory included in the name Kalinga seems to be the oldest, and by that name the whole may be referred to for purposes of historical discussion.

I have not so far come upon any reference to Kalinga as such in Vedic literature. But among the kingdoms of the south the rulers of which are described in the Aitareya Brahmana generally as assuming the title Bhoja, Kalinga seems capable of inclusion, though there is no explicit statement to the effect. There are specific references however, in a number of places in the *Mahabharata* to the kingdom of Kalinga. Apart from stray references to Kalinga rulers as such, and the part that the individual Kalinga rulers played in the Great War, Kalinga is

1. Presented for the Kalinga Day to A.H.R.S.
2. See Inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I.

described as a forest country beginning as soon as the river Vaitarani is reached. The ruling dynasty is referred to as the descendants begotten on the Queen Sushena of Kalinga, wife of Bali by Rishi Dirghatama,[3] and the five sons born to her are said to have founded the five kingdoms; Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma. Of these five, the kingdom of Anga comprised the territory round Bhagalpur (ancient Champa) on the Ganges. Vanga was the region probably on both sides of the Ganges, though the great bulk of its territory seems to have lain to the east of the river, extending from the frontiers of Vanga to the sea. To the west of this seems to have lain Kalinga. Pundra has been known to correspond to North Bengal, that is, the territory on the northern side of the Ganges and perhaps to the east of the kingdom of Kosala. The location of Suhma is not quite so definite, but it seems to have comprised the territory on the southern side of the Ganges extending from the river southwards to the frontiers of Kalinga east of the territory of Magadha. This description would make Kalinga extend from the Ganges westwards, at any rate from Rupnarain arm of the Ganges, at the mouth of which was situated the ancient port of Tamralipti (the modern Damlok). Throughout the greater part of history Kalinga seems to have corresponded to the region extending from this river to the river Godavari, and stretching from the sea into the interior marked by a vague line drawn along the course of the river Indravati to its junction with the Godavari and along its course northwards to meet the Ganges near the town of Burdwan.

3. *The Mahabharata*, Bk. XII, Ch. 4. (Kum. Edn.).

In the Mahabharata itself Kalinga is spoken of as one kingdom and its capital is named Rajapuri. In this particular connection the ruler of Kalinga is given the name Chitrangada, whose daughter the Kaurava Prince Duryodhana is said to have married. So far, then, as the Mahabharata is concerned, Kalinga was a forest kingdom and its ruler is described as one in the Mahabharata war. There is mention of Kalinga in the Sutras of Panini. There are a number of references in the Arthasastra to Kalinga, particularly in reference to cotton fabric of a special kind. This feature of Kalinga is borne out by the Tamil word "*kalingam*" for cotton cloth which probably had the original significance of cotton cloth of a particular kind, extended later on as a general name for all cotton stuff. So far, therefore, as Sanskrit literature is concerned, Kalinga was a well-known kingdom occupying the geographical position that it did in later historical times, and, according to one reference in the Great epic, it was the land of virtue where Dharma himself, the God of righteousness, performed a *yajna* at a particular spot which has since borne the name *Yajnapura*, the later Jajpur.

Passing from the Sanskrit to Buddhist evidence, we find Kalinga mentioned as a kingdom with Dantapura as its capital. The earliest reference we get is in the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* where there is a reference to a Kalinga king by name Karandu who is spoken of as a contemporary of Nagnajit of Gandhara and Bhima of Vidarbha. This is confirmed by the Jaina Uttaradhyayana Sutra. In the Mahagovinda Suttanta[4] there is a reference to another

4. Dialogues of the Buddha, II; 270.

king of Kalinga by name Sattabhu as a contemporary of Dattaratta (Dhritarashtra) of Kasi, who is mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana. This Suttanta gives the information that the capital of Kalinga was Dantapura. There is another reference, again from Buddhist sources, which seems to give us an insight into the division of Kalinga into two kingdoms at any rate, while in regard to its general features it seems to support the general description of it found in the Mahabharata. The Ceylon Chronicle Mahavamsa giving the history of the migration of Vijaya into Ceylon, describes the adventures of his mother the Bengal princess of Kalinga. When she was sent into exile for her lascivious waywardness by the father, the king, she departed from the kingdom in the company of a caravan of merchants going to Magadha. While they were on the way through the territory of Ladha the whole party was set upon by a lion. The party scattered, and she fled, as did also the rest of them, to save her life, but accidentally took the path by which the lion came. When the lion returned he found the princess and was so charmed with her beauty that he begot upon her a son and a daughter. The son was called Simhabahu or Sihabahu because of the peculiar feature that he had the hands of a lion. When ultimately he returned to the grandfather's kingdom by the achievement of killing the lion, his father, which had grown so troublesome to the frontiers of the kingdom of Bengal, he was given permission by the grandfather, or rather his uncle who married his mother and became subsequently ruler of Bengal, to clear the forest and set up a kingdom of his own. Thus was said to have been founded the kingdom of north Kalinga, at least one part of it with a capital

Sihapura or Simhapura ; and this was probably the forest region of Kalinga immediately adjoining the territory of Bengal in the lower reaches of the Ganges. It is very likely that the older kingdom lying farther south did continue, as we find the kingdom of Kalinga described in early Tamil classical literature, as composed of two parts with their respective capitals Kapilapura and Simhapura which may have reference to the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Scholars who first studied the Mahavamsa interpreted this story as involving the banishment of the Bengal princess from Bengal to Lata or Gujarat as they misequated Ladha with Lata. It is now beyond doubt that the Ladha, under reference, is the eastern Prakrit form of Radha, a division of Vajjabhumi on the banks of the Sone, or much rather, between the Sone and the Ganges, what might be called in modern language West Bengal.

Kalinga is known to the Puranas and one of the Nandas Nandivarman is said to have conquered it. This statement seems to receive some confirmation from the reference in the Hathigumpha inscription to the aqueduct constructed by Nandaraja at a period previous to the accession of Chandragupta to the Magadhan throne. It is well known that the only conquest effected by the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka after his accession to the throne of his father was the kingdom of Kalinga. In his inscription the kingdom is spoken of as a single kingdom. The Hathigumpha inscription, already referred to, of Kharevela speaks of it as a single kingdom as well, but with a capital which is read as Pritudakadarbha. The Asoka Edicts do not mention the capital of Kalinga as such, but the fact that Asoka's Edicts are found in Dauli (Tosali) and Jaugada seems to lend colour to the infer-

ence that the first was the capital of the kingdom in the days of Asoka. Asoka's war was so destructive in character that it brought about a permanent revulsion of feeling in the humane emperor against war. Tamil literature describes a war which is similarly of a gruesome character. This was a fratricidal war between the cousin rulers of the two kingdoms of Kalinga with their respective capitals Kapilapura and Simhapura.[5] As a consequence of this war a famine is said to have supervened. That is as far as we are enabled to go with the means at our disposal till about the early centuries of the Christian era.

In the following centuries Kalinga must have been more or less a flourishing kingdom, as we find frequent reference to it as supplying brides, heirs, and sometimes even usurpers to Ceylon, the ruling dynasty of which regarded itself as related by blood with the Kalinga rulers. According to traditional history in the early centuries of the Christian era there was Yavana rule. Great efforts have been made to connect this Yavana rule with that of the Greeks who are readily taken to have established a kingdom there as a result of the raids carried into the heart of India under the Greek rulers Demetrius and Menandar in which both Madhyamika (Nagar near Chittore) in Rajaputana and Saketa (Oudh) suffered; but there is so far no evidence whatsoever of an irrefutable character of the Greek occupation of Kalinga and of the perpetuation of a dynasty in that region. The recent reading of the Hathigumpha inscription seems to make this definitely impossible, as Kharavela the Kalinga ruler

5. Both *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai.*

claims to have driven the Yavanas (Greeks) then in occupation of Muttra. This indicates that if even the Greeks reached as far east as Kalinga their invasion was not of a character to warrant the assumption of a permanent occupation. We have no evidence of other Greek invasions so far and the term Yavana does not always mean Greek in Sanskrit literature.

In the century immediately preceding the Christian era, or a little before that, Kalinga was a well formed kingdom set over against the rising kingdom of the Satavahanas of the Dakhan. The prosperous rule indicated by the Hathigumpha inscription under Kharavela does not appear to have been of such a character for any length of time. It is just possible that the fratricidal war between the two kingdoms referred to in the Tamil epics Silappadikaram and Manimekalai may have been a historical war which followed soon after the rule of Kharavela of Kalinga. In the wars in the centuries immediately following the Christian era, Kalinga does not figure as an independent kingdom. The same Tamil epics which refer to the march of Karikala to the north do not make any mention of the Kalinga kingdom although they do refer to Vajranadu, a kingdom on the banks of the Sone, Magadha and Avanti. Among the conquests of Gautamiputra Satakarni figure the hills of Mahendra and Malaya. Mahendra is the well-known Mahendragiri, Malaya is the Maleus of Pliny and seems to stand for Malyavan, one of the far-eastern peaks of the Vindhya mountains, quite on the borderland of Kalinga. That probably means that Kalinga was among his conquests. When the Andhra power declined, Kalinga seems to have fallen to the share of the usurper from Ayodhya Sri Vira Purusha Datta of the Ikshvaku race. Under the Guptas, Kalinga

seems to have formed an integral part of the empire, although it is just possible that their Vakataka contemporaries might have possessed a part of it. During all this period Kalinga was in pretty much the same religious condition as most other Indian states; but in Jain religions history Kalinga figures as one of the influential Jain centres, and the Kharavela inscription lends colour to this claim. Similar claims were made by the Buddhists, and if the Ceylon Buddhist history is to be believed, there were Buddhist settlements of importance as well in Kalinga. When the Buddhists speak of Kalinga, Dantapura figures always as the capital. There is occasional mention of Simhapura, apparently the capital of northern Kalinga, the foundation of Simhabahu with which Ceylon kept itself in communication.

The Kalinga invasion of Samudragupta, of the region comprised within the limits of Kalinga, seems to have left the territory somewhat disorganised as there is record of a Yavana rule again and some of the ruling family emigrating to Ceylon. The possibility of a Yavana rule here could only be that of the Kshatrapas of the west. This possibility, however, proves very unlikely having regard to the existence of the Vakataka power in the middle. The Yavana invasion of Kalinga therefore of this period probably has some vague reference to the invasion of Samudragupta himself as this must have proved rather thoroughgoing in character and destructive. Therefore, the possibility of a Kalinga princess Hemamala fleeing for safety from Dantapura with the 'tooth-relic' of the Buddha ultimately to Ceylon may be possible. But Raktabahu, the Yavana, who was really the author of the invasion would be rather difficult to identify with the facts at our disposal. Later in the age

of the Guptas the region round the Mekhala, that is, the territory round the Maikal range, which is just the modern modification of Mekhala passed into the possession of the Vakatakas and had to be brought under the control of the Guptas under Skandagupta and his successors. When the Gupta Empire went into dismemberment at the end of the fifth century Kalinga must have regained somewhat of its powers, but in the period of struggle which immediately followed under the Guptas of Malva and the Maukharis of Kanauj and the rulers of Thaneswar, Kalinga seems to have enjoyed a respite, so far at any rate as the northern powers were concerned. It was about that time that the Western Chalukyas were rising into importance and possibly Kirtivarman, the first great ruler, made an effort to include it in his territory. But the troubles in the succession to the family which followed immediately gave some little respite till under Pulikesin II, the Chalukyas made a systematic conquest of the northern half of the coast region in the East. The formation of the viceroyalty of the Eastern Chalukyas must have brought them into direct contact with Kalinga which in this age formed an integral part of Bengal and passed ultimately under the rule of Harsha whose conquest of the region as far south as Ganjam is on record in Hiuen T'sang's itinerary. When Harsha died and his empire broke up into the constituent kingdoms, Assam seems to have taken a turn for expansion and Kalinga again formed part of Bengal which again formed part and parcel of the extended kingdom of Assam under Bhaskaravarman and his successors. When a revolution upset this dynasty in Assam, Kalinga fell to its own devices and that period seems to synchronise with the coming into importance of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga called

Eastern Gangas. Kalinga history thereafter takes its own course till about the middle of the sixteenth century up to which period it has a distinct history of its own.

With the fall of the Gupta empire the kingdom of Kalinga seems to have emerged into some importance. The foundation of the Kesari dynasty ascribed to the fifth century seems to have had its capital first of all in the interior in a place called Yayatinagar, from the first important ruler of this dynasty. This came to be known later as Adinagar and as Sadinagar, in both of which forms, it figures in the inscriptions of Rajendra Chola as we shall see later on. This place has been identified recently with a place called Sonepur on the river Mahanadi. There are several references to the conquest of Kalinga by the southern kings, the earliest of which was the invasion of Kirtivarman, the Western Chalukhya; Kalinga is referred to in his inscriptoin of the year A.D. 567, but figures in this record in a more or less conventional list. There is a similar reference under Pulikesin but in a much less conventional fashion, as his Aihole inscription state more clearly that both Kosala and Kalinga submitted to him. The next in order would be its conquest by Dantidurga, the Rashtrakuta. In this case again Kalinga figures among a conventional list of his conquests. In a record of A.D. 877 Krishna II, Rashtrakuta is said to have subdued Kalinga among other kingdoms. These various references lead us to the inference that Kalinga retained its historical existence as an independent kingdom, and came into touch with the neighbouring powers occasionally. It must be remembered that, from the character of the information accessible to us now, it is only when it comes into hostile contact with its neighbours, that it is likely to be mentioned

at all. In the course of these centuries Kalinga seems to have passed under the rule of a new dynasty, that of the Eastern Gangas, the traditional date of foundation of which is in the earlier half of the eighth century A.D. With the advent of this dynasty Kalinga comes more prominently into view, as was stated already.

With the rise of the Western Chalukyas the territory extending from the Godavari southwards along the East Coast passed into their hands, probably from those of the Pallavas of Kanchi. Early in the seventh century this new acquisition was constituted into a separate viceroyalty with its head quarters first at Vengi, which was probably later on transferred to Rajahmandri early in the eleventh century. This viceroyalty became almost independent as the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas, in the seventh century A.D. and as such, it was in constant contact with the kingdom of Kalinga on its northern frontier. The wars under the Rashtrakutas, already noted against Kalinga must have been the side-issues in their constant wars with the Eastern Chalukyas. The definite political subordination of the Eastern Chalukyas to the Cholas throws Kalinga into relief and brings it into contact with the Cholas themselves almost with the beginning of the eleventh century. During all this period anterior to the advent of the Cholas, Kalinga occupied a place of some importance in history, but the features of that history are not quite clear. It is from this region that one set of colonists went over to Sumatra and Java, according to Javanese tradition. The region from which their traditional founder Aji Saka came in the first century A.D. seems indicated in the direction of Kalinga. Ptolemy mentions Palur (on the Ganjam or Rishi Kulya river) as the starting point for the overseas communica-

tion of Kalinga. Whether the Kalinga objective in over-seas navigation was the country set over against it on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, or whether it went so far down as the islands, is open to doubt; but the constant references to Kalinga and arrivals therefrom in the history of Ceylon seem to lend historical colour to this far-off emigration to the eastern islands. Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa, referring to the kingdom of Kalinga, speaks of its capital being on the sea-shore, but does not give the name. It describes a king under the name Hemangada and makes him the lord of Mahendragiri and Mahodadhi, the great sea. He does not give any further information in regard to Kalinga. According to certain inscriptions, the Kesari dynasty began in the eighth century A.D. and counts four or five kings among them. According to one calculation, Yayatikesar is referred to in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The Eastern Gangas who were one of the most influential dynasties of rulers of Orissa came into great importance in the eleventh century, and they carry their genealogy back to a little more than 300 years from the accession of their greatest ruler, Anantavarman Choda Ganga, whose accession took place in A.D. 1078. So, apparently, this dynasty would carry back its origin to almost the commencement of the ninth century. With this dynasty the country of Kalinga comes into full historical view.

Just about the period A.D. 1000 the rising power of the Cholas under Raja Raja, the Great, made itself felt in the north. He made an effective intervention in the somewhat disturbed affairs of the Eastern Chalukyas, and achieved by a stroke of policy the permanent alliance of the Eastern Chalukyas with the Cholas, confirmed by a marriage alliance which was further cemented by a

further marriage alliance under his son and successor Rajendra I, Gangaikonda Chola. Raja Raja claims conquest of Kalinga which probably meant no more than the attempt to bring the state of Kalinga under the suzerainty of the Cholas as was done in the case of the Eastern Chalukyas. Perhaps the war did not go much further; but the understanding seems to have been established more permanently when the Kalinga, Raja Raja, married a daughter of Rajendra, as did the Eastern Chalukya Raja Raja. The son of the latter became the great Chola emperor under the name Kulottunga about the time when the other grandson of Rajendra, Anantavarman Chŏda Ganga, ascended the throne of Kalinga. It was Rajendra I who carried on a regular war of conquest against the country of Kalinga. The Cholas and the Chalukyas were for almost a century face to face on the frontier separating them, and this frontier extended from near the Western Ghats almost at the source of the Krishna along the river till its junction with the Tungabhadra, and then in an irregular line northwards to the Vindhya mountains. Rajendra's effort was to reduce the whole of Kalinga to submission to him in order to carry on his overseas enterprise of bringing the Tamil colonies of Sumatra and the neighbourhood under his control as against the rising kingdom of Sri Bhoja in Sumatra. It is in the course of all this war that the various divisions of Kalinga came prominently into view. Having set the north-west frontier at peace his army seems to have marched into the heart of the Kosala country which then happened to be the asylum for Brahmans fleeing for shelter from the territory subject to the onslaughts of Mahmud of Ghazni. Having taken Chakrakota and Adinagar or Sadinagar or Yayatinagar there, the army

marched northwards subduing various other parts of Kalinga till it reached the Ganges on the southern frontiers of Mahipala, king of northern Bengal. Therefrom it turned back, defeated the king of Bengal proper and finally overthrew the ruler of Kalinga at the junction of the Ganges with the ocean. In the meanwhile he brought up reinforcements from Kanchi, and was encamped in Rajamandri when his victorious general brought him 'the tribute of waters' from the Ganges. The joint invasion marched further north till it overthrew the king of Kalinga in his central headquarters. It was probably as a result of this invasion that a definitive treaty was concluded with Kalinga, and it was probably as one of the items of the treaty that the marriage was brought about, the outcome of which was peace for more than half of a century till Kulottunga found it necessary to go to war probably with Anantavarman Choda Ganga early in the twelfth century. It is in this war of Kulottunga that Kalinga gets described sometimes as comprised in three divisions, occasionally as five, and oftentimes as seven. As early as the days perhaps of Megasthenes Kalinga had been divided into three. The Gangetic Kalingam was the first division, the country probably answering to the part of Kalinga last conquerred by Rajendra's general. Then follows Modokalinga of Pliny which may stand as the Bengali form of Madhya-Kalinga. Then follows the third division Macco-Kalinga, which may be rendered perhaps as Mukhya-Kalinga, and what is known as Mukhalingam may be the Mukhya-Kalinga-nagar, the capital of Mukhya-Kalinga which by mere phonetic decay gets worn into Mukhalingam. That kind of division seems to have continued more or less, and as was pointed out already there were other divisions such as Kosala answering to

the tributary states and hill tracts, Utkala, the present day Orissa and the narrower designation at one time of the territory of North Kalinga, the country of Tamralipti and so on. When these had been brought under one ruler, these divisions must have retained something of their individuality and must have lent colour to the variety of division implied by the kingdom being described as composed of three, five or seven divisions. According to Rajasekhara who lived in the late ninth and the early tenth century Kalinga belonged to the eastern part, the country east of Benares, of which these separate divisions which are referable to Kalinga get mention, namely, Kalinga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Tamraliptaka, Mallavartaka, Malada. Probably all these were included in the larger geographical entity Kalinga as none of the divisions referable to Kalinga are included in his southern division which is located south of Mahishmati. What obtained in the age of Rajasekhara might well have continued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and this division perhaps accounts for the variety of division indicated in the term Kalinga qualified by such numbers as three, five or seven.

The term Kalinga-nagara may not be a proper name and might simply stand for the capital city of Kalinga and may be identifiable with Mukhalinga which might have remained the capital till it was transferred later on to Cuttack, there being other capitals as well such as Dauli or Tosali, Yaugada, whatever that stood for, and even the old Simhapura and Kapilapura. In all probability Dantapura described by Hieun T'sang was identical with Kalinganagara now identifiable with Mukhalingam according to certain inscriptions. This identification may seem to militate against Kalidasa's description of the

capital of Kalinga being quite on the seashore. This need not however prove a serious difficulty. Anantavarman as the builder of Puri, as his predecessors of the Kesari dynasty built and endowed Bhuvanesvar, and as his own son Ananga Bhima I built the temple at Konarka. The last of the dynasty, Nrisimha suffered perhaps a Muhammadan invasion, and was finally overthrown by the usurper Kapilendra the first Gajapati ruler who set himself up with the countenance of the Muhammadans of Bengal. This dynasty consisted only of three generations and corresponded more or less in duration to the period of the first, second and a part of the third dynasty of Vijayanagar. During this period the capital seems to have been at Cuttack. Kapilendra exerted himself a great deal to extend the limits of the kingdom southwards, and carried it effectively to the Godavari with Rajamandri as the outermost viceroyalty. This he was able to achieve through alliances with the Sultans of the Bahmani kingdom. The break up of that kingdom into five, and the internal dissensions that it fell a prey to, made any further advance of the kingdom impossible in his time. His successor Purushottama was able to carry Kalinga raids as far south as the southern Pennar, and seems to have had a Governorship permanently as far south as Nellore and Udayagiri. When the great Vijayanagar king Krishnadeva Raya came to the throne he found the Gajapatis in occupation of all the coast territory almost down to the frontier of Madras itself. The farseeing policy of this ruler saw at a glance the dangerous character of this situation for the empire, having regard to the fact that the Gajapatis were inclined to enter readily into alliance with the Muhammadans against Vijayanagar, and to the fact that the Muham-

madan states of the north were in habitual hostility to the empire. Krishna adopted the wisest course of letting the Muhammadans alone for the time being, till he compelled the Gajapati to withdraw from the new conquests by carrying a successful war right up to the frontiers of modern Ganjam, and making the position of the capital Cuttack itself dangerous for the ruler of Orissa. He succeeded in the effort. Then the Krishna was agreed upon as the definitive boundary between the empire of Vijayanagar and the territory of the rulers of Kalinga, but it was still understood that the coast districts extending northwards from the Krishna to almost Ganjam was the coast region of Telingana and not geographically an integral part of Kalinga. When this dynasty was overthrown by Mahammadan conquest from the side of Bengal the Muhammadan territory did not extend much farther South than the Mahanadi, and then the Telingana portion was easily absorbed into the Bahmani states chiefly that of Golconda. When the Moghuls took possession of Golconda territory it naturally passed into their hands, and when the Nizam founded an independent state in the Dakhan it remained an integral part of his territory till it was made over to the French as the result of a subsidiary alliance. When the French in their turn were overthrown in South India it passed into the hands of the English. During this last period Kalinga had no history of her own, having been absorbed into the territory of Bengal since the Muhammadan conquests under Akbar. When the decline of the Moghul empire began, the Bengal province found it difficult to maintain its hold on it, and the Maharattas under the Bhonslas of Nagpur were able to take easy possession of it. It was then recovered from the Maharattas after the overthrow

of the state of Nagpur, and since then underwent the vicissitudes that Bengal itself did, till in the last few years it became an integral part of the province of Bihar and Orissa.

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CHAPTER XIV

RESEARCH IN INDIAN HISTORY

What History Is

'History is a fable agreed upon' was how history was understood at one time when the idea of history primarily as a piece of literature held sway. We have since gone a long way from that position. Without attempting to set forth what history is, a task which baffled the genius of far greater men than I am, I may make an extract from one of the leading thinkers of the day on matters germane thereto, to gain an idea of what is actually understood by the term. Lord Morley has it in his notes on Politics and History, 'History, in the great conception of it, has often been compared to a mountain chain seen far off in a clear sky, where the peaks seem linked towards one another towards the higher crest of the group. An ingenious and learned writer the other day amplified this famous image, by speaking of a set of volcanic islands heaving themselves out of the sea, at such angles and distances that only to the eye of a bird, and not to a sailor cruising among them, would they appear as the heights of one and the same submerged range. The sailor is the politician. The historian, without prejudice to monographic exploration in intervening valleys and ascending slopes, will covet the vision of the bird.'

Shortcomings of Historical Study

Discussing the distinction between ancient and modern history on this basis, Lord Morley passes on to

some of the shortcomings of historical study at the present time, and makes the following observations commenting on specialization: "We may find comfort in the truth that though excess of specialization is bad, to make specialism into a system is worse. In reading history it is one common fault to take too short measure of the event, to mistake some early scene in the play as if it were the fifth act, and so conceive the plot all amiss. The event is only comprehended in its fullest dimensions, and for that the historic recorder, like or unlike the actor before him, *needs insight and imagination.*" Further on, the same great authority says: "All agree that we have no business to seek more from the past than the very past itself." Nobody disputes with Cicero when he asks: "Who does not know that it is the first law of history not to dare a word that is false? Next, not to shrink from a word that is true. No partiality, no grudge." Though nobody disputes the obvious answers, have a majority of historical practitioners complied?

History of Hindu India

These extracts are quite enough to indicate on the one hand what history is according to the most enlightened modern opinion, and on the other, what difficulties confront a labourer—a journey-man labourer—in the vast fields of that history in India as yet but little explored. Even from the coveted height of the eagle; if one casts his eyes upon the history of Hindu India one feels that one hardly sees enough even of the volcanic islands, and the few that he might be able to see, one feels he sees but too dimly through the mist of age and increasing distance. It is notorious that India has but little history of her own.

Want of Chronology

It was the illustrious historian of India, Elphinstone, who observed in 1839 that, in regard to Indian History, 'no date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander; and no connected relation of the national transaction can be attempted until after the Muhammadan conquest.' Cowell extended the application of this caution to the whole of the Hindu Period, writing as he did in 1866. During the next half century we have advanced from this position a long way indeed, and Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India* is the most substantial vindication of the possibility of compiling a connected history of Hindu India, but even so much advance does not invalidate the first part of Elphinstone's dictum.

An Oxford Chair for Indian History Only British Connection

It is nearly half a century since, that the first attempt was made at Oxford to institute a chair or something near it, for the study of Indian History; but the work of this foundation was, however, limited to the history of the British connection with India. The inaugural address delivered in January 1914 by the present occupant of this position, Rev. William Holden Hutton, B.D., contains the following appeal anent this question: 'He (the Reader) is instructed by statute to lecture on "The Rise, Growth and Organization of the British Power in India." This leads me to say what I think very much needs saying to-day. It is a grievous weakness in the University's provision for learning that there is nothing done for the study of Indian History in ancient and mediaeval times. I should like to direct the attention of those who have the control of the Chancellor's Fund

to this strange omission. A period of the world's history of extraordinary interest and of really enormous importance is entirely neglected in our provision for learning, education, and research. It is true that we have distinguished scholars who have from time to time dealt with a part of this subject, such as Professor Macdonnell and Mr. Vincent A. Smith; but the former has already a subject so wide that only his knowledge and energy could adequately deal with it, while the latter has, I deeply regret to say, no official position in our midst.

No Provision for General Indian Studies

Purely Indian History, with its literature and philosophy, Indian Geography, historical and descriptive (except so far as I am told to deal with it), a subject of extraordinary fascination in itself, Indian archaeology, are unprovided for in this University. In spite of the generosity which created, and has from time to time enriched, the Indian Institute, it still fails to play the important part it might play, and was intended to play, in the education at Oxford. What the Chancellor of the University said in 1909 is, I am afraid, still true.

The Indian Institute

'The Institute has not in any appreciable degree provided a meeting-ground for the East and West, or a place of social intercourse between English and Indian students. Its Museum has failed 'to bring together a typical collection of objects suited to educational purposes and sufficiently complete to give a fair idea of the industrial occupations, domestic and religious customs of the people subject to our rule;' or 'to present a fair epitome of India, eminently attractive not only to indo-

logists, but to ethnologists and anthropologists of all nationalities.' The scheme of constant lectures by distinguished Anglo-Indian administrators and Orientalists which started under happy auspices, has fallen into desuetude. The Institute possesses no permanent endowment, and is ill-provided in respect of staff and attendance, besides being quite unable to extend its sphere of influence.'

The Demand of the Greatest of Oxford Historians (Bishop Stubbs)

I believe that this is largely due to the fact that we have still left unheeded the declaration of the greatest of Oxford historians, made so long ago as 1876, when Mr. Sidney Owen had been teaching Indian History in Oxford for eight years. 'At the present moment we want,' then said the Regius Professor of Modern History (after proclaiming another need which is still, as I think most disastrously, unsatisfied).

We want a permanent chair of Indian History. The labours of our friend, the present Indian Reader, have shown us how thoroughly that study, the importance of which can scarcely be over-rated by Englishmen, falls in with the current of our University work. I say a permanent chair, because that is a subject of permanent necessity, not a subject like palaeography or numismatology, in which the labours of one good professor may serve for two or three generations, and the endowment of the man is of equal importance with the endowment of the chair or study.'

That demand of Dr. Stubbs, made nearly forty years ago, is not yet met. I appeal to those whose interest in India is real, who desire that her history should

be fully known and rightly understood, who desire that she should be recognised in her greatness among the nations, to Indian princes, and to Europeans who have made fortunes in India, to provide for the creation of a Professorship of Indian History in the University which is already so clearly linked, and could be linked more closely, to the Indian Empire.'

THE SAME NEED FOR INDIA

This was the demand made for Oxford forty years ago, already provided with some kind of equipment to meet this particular need. Thanks to the Universities Act of 1904 and the munificent generosity of the Government of India it has become possible for us now to think of doing something to reclaim that part of the history of our country of which the distant Oxford Professors of History shewed themselves so solicitous nearly half a century ago.

THE MATERIAL AVAILABLE FOR MEETING THIS NEED

The difficulties that have to be overcome in any work of research in this field are many and require talents of the highest order over a wide field of study. Broadly speaking the sources of Indian History can be grouped into three broad classes, namely:—

1. Indian Literature (Traditionary and Historical);
2. Foreign Literature, chiefly the works of travellers, etc.
3. Archaeology, Monumental, Numismatic and Epigraphic.

INDIAN LITERATURE

The first of these classes falls naturally into two groups, namely, (*a*) Ordinary literature, embodying

traditional history in regard to striking incidents and personalities. These find casual mention in works with no historical object of any kind and will be of invaluable service in the construction of history. The chief difficulty which besets the subjects here is the absence of any chronological clue, which many of the classical works of literature want generally, either in Sanskrit or in the Dravidian languages of the south. There are some works which, either in the preface or in a colophon at the end of the work, give invariably the name and ancestors of the author sometimes also the name and ancestry similarly of the patron; and occasionally the date of composition or completion of the work. Where this clue is available the work is of some value to the historian—not generally for history as it is ordinarily understood, Political History—but as throwing some side-light upon a social, religious or other feature of general history.

Arrangement upon a Chronological Scheme

The greater part of the literature of the country has first of all to be carefuly studied critically and arranged on a well-planned chronological scheme. This is true alike of Sanskrit and Vernacular literature—the only difference being that in regard to Sanskrit some work has already been done, while in regard to the Dravidian languages which are of material importance to the history of this part of the country, the work has hardly received attention except in very rare instances. To the aspiring historian of South India this will prove the first preliminary spade work essential to any undertaking. He has unfortunately to deal with not any one language but with three, four or five languages, according to the period and the locality to which he directs his ambition

and his attention. It is here co-operation and combination, in the shape of a school of workers in history is required, each one of whom limiting his ambition to contributing to the main result, without special recognition or reward for each brick he might have directly contributed to make.

PROFESSEDLY HISTORICAL WORKS

The next department of the literature of the country that has here to be taken into consideration is the purely historical literature—a department in which, so far as the available materials go—India is peculiarly weak so much so that we often hear it said that the faculty for history is utterly absent in India. Bearing in mind that history as we understand the term now is practically the work of nineteenth century Europe, we can still say with justice that Europe is well provided with historical literature for many ages and many countries. So it is even with China. In regard to India we can hardly say the same, and when we limit our vision to the south we can almost say there is none such at all. The absence of professed histories does not necessarily imply the absence of historical material in literature. There is much of that kind of ore that can be mined in literature, but it requires the smelting furnace of criticism, with plenty of oxydising material in the shape of chronological data from other sources, and slag of confirmatory evidence to separate the facts from the figments of imagination in which these get embedded. Much of this is true even of the few professed histories which we possess. The typical examples of such are Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Bana's *Harsha Charita* and Bilhana's *Vikramankadeva Charita* for Sanskrit, the *Kongudesa Rajakkal* in Tamil

and various other smaller historical pieces found in the Mackenzie Manuscripts collection. There is the *Rajavalikathe* in Kanarese, and the various historical chronicles of Buddhist history which we have for Ceylon.

THEIR VALUE AS HISTORICAL MATERIAL

Various other smaller compositions might be brought under this class, as they deal often with topics contemporaneous with the writers themselves. These, however, and most other of the works already referred to, had not the writing of history as their object, and would be more liable to the charge contained in the quotation with which I started that 'History is fable agreed upon.' On the whole these two connected sources do offer to the critical student valuable historical material, neglect of which would make any history of the country, of a higher conception or lower, almost impossible.

THE WORK THAT LIES AHEAD

Without entering into any detailed description of the various works of a historical character, or attempting to appraise their relative worth as contributing to history, I feel called upon to point out that the work which lies ahead here, almost immediately in front of us, is a critical examination of these, and their presentation in the form of a connected description, so as ultimately to lead up to the writing of a hand-book of literature for each of the literatures of these Dravidian languages on the lines of similar for works for European languages we have in such number and variety. When this is done it will be found that the amplitude of the material available for history is much more than we imagine at first sight.

Foreign Sources of Indian History

Greek.

Passing on to the next division, 'Foreign Sources of Indian History' we have here a very large number of contributaries in regular succession beginning almost with the Father of History, Herodotus. For Northern India we have a number of Greek accounts of varying degrees of value historically from the age of Herodotus to the days of Asoka almost, and when this begins to fail, Chinese sources begin to appear, about the beginning of the Christian era. Of the Greek sources I may just mention besides Herodotus, Ktesias, Megasthenes and Arrian, not to mention Qunctus Curtius and Appollonius of Tyana.

Chinese

Of Chinese sources there is the Chinese Father of History Ssu-ma-ch'ien in the first century B.C. and from that time a large number of travellers came in almost up to the Muhammadan conquest. Of these we need only mention the well-known ones, Fa-hien at the beginning of the fifth century and Hiuen Thsang in the middle of the seventh. Excepting this last none of the foreign sources cited above have anything but an occasional reference to South India. There is besides the recently discovered Tibetan sources which have not yet been adequately worked up to be of use to the student.

For South India

Under this head South India is not without its own share of illumination from the outside. Megasthenes has a few references about the south. There is the Geographer Pliny, then comes in chronological order the un-

known author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, and then Ptolemy. Past this period we are able to derive some valuable information from Hiuen Thsang. Last of all there is Marco Polo. For periods later than this we have the Muhammadan travellers, some of them are of very great value, such as Ibn Batutah and Abdur Razak. There are besides a number of other European travellers who came to some part of the southern coast or the interior, Nicolo-dei-conti who was a contemporary of Deva Raya I, Varthema, the Portuguese traders Nuniz and Paes, and others.

These shed but Intermittent Light

With very few exceptions the light which these throw upon the history of the country is anything but continuous, and often the information that we gain of the best among them can be regarded as of value only when we have other sources of information to control them. All the same we owe it to them that we have recovered a few bright chapters of South Indian History, and we must acknowledge our obligations to the disinterested labour of European savants to whom entirely is due the credit of having made these available to us.

Muhammadan Historians

I have so far not made any mention of the Muhammadan historians as a class. For the later period of Hindu History of South India these historians are of considerable importance as outside sources, though hitherto they were the only sources. I class them as outside; for none of them, of design, writes the history of any State of Hindu India. Such reference as they make are only incidental and bring them in the course of the

history of the particular Muhammadan State or States whose history they attempt to write. These again have been made available for use by us by an elder generation of European scholars, though there is still room for good scholarly work left upon these.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

We come last of all to the sources, archaeological. These have been divided into (1) monumental, (2) numismatic and (3) epigraphic.

(1) *Monumental*

These monuments in the shape of buildings, temples and structures of various kinds throw very considerable light upon the religion, art and civilization in general of the particular period to which they belong. They also let us into the secrets of history in regard to the various influences, foreign or local, that may have had operation in the production of these monuments. To be able to study these monuments, these monuments must exist. So work in this branch of archaeology, as a necessary preliminary, takes the character of an organisation for the preservation of those monuments that are yet visible; then it requires an organisation to carry on work in search for new monuments, and the exposition of those that may be available for study.

Private Effort impossible in this Line.

In a vast country like ours and having regard to the character and condition of these monuments as they are, this becomes particularly a branch of study which does not lend itself at all to private work in regard to its first branch; the second branch of it, research work in monuments, may to some extent be done by private workers

but even in this branch organised work is so necessary for utility that it is only rich societies or Governments which can undertake the conservation and research work satisfactorily, where the latter involve as in the case of the Taxila excavations, or excavations carried on at present at Patalipura, a large outlay of expenditure. After a period of neglect, work upon this branch was undertaken by General Cunningham in the sixties of the last century as Director-General; but his work was confined to Northern and Central India. A decade later came on an expansion under Burgess when the whole of India was included for work. In either case, these officers and their staff confined themselves to research work alone which is embodied in the volumes of Archaeological Survey, I-XXII by the first, and the following up to XXXIII by the second. A first shy attempt was made at conservation of existing monuments in 1881, and ultimately, thanks to the exertions of various influences, a more comprehensive scheme was put into force at the beginning of the new century, and we are now on a further step forward in the development of archaeological work as the Government of India Resolution on the subject indicates.

(2) *Numismatics: Largely Private Effort so far*

It is in the second branch of archaeological work that private effort is quite possible to a very large extent, and a great deal of work has already been done. There are very good collections of coins, seals, etc., in the various museums in India and elsewhere. They have all been carefully studied and catalogued, in addition to much private work that has already been done. It is possible that this may turn out to be a costly fad to an individual

but under proper directions it need not be quite so costly at all.

Invaluable to the Chronology of Particular Periods.

Costly or otherwise it is a very useful fad, and many parts of Indian History have become possible only by the study of coins and several others have received much needed chronological assistance therefrom.

(3) *Epigraphy*

Lastly we come to epigraphy, which for the part of the country with which we are directly concerned, is the most important of these sources, and which has reclaimed to us lost history in regard to various periods, localities and dynasties. For the period anterior to A.D. 400 these records obtained so far, are not very many for South India. The total for the whole of India, both North and South, is about 1100 to 1200.

Records Preponderate in Number in South India for Periods after A.D. 400.

For the period on this side of A.D. 400 the number already brought to notice up to 1906, when the late Professor Kielhorn compiled his indexes to the inscriptions, is about 700 for Northern India and 1000 for the South. There have since been added to these the yearly collections of which it is only a comparatively small number which has yet been placed before the public in a shape to be dealt with in that manner.

LARGE NUMBERS OF THESE RECORDS

Dr. Fleet, one of the greatest living authorities in Indian Epigraphy, has it, 'and, whereas new records are every year being freely obtained in Northern India

it is known there is in Southern India a wealth of materials the extent of which can hardly yet be gauged.' According to the same authority the collection of transcripts made by Sir Walter Elliott was 595 from the Kanarese country, besides a considerable number from the Telugu Districts. These are placed in the libraries of the Royal Asiastic Society, London, and the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Hultzsch had collected and edited about 300 inscriptions in the first two volumes of South Indian inscriptions, and about an equal number has been added since to the same publication by the issue of one more part of volume II and two of Vol. III, by his successors, the late Mr. Venkayya and Rai Sahib H. Krishna Sastri. Mr. Rice brought out about 9000 inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Carnataka* and his successor, Mr. R. Narasimhacharyar, has added a considerable number to these, though he has not published them in the same form as his predecessor had done. Dr. Fleet has collected about 1000 and placed them all in the Bombay Museum. He further states that 'the southernmost parts of Dharwar which abound with such materials, and some parts of Belgaum and Bijapur Districts, and the Nizam's Dominions still remain to be explored.' And a great mass of material from the eastern parts of Southern India.'

THEIR VALUE

Apart from this copiousness these inscriptions have a historical value which is all their own. They vary in substance from the simple record of the death of a rural hero who fell fighting in a cattle raid, or of his widow's immolation on the pyre of her husband, to a detailed account of a battle or a treaty. If it happens to be a donative offering to a temple or a Brahman, it not mere-

ly gives genealogical details of the donor and donee, but very often elaborate details of rural administration. Sometimes we come upon records of how justice was administered, in these very documents. In regard to the simpler details of history these records describe them concisely and accurately, and being not deliberately set out as history are all the more reliable. A great number of these records are precisely dated in some one era or another, or in the regnal years of the sovereign for the time being. Thus they give us an amount of information of such a character that ordinary histories even of a modern character will not usually give us; so that it is possible to construct from the inscriptions alone something more than mere political history. Thanks to the exertions of various scholars of the passing generation, we have all the various Indian eras in use equated to the Christian era, and tables constructed to give equivalent dates.

Co-ordination of Work Desirable

These records, available to us in such large numbers, have made it possible to compile a political history of India from the first century B.C. onwards with sufficient fullness up to the fourth century A.D. and with greater fullness afterwards. But to make the best use of these records and get them to yield all the results they are capable of yielding work in this line will have to go hand in hand with work in other departments of research 'in which hardly a beginning has been made, beyond a preliminary treatment, in detached writings, of details which will have to be hereafter brought together and handled on broader lines in connected and more easily accessible works.'

Fleet's Two Desiderata

(i) *Research in Monuments.*

Dr. Fleet calls for two lines of work of which we have promise of one being taken up systematically and in a more liberal spirit than heretofore, in the Government of India Resolution on Archaeology, namely research work in monuments by excavation. This is very necessary to supplement the rather meagre information available for periods anterior to A.D. 320.

(ii) *Revised Corpus of Inscriptions*

The next desideratum to which he calls attention is the revision and republication of the Epigraphic material available in a single corpus, *Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum* of which a beginning was made in the only two volumes so far published, Vol. I, The Inscriptions of Asoka, by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, and Volume III, The Gupta Inscription, by Dr. Fleet himself* The need certainly is very great.

Collection of other materials for History

Along with this work has to go on work upon the collation of all historical material available in literature, numismatics, art works, etc., and unless all of these are examined carefully and the material that can be drawn from them made available in a form accessible to students of history, no historical work proper would be possible. This will involve great labour in the literatures of four or five languages, in thousands of inscriptions in all these languages, besides the monuments, coins and works of art generally.

* *The Kharoshti Inscriptions,* Vol. II, pt. 1 by Sten Konow has since been published.

Sympathetic Study of Indian Art

It is a hopeful sign of the times that these last are coming in for their share of attention at the hands of some individuals and Governments, and what is more they are coming to be studied with more of that sympathy which hitherto was notoriously wanting. In the words of Justice Woodroffe: "It has been the fashion amongst European art-critics to decry the merits of Brahmanical sculpture on the ground of the alleged monstrosities of the Hindu *pauranic* conceptions, which, it has been said, are incapable of artistic treatment. The examples collected in this volume will, it is hoped, help to dispel such misconceptions and to refute the unjust criticisms which they have engendered, and will further a juster appreciation of the fact that Indian Sculpture is not a freak of Asiatic barbarism, but is a worthy representative of a school of aesthetic performance as logical, articulate and highly developed as those of any country in Europe, ancient or modern."

Vincent A. Smith's "History, Fine Art in India and Ceylon," Havell's "Ancient and Medieval Architecture," Gopinath Rao's "Hindu Iconography," Gangooly's "South Indian Bronzes" and a more systematic work upon a narrower field of work, only the Tamil country, namely "South Indian Architecture and Iconography" by Professor Jouvou-Dubreuil of Pondicherry, all works of recent years do but indicate the rising interest in this line of work.

Universities Shew Interest

It is therefore none too soon that the University of Madras, along with a few others of her sister Universities, resolved to utilise the liberal annual grant of the

Government of India for starting a school of Indian studies by instituting Professorships and Readerships in Indian History and Languages having reference to South India chiefly. The success or failure of this scheme depends upon the interest it can evoke and the co-operation it can enlist from among the *alumni* of the University—past and present.

In calling for sympathetic interest and co-operation particularly from the University students here, I cannot do better than quote from Professor Maitland the words in which he once expressed the needs of historical study, 'needs which are nowhere more explicit and evident than in regard to India.'

'More co-operation, more organization, more and better criticism, more advice for beginners, are needed. And the need, if not met, will increase. History is lengthening and widening, and deepening. It is lengthening at both ends, for while modern States in many parts of the world are making history at a bewilderingly rapid rate, what used to be called ancient history is no longer, by any means, the ancientest; Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and even primeval man, are upon our hands. And history is widening. Could we neglect India, China, and Japan, there would be still America, Australia, Africa, as well as Europe, demanding that their stories should be told, and finding men to tell them well or to tell them badly. And history is deepening. We could not, if we would, be satisfied with the battles and the protocols, the alliances and the intrigues. Literature and art, religion and law, rents and prices, creeds and superstitions have burst the political barrier and are no longer to be expelled. The study of interactions and interdependences is but just beginning and no one can foresee

the end. *There is much to be done by schools of history*: there will be more to be done every year.'

Co-operation in this particular line is easier for us as the languages that have to be mastered are many and the knowledge that would be really useful is a deep knowledge of one or more of these. The other technical details in the present state of work in the subject are admittedly easy of acquisition. Indian talent comes in very handy in archaeological work and ought to be offered largely and accepted liberally. It is only then that the school of Indian studies will become a realised ambition. I leave it in the hands of the younger members of this audience either to realise this ambition or face the alternative of the eternal want of historic sense.

[Inaugural Address to the Presidency College Union Society; 1915—*Educational Review*, November 1915.]

CHAPTER XV

HISTORY OF SOUTH INDIA

A good map of India, will show very clearly that India, south of the Himalayas, falls naturally into three divisions, namely, the river plains of Hindustan in the north, the plateau of Malva Dakhan in the middle, and the plains below the Ghauts bounding the Dakhan plateau. Historically each of these natural divisions may be treated separately. Hindustan has a history of its own, coming into touch with that of the Dakhan only at particular epochs. The Dakhan has its periods of history quite distinct from that of Hindustan; while the history of South India and that of the Dakhan come into contact much oftener, and the general movements of both regions show a great deal more of connexion and interaction. The reason for this state of things is not hard to understand. In the early dawn of history in India, between the first two divisions there was an impenetrable forest called Mahakantara (or the great forest) flanking the Vindhyas, and proving with them a great barrier to the freedom of movements of the population. With respect to the Dakhan and the south there has never been any such barrier either of mountain or forest. Hence it is we are justified in treating of the history of this part of India—India south of the Vindhyas—as one whole, though it is possible and often necessary to treat it in compartments.

The history of peninsular India begins, then, somewhat later than that of Hindustan; for the Dravidian civilization of the south, though much more ancient than its history, owes its history to Aryan immigration, as

much as does north India. This immigration of the Aryans took place certainly much later than Vedic times. Of the period which intervened between this immigration and the beginning of historical times in south India, we have but few traces of evidence, and these are more often indirect than direct.

The first definite mention of kingdoms in the south, which can be accepted as historical undoubtedly is that in the Rock Edicts (II and XIII) of Asoka. This we have to regard as the historical starting point, until the chronology of the *Puranas* and the *Epics* are settled beyond doubt. Even as such we have to come down to the Christian era for any detailed knowledge of South India.

For this knowledge we are more dependent upon the so-called auxiliaries to history than any history we have even of the chronicle kind. The evidence is to be found in the monuments of human industry and art, and the inscriptions which have come down to us on coins, metallic plates, or upon stones. The inscriptions do not take us very far, and the information contained in them, though reliable and often clear, is not quite so full as one would wish they were. The monuments have begun to be studied only recently, and, so far, the results they have yielded, though quite satisfactory, are not full enough. There is much to be done here before results can be achieved. The traditionary evidence is of a different character. It is far fuller, though very careful sifting is required before any reliance can be placed upon it. These traditions may be grouped into ethnography and folklore, and literature. The customs, habits, and the various and varying practices of the people tell their own tale, not only in regard to the movements of the people and their change of habitat, but also give us the clue to their history.

Literary tradition is often more fixed and perhaps more reliable, though again considerable care has to be bestowed in the collection, classification and evaluation of the evidence. On a general consideration of these various items of information so far available, the history of South India would fall into six periods:—

(1) Early period—to the fifth century A.D.
(2) Pallava period—fifth to ninth centuries A.D.
(3) The Chola ascendancy—ninth to fourteenth centuries A.D.
(4) The ascendancy of Vijayanagar—fourteenth to sixteenth centuries A.D.
(5) The Musalman-Maharatta period—sixteenth to eighteenth centuries A.D.
(6) The British period—eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D.

Corresponding to this there are for the Dakhan:—

(1) Andhra period—to fifth century A.D.
(2) Early Chalukya period—fifth to seventh, and Rashtrakuta—seventh to tenth centuries A.D.
(3) The later Chalukya period—tenth to fourteenth centuries A.D.
(4) Vijayanagar.
(5) Musalman-Maharatta.
(6) The British period.

The earliest period of South Indian history, in contradistinction to that of the Dakhan, depends entirely upon literary evidence. In fact for the first period there is nothing else except for a few *Asoka* and *Satavahana* records. Even Satavahana history depends in great part upon the accounts given in the Puranas—chiefly the *Matsya*, *Vishnu* and the *Vayu*. So far, therefore, as the

movement of political power is concerned, South India and the Dakhan were marked off respectively as the spheres of the Satavahanas and 'the three kings' and several (seven according to Tamil literature) chieftains. The kings are respectively *Chera*, *Chola* and *Pandya*; and the chieftains have their strong-holds on hillocks, like the doorgs of the Palayagars of a later generation. The region specially remarkable for these chieftaincies was the hilly strip of country running through South Arcot, Salem, and Coimbatore districts, at the foot of the ghauts where they move out to meet each other. Kanchi was the head-quarters of one, Tirukoilur of another, Anji, Kari, and Ori belong to the Salem district; Pehan, Evvi and a few others to Madura and Tinnevelly; while Amur (Ambur) and Vellore belonged to yet another chieftain of Mavilangai.

There was some commercial activity during this time, although the period must have been full of wars as well. Happy confusion prevailed in matters religious, a single street often containing shrines sacred to the bright beneficent Vedic deities and the blood-thirsty and vengeful devil worship. Alongside both of these are the quiet abodes of the holy ones of the Jains and the Buddhists as well. There appear to have been the rudiments of good government, mostly in some sort of self government, and justice was administered with even-handed impartiality. The authorities present to us, no doubt, an idealized picture of the state of society; but behind the work of art it is easy to discover the bed-rock of fact. There seems to have been more unity in society, and the hard hidebound exclusiveness (which is only too apparent now), does not find much vogue. Buddhist and Jain influences are at work; but the worship of Siva and Vishnu seem to carry the largest clientele.

This old order changeth yielding place to new, and we find instead a struggling body of warring political atoms. From out of this struggle arises the great Pallava power, and we pass into the second period. It often appears that the history of India, before the British supremacy was established, can be considered only as a perpetual struggle to found an empire. Regarded in this manner, the establishment of that European power would be the natural result of the political evolution of the country as a whole. This view seems to be clearly right with respect to South India in particular, and thus can be seen a parallelism in Indian history to that of Greece in pre-Macedonian times.

At the commencement of the first of these periods the Cholas are in the ascendancy. They give place to the Cheras, who in turn make room for the Pandya. The Pandya supremacy passes away and the Pallavas rise into importance. The latest scientific estimate of the age of all these vicissitudes is the fifth century; but there is a volume of evidence in favour of pushing this period back a few centuries. Here the investigation will have to go hand in hand both in Sanskrit and Tamil. This is not the place nor the occasion for an elaborate examination of the connexion between the two languages, but it must be remarked in passing that one of the earliest Tamil Kavyas is based on the *Brihat Katha* of Gunadya, who flourished in the court of a Satavahana at Paitan. This gives us the ultimate lower limit; while the fifth century would be the ultimate upper limit for this period of efflorescence of Tamil.

There is one great landmark between the first period and the second, and that is the invasion of the south by the great Samudragupta. He came south down to Kanchi and then turned north-west from it. The con-

temporary of this Gupta was Vishnugopa of Kanchi, which name figures among the early rulers of Kanchi in the Pallava records. With them we come upon firmer historical ground. Simultaneously with these rise into importance the early Chalukyas, in the region which had, in the earlier period, been in the possession of the Satavahanas. These latter had to maintain their possessions as against the Kshatrapas, first from Guzeret and then against them from Malva. In this struggle they were finally overthrown, and it is from among the feudatories of these Satavahanas that the Chalukyas rise. The Andhra or Satavahana rule is characterized by almost the same social features as the farther south; but in point of religion they seem to have been great patrons of the Jains and Buddhists. Trade guilds and commercial corporations seem to have been in existence; and a brisk commercial intercourse appears to have been maintained both with the interior by way of land, and with the outer world by way of water. The Prakrit dialects seem to have been cultivated with care, and the Paisachi *Brihat Katha* is evidence of this culture. Prathishtana (Paitan), Patri, Vallabhipatan, are said to have been great marts and ports of exit for commerce on the west coast; while equally important in the east and south were places like Tamaralipti, Kataka, Tondi, Puhar, Korkai, etc., on the Coromandel; Vaikkarai, Cranganore, Tondi, on the Arabian Sea Coast. Other places referred to are Kataha, Sambhava and some islands, and regions about the Persian Gulf.

Through the centuries of its sway, the Satavahana dynasty had its power extending from sea to sea, and we are not quite sure how it actually passed out of existence. The usual break-up probably followed, a great external impact, and when again we gain a glimpse we

see the Chalukyas well on their way to hegemony in the Dakhan. From A.D. 500 to 750 we find the Chalukyas and the Pallavas constantly at war. The Pallavas gain the upper hand and destroy the capital of the Chalukyas at Badami about A.D. 640. In consequence there is an interregnum for thirteen years. During the next two generations the Pallavas suffer similar disasters from the Chalukyas. Kanchi has often to stand siege and even suffer occupation by an enemy. The constant wars on the Pallava frontier wear them out, and an internal revolution does the rest. The Chalukyas fall and the Rashtrakutas rise in their place. The Pallavas attempt to assert their independence; but the attempt is frustrated by the energetic action of the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga Vairamegha. With this passes away Pallava greatness, and their territory becomes broken up into a number of chieftaincies, the first of these being overthrown by the Chola Aditya before A.D. 900. This same ruler of the Chola dynasty also overthrew the Kongu country, and thus began the Chola Empire in the Dakhan.

The period of Pallava ascendancy is remarkable in many ways. It was the period of great religious activity, when Buddhism had to give way before the rising tide of Pauranic Hinduism, both Saiva and Vaishnava. According to Mr. Venkayya the earliest Pallavas of the Prakrit records were Buddhists; the next ones were Vaishnava and the last ones Saiva. This was also the period when cave-temples, and other temples, as well, came to be constructed in large numbers. There was also considerable activity in literature. Many of the Tamil classics that we have at present have to be ascribed to this period. In the Dakhan also there was similar activity, the Kailasanatha temple at Ellora having been built during the period.

When the Pallava power broke about the end of the eighth century A.D. and the Cholas were beginning to rise, South India was divided in political allegiance, the border line passing through the fringe of the plateau. Just in the region where we are, there was the dynasty of the Gangas ruling over the plain districts of Mysore, with their capitals at Kolar and Talakad at different times. The Pallavas and Pandyas seem to have been at war, which ended in the complete overthrow of the former. The Pandya activity in the north received a check from the Ganga feudatories of the Rashtrakutas in a battle fought so far out as Tiruppurambiyam near Kumbakonam. The Pandya Varaguna had to withdraw, and this was the time propitious for the rise of a new dynasty of enterprising rulers, such as the Cholas were. They rise into prominence no doubt by the acquisition of the Pallava and the Kongu kingdoms. This latter acquisition brings the Cholas into touch with the Rashtrakutas through their southern feudatories the Gangas. The Rashtrakutas and the rising Cholas go to war. Krishna III of the former dynasty is so far successful that he is in occupation of Kanchi. Later on Rajaditya, the son of Parantaka I, falls in a battle fought in A.D. 949-50 with a Ganga feudatory, Butuga; and this for a time checks the rising tide of Chola aggression. About a quarter of a century thence the Rashtrakutas fall a victim to a domestic revolution, and a scion of the western Chalukyas rises into importance. This revolution gives the Cholas the requisite leisure to organize their resources, and when they reappear under Rajaraja they are already a great power. The Chalukyas similarly have a succession of able and energetic rulers. The plateau becomes the debatable frontier between the two powers, and the struggle continues for six or seven

generations, with varying success, until at last the Cholas and the Chalukyas mark off their spheres of influence as it were. The Cholas remain below the Ghats, and the territory in the plateau remains nominally under the Chalukyas. The end of this struggle—a battle royal between two equally matched powers—well organized and with great resources—brings into prominence a number of feudatory states, chief among which have to be mentioned the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, and the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra. In the south the chiefs of minor principalities rise into importance; but the leading part is taken by a succession war for the Pandya throne, in which the Ceylonese on the one hand, and the Cholas and their feudatories on the other take part. This civil dissension contributes to weaken all parties, the Cholas fall, and the Pandyas and the Hoysalas fight for the quarry, as the Hoysalas and the Yadavas did before on the break up of the Chalukya Empire. At the time when Marco Polo was sailing along the Indian coast, Narasimha Hoysala and Sundara Pandya were ruling in the south; the Yadavas were under Ramadeva, and the Kakatiyas under Pratapa Rudra II. It was into this world of South India thus politically divided that Ala'u-din Khilji broke in. When next his general Malik Kafur, undertook a more systematic raid into the south, the kingdoms were in a high state of decay. They were all crushed and the Musalman stood arbiter for a time.

This is the period of high watermark of Hindu progress all round. Modern Hinduism assumes the shape in which we find it to-day. The indigenous literature as well as the classical Sanskrit receive considerable patronage and blossom into full maturity to pass into artificiality. Religion has been readjusted to the requirements

of the masses, and administration had come to be highly organized upon surprisingly modern lines. Revivalism in religion and re-invigoration was the order of the day. It is upon a world so situated that the flood wave of Muslim incursion broke in, overturning everything. As in nature so in politics action provokes re-action against it. This incursion, and the consequent confusion and apprehension, provoked local re-action, wherever there were local ruling families. The Muslim outposts are beaten in and the empire is in no position to assert its authority. The local efforts are gathered up in the foundation of a large and united Hindu Empire known to history as that of Vijayanagar. This empire lasts from the middle of the fourteenth century to the end of the sixteenth when in its turn it falls before a coalition of the Musalman kingdoms of the Dakhan. The two chief Musalman States of Golkonda and Bijapur divide the south between themselves, the Karnatic Balaghat going to the one, and the *pā'īn* ghat to the other. In the former, arises the kingdom of Mysore, and in the latter the Nawabship of Arcot. Happily the first one remains to-day under its native ruler, though under the aegis of the British Empire; while the other is represented by a titular scion of the family thus founded. It is this other that gave the occasion for the European merchant companies to drop their quills and try the sword. It is this pleasant diversion of some of the Company's clerks, be it by accident or by design, that was the small beginning of that great political phenomenon—the British Empire in India as we see it to-day. It is these attempts, which have never ceased to be made from the beginning of history, that have culminated in the empire that for the first time holds sway

from the 'Roof of the World' to Cape Comorin and from the Mekran coast to the Mekong valley.

No attempt has been made in this chapter to trace the history of South India on any large scale—a task of the greatest magnitude and difficulty. I have only attempted to indicate the many issues, both principal and subsidiary, which would require careful study and investigation. There is room for much good work on all these periods, the earlier more than the later generally. The first is a virgin field for any explorer, while much yet remains to be done in the second. The periods intervening the brighter epochs are so far a mere blank. The history of these intervals of darkness could be worked out by a study of the places where local chieftains flourished; while the Pallava period has to be worked up by a study of the Ganga and other dynasties coeval with the Pallava. There is much useful work to be done along the lines indicated, and work, too, that would be all the better for the co-operation and co-ordination of individual effort. The Mythic Society of Bangalore has been ushered into being and will provide the requisite common platform, and under its auspices I have every hope that individual workers will not be long in coming forward to lend their assistance.

[Inauguration Address to the Mythic Society, 1908.]

CHAPTER XVI

LANDMARKS IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

During the last quarter of a century the study of the history of South India as a distinct history has made considerable advance both through the work of the official departments of investigation in this line and by the labours of disinterested workers in the field who have been doing the work as a labour of love. A great number of inscriptions and copper-plates have been satisfactorily read and explained. Large finds of coins have been collected, catalogued and read. Even exploration work on important sites has been carried on. A large number of important works of literature have been not only brought to notice, but several of these have also been published. Defects of detail and imperfections notwithstanding, the actual output of work is considerable, though a great deal more remains yet to be done. It will not be unprofitable, therefore, to pause and look back on the important results achieved; to take stock as it were of the recent additions to our knowledge of the past if it be only to see where more light is needed and what may probably have to be our efforts in the immediate future.

It is almost twenty-five years since the first constructive attempt was made to fix some mile-stones in the history of Tamil Literature. I recall the incident with pleasure as it marks my entry into this line of enquiry, the more so as it gives me the occasion to pay my tribute of admiration to two departed scholars whose early death is a great loss to South Indian Scholarship. They

were both of them carried off in the prime of life, one of them at forty-two and the other not much older. These are the late Professor Sundaram Pillai of Travancore and Mr. V. Venkayya, Epigraphist to the Government of India. I enjoyed the friendship of the one and my admiration for the learning of the other was no less for lack of personal acquaintance. It was in the course of the discussion, sometimes very animated, between these two scholars that my interest was aroused while yet in the Junior B.A. Class, and even my occasional assistance was made use of. Mr. Sundaram Pillai's was almost a pioneer attempt and has had a following quite worthy of the model. 'I owe it to Dr. E. Hultzsch to acknowledge that the inscription of this dissertation is due entirely to him. But for his frequent and encouraging enquires, it would never have been written. Having ventured to *ascribe a higher antiquity to Sambandha than usual*, in a review of the Ten Tamil Idylls in the magazine abovenamed (*The Christian College Magazine*), I was asked to support my statement with facts, and in my endeavours to do so ensued this essay.' In these circumstances was laid the first mile-stone and it happened to be well and truly laid.

Since 1891 then there have been various attempts in various directions and many more mile-stones have been similarly laid— some well and truly, and others not so well. Our purpose then is to examine what these are and to say how far they may be regarded as reliable for further work.

The first reference that may be considered of a historical character is the mention of the three kingdoms of the South in the Edicts of Asoka, passing over what literature refers to as the coming of Rishi Agastya to the South, and the founding of Tamil grammar, if not Tamil

literature itself. We cannot regard it so historical, in our present state of knowledge of Sanskrit literary history, that the Chera, Chola and Pandya had played each his part in the *Mahabharata* war either in the fighting line or in the commissariat. Arjuna's conquest of the South and the marriage with the Pandya Princes belong to the same category in spite of the fact that a realistic touch is given to the story by referring to *Maṇalūr* as the Pandya capital. The Buddha's coming to Ceylon is also beyond historical cognizance for the present. The references in the Edicts of Asoka have to be regarded as historical and are in rock-edicts II and XIII. As translated by Vincent A. Smith they stand as follows:—

'Everywhere in the dominions of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King, as well as among his neighbours, such as the Cholas, Pandyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputra, as far as Ceylon, Antiochus the Greek (Yona) king, or kings bordering on the said Antiochus everywhere has His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King made curative arrangements of two kinds—curative arrangements for men and curative arrangements for beasts, etc.'

And this is the chiefest conquest in the opinion of His Sacred Majesty—the conquest by the Law of Piety, and this, again, has been won by His Sacred Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues, where the Greek (Yona) king named Antiochus dwells, and north of that Antiochus to where dwell the four (4) kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigonas, Magas and Alexander; and in the South the (realms of) Cholas and Pandyas, with Ceylon likewise and here too, in the king's dominions, among the Yonas and Kambojas, among the Nabhapantis of Nabhaka, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among

the Andhras and Pulindas—everywhere men follow His Sacred Majesty's instruction in the Law of Piety. Even where the envoys of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, there too men hearing His Sacred Majesty's Ordinance based on the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise the Law.' What calls for remark in these extracts is that the *Emperor* regarded the Tamil Kingdoms as lying outside his dominions, but still served by his messengers of the Law of Piety. There were others that did not afford this access. Such a statement can only mean that these were kingdoms on terms of friendly intercourse and, unlike the forest tribes in his own dominions, readily susceptible to influence for good.

Further light fails in this direction for centuries. We have to turn our attention to another part of our neighbourhood for light and this time it comes from Ceylon. The Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon—particularly the Mahavamsa and the Dipavamsa—had not received their value till recently. They have no doubt been studied and edited; but their actual value could not be appraised by outside evidence to the extent necessary for a reliable estimate of their historical worth. The recent new edition and translation of the Mahavamsa by Professor Geiger of Erlangen, and his studies of the whole series of chronicles of Ceylon embodied in his critical work Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa, have thrown an amount of much needed light upon this question, the results of which may be briefly indicated as follows:— The King Vattagamani (B.C. 29-17) was a great patron of Buddhism. In his reign there sprang up schisms in the Church and secessions from the Mahavihara. An effort was made to bring back unity. 'The text of the three *pitakas* and the *attakatha* thereon did the most

wise *bhikkus* hand down in former times orally, but since they saw that the people were falling away (from religion) the *bhikkus* came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books.' This *attakatha*, the primary purpose of which was merely the exposition of the three pitakas or the Buddhistic canon, contained a certain amount of Church history as recorded from time to time by the monks of the Mahavihara. It was this particular part that an attempt was made to put into epic form first in the Dipavamsa, elaborated and perfected as an epic in the Mahavamsa in the sixth century A.D. under Dathusena. It is found recorded in the Culavamsa 38-59, that King Dathusena.

> '*datva sahassam dīpētum Dipavamśam samādiśi*' (bestowing a thousand (pieces of gold,) ordered the writing of a *dipika* on the *Dipavamsa*).

The *attakatha* which had been handed down by word of mouth to almost the end of the first century B.C. was set down in writing about 20 B.C. This and its continuation to about the middle of third century A.D. formed the basis of the Dipavamsa. The same matter received further and somewhat fuller treatment in Buddhagosa's introduction to the Samantapasadika in the fifth century, and epic elaboration in the Mahavamsa in the sixth century. The further continuation of this same chronicle and the various other chronicles both in Pali and Singhalese bear unmistakable marks of their indebtedness to the attakatha of the Mahavihara monastery.

The incident, referred to, of these canonical texts and commentaries having been committed to writing, and the manner in which the statement is made would go to

dispel the notion that writing was not known in the south before about the third century A.D. at the best. This statement would refer only to Ceylon but the frequent intercourse between this part of Ceylon and the coasts opposite as well as certain other pieces of evidence, even epigraphical, the Asoka records and those in the Amaravati topes, would warrant the inference that South India was not behind the north in this important instrument of civilization. What is more to the point in regard to our present concern is that the Ceylon ruler Vattagamani in whose reign this great event took place had to make good his claim to rule in Ceylon against Tamil usurpers. For the first Tamil usurpation, however, we shall have to go back to 177 B.C. when two sons of a horse-freighter usurped the throne; but the most remarkable Tamil usurper was Elara as the chronicles call him, or Elela Singam as he is popularly known among the Tamils. Unreclaimed heretic that he was from the point of view of the Buddhist, he ruled so well that he earned the unqualified approbation of the pious chroniclers. His date in Geiger's Scheme is 144-101 B.C. It is impossible with the means at our disposal to say anything against that date which appears quite possible, since there is nothing on this side of the Straits so far available either to confirm or refute this dating

Passing over various other incidents in the chronicles in which Ceylon comes into contact, generally hostile, with India which have left no echo on this side of the Straits, we pass on to one Gajabahu, King of Ceylon (A.D. 171-193) according to Geiger's Scheme. Except the founding of three or four viharas for the benefit of the pious Buddhists and the construction of a tank on behalf of one of the many viharas, the chronicle records nothing of this monarch. There is a Gajabahu of Ceylon

referred to in *Silappadhikaram* who was so friendly to the Indian monarch of the west coast, the 'Sera Senguttuvan, that he was present at the consecration of the temple to Pattini at Vanji (modern Kodungalur). Like his brother monarchs of the Chola and Pandya he also erected a temple to the same goddess in Ceylon after he returned from India. These are the facts found in the epic. The question naturally would arise which of the two Gajabahus known to the Mahavamsa is the person likely to have come to India, the second century one or the twelfth century one. We have shown elsewhere[1] the evidence both positive and negative against the supposition that it is the latter. In regard to identifying the Gajabahu of the *Silappadhikaram* with the first of the name in the Mahavamsa there have been considerable opposition based chiefly on the unreliability of names and dates in the Mahavamsa. Professor Geiger's researches have contributed largely to strengthen this identification while the researches of Dr. Hultzsch himself go to establish the general reliability of the chronicle in the latter part although he does put in a note of caution that his demonstration of the reliablity of a number of dates does not necessarily involve his conviction that all the dates are alike reliable. The researches of both these scholars show that as far as there are outside checks available the dates appear to stand the test. In respect of others there are no such and in regard to some of these there are apparent inconsistencies. Admitting the force of all this, it would still stand to reason to consider that a monkish chronicler is not likely to fall into a bad blunder in respect of the name of a king who lived about

1. *Ancient India*, by S. K., pp. 363-5. See Celebrities in Tamil Literature, below.

130 years before his time. The very silence of the Buddhist chronicle in regard to Gajabahu's Indian tour and his subsequent doings in religion which according to these chroniclers would be heretical in the extreme, seem to inspire confidence in the identification. We are not left altogether to this negative surmise. The Singhalese chronicles of Ceylon form a distinct group by themselves and, though availing themselves of the earlier chronicles in ample measure, still embody traditions from other sources. Professor Geiger[2] finds 'it is remarkable to note what they (Singhalese chronicles) relate in agreement over the reign of Gajabahu.' They relate that he invaded India to recover the Ceylonese carried off on a previous invasion by the Cholas. He returned bringing with him a colony of Tamil settlers, the alms-bowl of the Buddha and had brought also the foot ornaments of Pattini Devi, etc.[3] The general circumstances of the Chola kingdom at the time would make these achievements possible. The accounts of foreign writers, the conclusions drawn from Tamil literature and an examination of the finds of Roman coins, etc., would point to the same conclusion.

There has, so far, been no reason shown against this except a vague disinclination to accept what the actual evidence leads up to. The late Mr. Venkayya would refer to the fifth century A.D., the period of the Sangam, while he admitted that the best period of Tamil literature was the second and third century A.D. Others have followed with very much less show of argument in their favour. Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai would refer the

2. *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa,* translated by E. M. Coomarasami, p. 103.

3. Cf. *Ancient India* above, pp. 364 and 365. See n. 1, p. 451 above.

twin epic *Silappadhikaram-Manimekhalai* to the eighth century A.D. on astronomical grounds and would find support in the *Abhidana Chintamani* (Sangam publication) in regard to Gajabahu being the surname of one of the contemporary Ceylon rulers. This is not supported by any one of the chronicles of Ceylon so far examined. Till more positive evidence is brought against it this may be reckoned a mile-stone in Tamil literature and South Indian History. There is a body of literature which can well be exploited along with the works of the classical geographers with very good results. This period of national vitality and literary efflorescence passed into decayed national sentiment and literary decadence about the beginning of the fourth century which finds its echo in the Mahavamsa as well. This corresponds to the state of things both in the Dakhan and Northern India, in both of which alike there is a haze of uncertainty in regard to this very period.

From out of this haze there shines forth an unlooked for gleam of light. For this again we are indebted to the Mahavamsa. In the reign of Duttagamani (101 B.C. to 77 B.C.) the king called together a vast assembly of Bhikkus from various Buddhist centres. Among them we find mention of a place called Pallavabogga, placed in the narrative between Kasmira and Alasanda, the City of the Yonas. Immediately after this comes the monastery by the road of the Vindhyan forest mountains. Professor Geiger seems inclined to locate this Alasanda in the Paroponisus or the Hindu Kush, but we have to look for it rather on this side of the mountains into India. Bearing in mind that it is not safe to infer from the order of statement the geographical location of places, it will still be permissible to locate this somewhere about Sindh in which region there were Alexandrias enough, Karachi

itself being among them, and Kandahar. The location of the Pallavabogga in this locality is in keeping with the fact that about A.D. 130 the Andhra King Gotamiputra claims to have defeated the Pallavas along with the Sakas and Yavanas. A little latter, about A.D. 150 Rudradaman had a Pallava minister Suvisaka according to the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman.[4] It was from this position that they were moving gradually south-eastwards till at the time of the break up of the Andhra Power they are found in the region of Guntur. When the Dakhan power of the Andhras went to pieces about the middle of the third century A.D. these found themselves the heirs of the eastern part, as the Chalukyas became heirs of the western. Of these two the Pallavas seem to have made good their position earlier so that Samudragupta, in the course of his conquests, found them a well-settled power on his borders. Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa of Kanchi figuring in his Allahabad Pillar inscription of about A.D. 350, while there is no mention of the Chalukyas at all. With this ruler the Pallavas come into a prominence which they maintained unbroken for a period of about four centuries, when they split up into a number of principalities which get easily swallowed up in the rising Empire of the Cholas. This period of Pallava ascendency is one of very great importance in the history of India. We are none the less left, for this important period, with only two mile-stones of anything like a reliable character. The one is the age of Tirugñana Sambhanda and the other of Tirumangai Alvar. When all available material is thoroughly exploited it will be possible to look forward to more.

4. Pp. 15 and 16 of Venkayya's Pallavas, S.I.A.'s pamphlets : *The Pallavas*.

One remarkable feature, however, is that in the Sangam literature so called there is not the faintest echo of anything that will give a hint of this Pallava ascendency. The only name at all answering to that of the Pallava is that of the Tondaman Ilandirayan of Kanchi, the story of whose origin is echoed in a tenth century inscription tracing the Pallava genealogy to the *Mahabharata* hero Asvattaman through a Naga Princess. This circumstance alone would refer this literature as a whole to a period anterior to Vishnugopa of Kanchi. Well preserved tradition and some of the hymns of Sambandha[5] himself couple the name of Sambandha with one Siruttondar who took a prominent part in the destruction of the Chalukya capital Vatapi about A.D. 640 by the Pallava Narasimhavarman I. Appar was an elder contemporary of Tirugñana Sambhanda and these are two of the Tevaram hymners, Sundaramurti being the third. It is possible to group others round these, and thus mark out a body of literature as belonging to this age. This is Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai's mile-stone.

There is another mile-stone hardly less important, but one which had not received the attention that it deserved of the late lamented scholar. This is Tirumangai Alvar. In his decad on the Vishnu temple Ashtabujam at Kanchi he refers to a Vairamegha who received the submission 'of the ruler of the people of Tondaimandalam and whose army lay around the city

5. செந்தண்பூம் புனல்பரந்த செங்காட்டங் குடிமேய
வெந்தநீ றணிமார்பன் சிறுத்தொண்ட னவன்வேண்ட,
வந்தண்பூங் கலிக்காழி யடிகளையே யடிபரவும்,
சந்தங்கொள் சம்பந்தன் தமிழுரைப்போர் தக்கோரே.

(3rd Tirumurai: Sengattangudi, stanza 10.)

of Kanchi.'[6] The late Mr. Venkayya's reference to this seems but a half-hearted admission that this personage can be no other than the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga Vairamegha for whom, according to Dr. Fleet, there is only one date A.D. 756 available. He was overthrown by his uncle soon after. It is his attack upon Kanchi under the last great Pallava ruler Nandivarman Pallavamalla that brought about the downfall of their ascendency in the South.

There are thus three landmarks which we have noted before the age of the Chola ascendency in the South for which there is abundant material in the shape of inscriptions recently read and published. It is the age antecedent to A.D. 900 that lacks those outstanding features which would make historical investigation a matter neither of great difficulty nor of uncertainty. Even in regard to these three there is a considerable volume of doubt and dissent arising from various causes. While the late Mr. Venkayya was quite prepared to admit that the Augustan Age of Tamil Literature may be referred to the second and third centuries of the Christian era, he would refer the epic *Silappadhikaram—Manimekhalai* to the fifth-century A.D. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai would bring these to the seventh or eighth century A.D. on the basis of the astronomical data furnished by the works in question. Whatever may be the final verdict on the question in regard to this epic in particular, three independent lines of investigation would agree to the period indicated by me, the second century A.D. and a part of the third

6. 'மன்னவன் தொண்டையர்கோன் வணங்குநீள் முடிமாலை வயிர மேகன்
தன்வலிதன் புடைசூழ்ந்த கச்சியட்ட புயகரத் தாதி தன்னை.'
(*Periyatirumoli*, viii. 10.)

as the period of Sangam literature so called. These are the results of my own investigations and those of the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai in the said literature, and give a picture of South Indian politics which could, from the known historical circumstances, be ascribed to that age and to none else. A study of the classical geographers and the Mahavamsa itself would support this position so far as they bear upon this matter.[7] Mr. Sewell's investigation on the coin-finds in South India show that a very brisk trade was carried on between this part of India and the Roman Empire from the foundation of the Empire to the days of Nero A.D. 68, and continued, though much less briskly, to the days of Caracalla A.D. 217. Its cessation after this date can be accounted for by the disruption of the kingdoms of the south, as well as that of the Andhra. As againsts a general volume of evidence of this tendency it will be unjudicial to urge a single detail of a negative character where the chances of error are greater.

In regard to the second landmark there seems a fair unanimity of agreement though it is based partly on tradition[8] of no higher authority than others of the kind.

7. Vide *Ancient India*, pp. 70-74.

8. மன்னவர்க்குத் தண்டுபோய் வடபுலத்து வாதாவித்
தொன்னகரந் துகளாகத் துளைநெடுங்கை வரையுகந்து.

அந்நாளிற் சண்பைநக ராண்டகையா ரெழுந்தருள
முன்னாக வெதிர்கொண்டு கொடுபுகுந்து முன்னால்சேர்
பொன்மார்பிற் சிறுத்தொண்டர் புகலிகா வலனார்தம்
நன்னாமச் சேவடிகள் போற்றிசைத்து நலஞ்சிறந்தார்.

சண்பையர்தம் பெருமானுந் தாங்கரிய பெருங்காதற்
பண்புடைய சிறுத்தொண்ட ருடன்பயின்று மற்றவரை
மண்பரவு திருப்பதிகத் தினில்வைத்துச் சிறப்பித்து
நண்பருளி யெழுந்தருளத் தாமினிது நயப்புற்றார்.
(பெரியபு. சிறுத். புராணம். 23, 24.)

There is so far no valid reason to doubt it both from all that is now known of the general character of the period and of the special features since brought to notice, though much of the argument in Mr. Sundaram Pillai's thesis has become out of date.

In regard to the third there have been criticisms of various kinds, but the conclusion has so far remained unshaken. Some of these criticisms happen to illustrate very well what historical research should not be, and I may be excused if I mention one or two of them. There is a passage in Tirumangai Alvar's *Śiriyatirumaḍal* which reads:—

> *வாரார் வனமுலை வாஸவதத் தையென்று*
> *ஆரானும் சொல்லப்படுவாள்—அவளுந்தன்*
> *பேராய மெல்லாமொழியப் பெருந்தெருவே*
> *தாரார் தடந்தோள் தளைக்காலன் பின்போனாள்*
> *ஊரா ரிகழ்ந்திடப் பட்டாளே.*

> "Vasavadatta of the fine bodice, well known of all, relinquishing all her great wealth, went away, on the high way, with the garland-shouldered and manacle-footed prince, her lover. All in the town, alas! laughed at her in derision."

From this statement of the Alvar regarding Vasavadatta a ready inference, though not unnatural, is drawn that the Alvar must have been posterior to Subhandhu the author of the romance Vasavadatta. This implies two presumptions neither of which is true. The first is that the story of Vasavadatta's elopment is accessible only in Subhandhu's Vasavadatta, and the other is that the Alvar drew from that source. Till both of these can be substantiated by adequate reasoning or by positive

evidence they will have to be ruled out of court as of no value in regard to the Alvar's date. The *Paicaci* Brihatkatha, variously ascribed to the first, fourth and fifth centuries contained the story. There is a Tamil version of it which is probably a translation, also regarded an early work. Kalidasa knew of this and regarded the affair of such folklore importance that he ascribes it as an attribute to the old townsmen of Avanti[9] in the Meghaduta.

31. प्राप्यावन्ती नुदयनकथा कोविदग्रामावृद्धान् ।
पूर्वोद्दिष्टा मनुसरपुरीं श्रीविशालां विशालाम् ॥
स्वल्पीभूते सुचरितफले स्वर्गिणां गांगतानाम् ।
शेषैः पुण्यैर्हृत मिवदिवः कान्तिमत्खंडमेकम् ॥

34. प्रद्योतस्य प्रियदुहितरं वत्सराजोऽत्र जह्रे ।
हैमंताळ द्रुमवनमभूदत्रतस्यैव राज्ञः ॥
अत्रोद्भ्रांतः किलनलगिरिस्तंभ मुत्पाठ्यदर्पा ।
दित्यागन्तून्रमयति जनोयत्र बन्धूनभिज्ञः ॥

There are Kshemendra's and Somadeva's versions in Sanskrit of the Brihatkatha of eleventh and twelfth

9. Prāpyāvantīnudayanakathā kōvida grāmavṛddhān.
Pūrvōddhiṣṭām anusarapurīm 'Śrīviśālām Viśālām
Svalpībhūte sucharitaphalē svargiṇāṁgāṁgatānām
Śēsaiḥpuṇaiḥ hṛtamiva divaḥ kāntimat khaṇḍam ēkam

Pradhyōtasyapriyaduhitaram Vatsa rajotra jahrē
Haimaṁ tāḷadruma vanam abhūdatra tasyaiva rāgñāḥ
Atrōd-bhrāntaḥ kila naḷagiriḥ stambha mutpātyadarpā-
Dityāgantūn ramayati janōyatra bandhūnabhigñah.

centuries not to speak of the Nepal version recently brought to light. Mr. Narasimhachar has recently brought to notice a reference to a Sanskrit South Indian version of an early Ganga King, Durvinita by name.[10] There is besides the traditional vogue of a striking incident like this. From which of these sources did the Alvar draw and what is there in the reference itself to indicate the clue? On the face of it, it seems impossible to point to any particular source or draw any definite inference. Yet a definite inference is actually drawn and put forward in quite a pontifical fashion. As this critic does not show himself to be possessed of the fundamental qualification of a critic, an understanding of the positions criticized, it is not worth while to pursue the matter further.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, who did me the honour of sending an advance proof copy of his paper in the journal of the South Indian Association, would date the Alvar a quarter of a century later, on an examination of the horoscopic details available for the Alvar. The results arrived at by him are vitiated by two defects: (1) the horoscopic details are of no more authenticity than other details as they are taken from the same sources; (2) his results do not give all the available dates during the possible centuries. Hence the results cannot yet be accepted as final. There seems no objection, however, to ascribing him to the eighth century of the Christian era.

In spite of differences concerning details there is a concensus of opinion in regard to the period, that is, the

10. Mr. N. would refer the plate in question to the sixth century A.D.: *Śabdāvatārakārēṇa*, *dēvabhāratī-nibaddha*, *Vaḍḍakathēna*, etc. *JRAS* (1913), 389.

eighth century A.D. for this Alvar. This gives us the third mile-stone so far.

The next mile-stone worth noting here is the age of Mandalapurusa, the author of the *Sūḍāmaṇinighaṇṭu.* He calls himself a disciple of Gunabhadra and states that he composed the work using the material both in the Divakaram and Pingalandai to provide a work easier for learners.

செகமெனும் பளிங்குமாடத் திகிரிவேந் தரையேபோல
புகழெனும் பஞ்சி சேர்த்திப் பொலிவுறு பேரத்தாணி
மகிழ்குண பத்திரனெங்கள் வழித்தெய்வம் போல்வான் சொல்ல
இகபர மிரண்டும்வேண்டி இயலிசை வல்லோர்கேட்ப.

வருமுறை திவாகரம்போல் வைத்துப்பிங் கலந்தைதன்னில்
ஒருங்குள பொருளுமோர்ந்திட் டுரைத்தனன் விருத்தந் தன்னில்
இருந்தவை நல்லோர்குற்ற மியம்பிடா ரென்பதெண்ணித்
திருந்திய கமலஹூர்தி திருப்புகழ் புராணஞ்செய்தோன்
பாந்தசீர்க் குணபத்திரன்றாள் பணிந்தமண் டலவன்றனே.

This Gunabhadra, Mr. T. S. Kuppasami Sastri has shown to be a contemporary of the Rashtrakuta king Akalavarsa Krishna II by extracts from Jaina works. Dr. Fleet has noted that the earliest synchronous date for this monarch is A.D. 888 and the latest A.D. 911-12. A Sanskrit commentary on Gunabhadra's *Ātmānuśāsana* describes him as the preceptor of Krishna II when Yuvaraja. Gunabhadra finished his Uttarapurana in the year Pingala coupled with Saka 820 with a date falling in A.D. 897. This is probably the work referred to in the penultimate line of the last verse from Mandalapurusa quoted above. It leaves no doubt then that the Krishnaraya

referred to in the following is this Akalavarsa Krishna II of the Rastrakuta dynasty.

படைமயக் குற்றபோதும் படைமட மொன்றிலாதான்
மடைசெறி கடகத்தோளான் மதிக்குடை மன்னர்மன்னன்
கெடிமன்னர் வணங்குந்தாளான் கிருட்டின ராயான் கைபோற்
கொடைமட மென்றுசொல்ப வரையாது கொடுத்தலாமே.

Mandalapurusa and the Sudamaninighantu may thus be referred to A.D. 900 or thereabouts, and the Divakaram and Pingalandai to a period considerably anterior to this.

Passing on to the period of Chola ascendency, we have a number of historical dates and facts to mark our path; but so far as these come into touch with literature they are neither too many nor too definite. The period of Kandaradittan Chola, who is counted among the Saiva devotees is known to be between A.D. 950 and 972. The next landmark would, however, be the Virasoliyam which was composed during A.D. 1063-1070, with a commentary following close upon this. In the next reign and during the second decade of the next century was composed the Kalingattupparani of Jayangondan. Adiyarkunallar must have followed soon after, and following him came Ottakkuttan in the period covered by the reign of Kulcttunga II and Rajaraja II. There is good ground for holding that Kamban and Pugalendi flourished in the same period as well. The reign of Kulottunga III is marked by the production of the Tamil Grammar Nannul in about A.D. 1202.

These would be quite enough landmarks for starting a systematic arrangement of the literary and historical material available for South Indian history, and there is

great deal of room for useful and unostentatious work in this direction. There is absolutely no reason for fanatical assertions and contradictions in an enquiry like this which ought to foster a judicial habit of mind more than anything else. This discipline is sufficient recompense for the time and trouble that may be bestowed upon it, provided the work be carried out on an organized plan.

[A lecture delivered before the South Indian Association, Madras, on September 29, 1914.]

CHAPTER XVII

THE KALABHRA INTERREGNUM: WHAT IT MEANS IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY ?[1]

The Kalabhras, as such, find mention in various historical documents bearing on South Indian History. They are mentioned among the enemies overcome by the Pallavas, Simhavishnu and his son and successor Narasimha-Varman I. They are similarly mentioned among those overthrown by the enemies of the Pallavas, the Chalukyas of Badami. Among these Chalukyas, a similar claim is made in behalf of Vikramaditya I, Vinayaditya and Vikramaditya II. The most important references to them are, however, in the Pandya Charter, the socalled Velvikudi plates, recently published in the *Epigraphia Indica*,[2] though known to epigraphists for well-nigh forty years. In this charter, the Kalabhras are referred to as having made large conquests in the Tamil country, and brought on an interregnum in the rule of the Pandyas after the famous Pandyan known to literature as *Palyagasalai Mudukudumi Peruvaludi.* Notwithstanding the fact that these references were known to him, the late Mr. Venkayya, by an unhappy inspiration it should be noted now, threw out a suggestion that these unknown Kalabhras were probably the same as the Karnatakas who are mentioned in the Periya-puranam, in connection with the life of Murtinayanar,

1. A paper presented to the International Congress of Orientalists meeting in Oxford, September 1928. The paper was read by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I., Joint-Editor, *Indian Antiquary*, for the author.

2. Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

as having overthrown the Pandyas and set up rule in Madura, the Pandya capital.[3] This suggestion has in a way held the field more or less and, notwithstanding the fact that reasons to the contrary have become more and more plain as time advanced, the view seems still to lurk on the authority of the late lamented scholar and sometimes finds expression. The reference in the Periyapuranam adverted to above speaks of the king of the Vaduka-Karnatakas being in occupation of Madura and supporting the Jains. On the face of it, the fact that the Kalabhras are mentioned among the enemies overthrown by the Chalukyas should count against their identification with the Karnatakas. The Chalukyas held rule over the territory of Karnataka and are specially referred to often-times as rulers of Karnataka. Unless it could be proved that the Chalukyas and the Karnatakas could be looked upon by contemporary outsiders as different from each other, perhaps occupying for some time the same region of country, it would be impossible to maintain the position. But the fact that the Chalukya rulers are described in several places as Karnataka rulers and held the sovereignty over Karnataka, rules out the possibility of identification of the Karnatakas with the Kalabhras.

Before the publication of the Velvikudi plates, however, their geographical position remained uncertain. Even in regard to this particular, the Vakkaleri plates, and the Nerur grant of Vinayaditya[4] seem to make the

3. *Peiyapurāṇam*, Mūrtināyanār, stanza 11.

4. Nērūr grant of Vijayāditya dated Śaka 622 (A.D. 700-1), 4th year:—

Vikramāditya II.

Khaḍgamātrasahāyasya Chitrakanṭhābhidāna pravara turangamēṇaikēnaiv-

position clear. This is in a way confirmed by their being mentioned among the Pandya-Chera-Chola as enemies. Though sometimes they get associated with Malavas and Vilas who may be ascribed to the north, in what is said of Vinayaditya's achievements against the Kalabhras the campaign is described as having taken place in the south as distinct from the north of the Chalukya territory from a campaign in which he had to march southwards against the Pallavas and then against the Kalabhras, Pandyas, Cholas, etc.[5]

otsāritāśēshavijigīshōr avanipati tritayāntaritam svagurōḥ śrīyam
ātmasātkritya, prabhāva-kulīśa-daḷita Pāṇḍya-Chola-Kērala-Kaḷabhra
prabhṛti bhūbhrid-adabra vibhramasya, anyāvanata
makuṭa chumbita padāmbujasya Vikramāditya Satyaśraya śrī prithvīvallabha—etc.

(*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, 127).

Harihar grant of Vinayāditya dated Śaka 616 (A.D. 694-5) expired, 14th year :—

Vikramāditya-Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭārakasya sūnuḥ; pitur āgñayā bālēndu śēkharasyēva Sēnānir daitya balam atisamuddhartum trairājya-Pallava balam avashṭabhya samasta vishaya praśamanād vihita tan manonuraṁ(ra)anjanaḥ atyanta vatsalatvād Yudhishṭhira iva, Śrī rāmatvād Vāsudēva iva, nṛpāṅkuśatvāt Paraśurāma iva, Rājāśrayatvād Bharataiva, Pallava, Kaḷabhra, Kēraḷa, Haihaya, Viḷa, Māḷava, Chola, Pāṇḍyādyāḥ ēva Āḷuva-Gaṅgādyair mmauḷair sama bhrityatām nītah Vinayāditya Śatyāśraya śrī Prithivī vallabha mahārājādhirāja Parāmēśvara Bhaṭṭārakaḥ sarvān ēvam āgñāpayati.

(*Ind. Ant.*, 1878, Vol. VII, p. 301.)

In this record the Kaḷabhras do not figure among those defeated by Vikramāditya, meaning thereby that the Kaḷabhras were defeated by Vinayāditya, warring on behalf of his father.

5. This is confirmed by what is stated of Vikramāditya II's action against the same enemies in the Vakkalēri grant :—

Further, so far as the achievements of Simhavishnu amongst the Pallavas go, there is nothing to indicate that he conducted any campaign against his northern enemies, the Chalukyas, as these find no mention among those he fought against, north or south. Simhavishnu's distinct achievements seem to be the extension of the Pallava power southwards to the banks of the Kaveri,[6] and if the Kalabhras happen to be enemies that he overthrew, there is every reason to look for them in the territory intervening between Kanchi and the Kaveri.

Vakkalēri Grant of Kīrtivarman II, Śaka 679 expired (A.D. 757).

ll. 11-16. Same text as the Nērūr grant regarding Vikramāditya I, mentioning Kaḷabhras among those he defeated :—

Sakalabhuvana Sāmrājya Lakshmī svayamvarābhisēka samayānantarasamupajāta mahōtsāhaḥ ātma vaṃśajapūrva nṛpati chāyāpahāriṇaḥ prakṛtyamitrasya Pallavasya samūlōn mūlanāya kṛtamatir atitvarayā Tuṇḍāka vishayam prāpya abhi mukhāghatēna Nandipōtavarmmābhidhānam Pallavam raṇa mukhē samprahṛtya prapalāyya kaṭumukha vāditra samudra goshābhidāna vādya viśesham khaṭvānkadhvajam prabhūta prakhyāta hastivarān svakiraṇa nikara vikāsa nirākṛta timirān māṇikyaraśmimēva hastēkṛtya Kalaśabhavanilaya haridanganānchita kānchīyamānam Kānchim avināśya praviśya satata pravṛtta dānānandita dvija dīnānāthajanō Narasimhapotavarmma nirmmāpita śilāmaya Rājasimhēśvar ādi dēvakula suvarṇarāśi pratyarpaṇopārjita ūrjita puṇyaḥ anivārita pratāpaprasara pratāpita Pāṇḍya-Chola Kēraḷa-Kaḷabhra prabhṛtirājanyakaḥ kshubita karimakara kara bhala daḷita śukti muktā muktāphalaprakara marīchijāla vikasita vēlākula ghūrṇamānarṇōnidhanē dhakshiṇārṇavē śarad amalā śaśadhara viśada yaśō rāśimayam jayastambham atisthipad Vikramāditya Satyāśraya, etc.

Epi. Ind., Vol. V, pp. 202 ff.

6. Kaśākkuḍi Plates. *South Indian Inscriptions,* II, iii, 348-49.

The Velvikudi plates now published clinch the matter and make the position clear that the Kalabhras destroyed the power of several kings and established themselves as rulers over the region which was under the authority of the Pandyas. It becomes, therefore, necessary to enquire who exactly they were, and how they came to be in the region with which their name seems definitely to be associated in all these various documents, particularly in the last one of them, the Velvikudi plates.

This seems the more really so as the Chalukyas did not come into contact with the Pallavas till after their conquests of the Nalas, Mauryas and more particularly the Kadambas. These conquests actually took place under Kirttivarman I and Pulakesin II.[7] It is those conquests and the further advance of the Chalukya power that brought them face to face against Mahendravarman and his son Narasimhavarman I. What is said of the Kalabhras in the Velvikudi plates amounts to this; that the region of the Pandya country was under the rule of *Pandyā-dhiraja Palyāga Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḻudi,* who made a grant of a village which was called Velvikudi in

7. Bhandarkar: *Early History of the Deccan,* Bombay I, Pt. ii, pp. 181 ff. :—

Narasimhavarmaṇaḥ svayamiva bhagavatā nṛpatirūpā-vatīrṇasya.
Narasimhasya muhuravajita Chola-Kēraḷa-Kaḷabhra-Pāndyasya Sahasrabāhō.
riva samaraśata nirvishṭa sahasrabāhu karmmaṇaḥ
Pariyaḷa-Maṇimangala-Śūramāra prabhṛti raṇa vidarśita Pulakēsi pṛshṭa paṭṭalikhita
vijayākṣharasya Kalaśayōnēriva vimathita Vātāpēḥ, etc.
(*South Indian Inscriptions,* I. 148; Kūram grant, ll. 15.17.)

the division named after Paganur. After this gift to Korkaikilan Narkorran had been enjoyed for long, there appeared the 'Kali Raja, called Kalabhra,' who had already driven out of their possessions innumerable *adhirajas*. On the Kalabhra advent, the grant of the village Velvikudi was overlooked and the village passed into other possession. Then there appeared, 'like the sun from out of the sea (after a storm), a Pandyadhiraja, the ruler of the South, with a brilliant javelin, by name Kadumkon, who, brlliant as the sun, destroyed, on the whole of the earth surrounded by the sea, the kings and chieftains in due form and set up righteous rule bringing under the shade of his white umbrella the earth by destroying the right of others to her possession, and establishing his title to her, according to recognized law, the valiant king of fearsome arrows ready set for shooting, who destroyed the brilliant cities of kings that did not submit to him.'

Here the passage as translated in the *Epigraphia Indica* may be taken to mean that the resumption of the grant was made by an individual ruler among the Kalabhras, by name Kali Arasan; but, the meaning intended, however, seems to be, under the unrighteous rule of the Kalabhras, *Kali Araśan*, the Tamil expression, meaning a ruler of unrighteousness, and *Kalabhran* in the singular meaning ruler of the Kalabhras. The use of the singular for the plural in such contexts is a well-warranted usage among the Tamils. That it is so is confirmed in a repetition of this incident which is actually made in the grant itself further down. In speaking of the restoration of the grant under Nedumsadayan Parantaka, the donor, the term actually used is by the 'Kalabhras' in the plural.[8] Therefore, the clear meaning that the passage

8. ll. 111-112.

in lines 39-40 seems intended to convey is that the advent of the Kalabhras and the setting up of Kalabhra rule, was what actually brought about the resumption of the grant made by the old Pandya ruler Palyaga Mudukudumi.

The sequence of events sought to be conveyed in lines 31-46 of the Velvikudi grant is not quite clearly put either in the translation or in the introduction to the grant as published in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XVII, part vii. The introduction makes the statement: 'This Tamil portion begins with the mention of a past event, namely, that the *kelvi* Brahmans of Paganur-Kurram seeing that one of their own community, named Narkorran the headman of Korkai, who had contemplated the performance of a Vedic sacrifice, with the help of the ruling Pandya king (adhiraja) Palyaga-mudukudumi Peruvaludi, placed his petition before the king and themselves standing in front of the sacrificial hall, blessed that spot to be thenceforth (?) called Velvikudi. The king granted the village to Narkorran and it was thus that the village came to be enjoyed by the latter for a long time.'[9] There is a very serious misconstruing of the whole passage in this recital of the sequence of events. What is sought to be stated in the passage is that Narkorran, the headman of Korkai, had undertaken a sacrifice, which in the course of it, he discovered to be beyond his means to complete. The *'Kelvi Brahmans,'* as they are called, seeing his difficulty, wished that the sacrifice be completed with the assistance of the king Mudukudumi. They suggested, therefore, first of all, that Narkorran petition the king. When the king appeared at the hall of sacrifice,

9. *Epi. Ind.,* Vol. XVII, part vii, page 293.

these '*Kelvi Brahmans*'[10] themselves were there and standing in front of the village, gave it the name Velvi-Kudi, so that it might thereafter prosper in that name, as the king then and there gifted away the village by pouring of water. The gift thus made had been enjoyed for a great length of time (when the Kalabhras appeared). It will thus be seen that the actual passage is intended to convey a meaning materially different from that which would be conveyed as it is summarized in the introduction of the epigraphists. The village was called Velvikudi because a sacrifice (Tam. Velvi) was performed there. It was gifted away by the Pandya king and as a result of

10. The term '*Kēḷvi Brahmans*' has been completely misinterpreted by the epigraphist to mean 'the Brahmans who were in secular charge of the village,' but he cites no authority and gives no reason for this interpretation. '*Kēḷvi*' is the exact translation of the Sanskrit term '*Śruti*,' and *Kēḷvi Brahmans* are no other than *Śrotriya* Brahmans who were thoroughly learned in the *Śruti* and all that it implies. In that sense the term is used in the *Padiṟṟuppattu*, a Śangam classic, in more than one place (Poem 21, I. 1; Poem 64, I. 4: and Poem 74, ll. 1 and 2). The commentator explains it in this sense. The context requires this sense and not the secular sense that the epigraphist puts on it. Narkoṟṟan was in danger of leaving the sacrifice uncompleted, becoming thereby liable to the sins that are the penalty of an imperfect attempt at a holy performance. He consulted those who could suggest to him some way of getting out of this sacrificial impasse, and the Brahmans appealed to were certainly not the governors of the village, but the learned Brahmans of the locality who could point a way out. They indicated appeal to the king because he was famed for the celebration of many sacrifices on his own account. Hence the *Kēḷvi Brahmans* will have to be regarded as the *Śrōtriyas* of the locality, and not those entrusted with the secular management of the village.

this gift the 'learned Brahmans' of the locality gave it the name Velvikudi with the approval of the king. It was these learned Brahmans who wanted that the sacrifice which had been lightheartedly undertaken by Narkorran should be completed with the assistance of the king. They, therefore, asked Narkorran to petition the king and when the king came to make the enquiry they themselves supported the petition and obtained the gift. For the whole passage the subject is the *'Kelvi Brahmans'* and the predicate is the naming of the village after the gift by the Pandya king in due form. The last sentence quoted above interprets the original to mean that *after Narkorran had enjoyed it for long.* The clause equivalent to that is to go along with the next sentence, the previous sentence having come to an end there, so that the interpretation ought to be not that Narkorran had enjoyed it for long, but that *the gift had been enjoyed for a very long time.* The *bhukti* or the free gift of the village had continued for a long time means not within the lifetime of Narkorran but through generations. Then came the Kalabhra irruption and a Kalabhra king was responsible for the village ceasing to be enjoyed as a free gift. When it had been in this condition, we shall have to add *for some considerable time,* there appeared the Pandyadhiraja, as the sun rises from out of the sea, and conquered the whole earth and brought her into his exclusive possession. Then followed six generations of rulers before we come to the actual date of the donor of the grant, Nedumsadayan Parantaka. The points to be borne in mind carefully are these: The village obtained the name Velvikudi from the Pandyan Palyaga Mudukudumi. It enjoyed the status of being a free-gift village (Brahmadeya) for a very long time. Then came the Kalabhra interregnum; under the un-

righteous rule of a Kalabhra king it ceased to be a free-gift village. Then there appeared a king called Kadumkon (after the Pandya dynasty had suffered a long eclipse). This Kadumkon is identified by the epigraphist with the Kadumkon 'with whom the first academy (Sangam) of Tamil poets is supposed to have come to an end.' This identification is a point of importance to which reference will be made later. What is material at present is this. The seventh in succession from Kadumkon is Nedumsadayan Parantaka in the third year of whose reign Velvikudi was restored as a free-gift (Brahmadeya) village on enquiry by the king whether the facts in regard to its foundation and grant were as they were represented to be. This restoration must have taken place not very far removed from A.D. 769-70 which is the date ascribed to him by the epigraphist himself on a comparative study of the inscription with the Anamalai cave inscription[11] and the dated Madras Museum Plates published in the *Indian Antiquary*.[12] We have to provide for six generations from this date backwards to come to Kudumkon. We have to make an allowance for a comparatively long occupation of the Pandya country by the Kalabhras, for the gift to be forgotten and the cancellation of the gift to be acquiesced in by the people. We have to give a considerable interval, a few generations, for the enjoyment of the free gift of the village from the date of Mudukudumi, who originally made the grant which gave the name Velvikudi to the village. Having regard to this sequence it would be difficult, nay impossible, to accept the identification of Kadumkon here with

11. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, page 317.
12. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pages 57 ff.

the Kadumkon with whom the first Sangam is said to have come to an end. If this identification be accepted, then the end of the first Sangam would be datable somewhereabout A.D. 600, and Mudukudumi would go a few generations, at least half a dozen generations before him, another one hundred and fifty years or thereabouts.

We have five poems regarding Mudukudumi in the *Puranāṉūṛu*. Three poets have sung of him. Of these three none of them have celebrated any other patron and thus the possibility of assistance by making him contemporary with other well-known patrons does not exist. The three poets are, Kari-Kilar, Nettimaiyar and Nedum-Palliyattanar. Of these the two poems by the second are of importance as giving us the name Kudumi by which he is addressed in the poem, as stating the fact that he celebrated a very large number of sacrifices and planted sacrificial posts in the localities, and as giving us the further fact that he is the Pandya who celebrated the great sea-festival and thus appeased the sea from swallowing up the Pandya country.[13] Among these the reference to the incident of the celebration of the festival to the sea finds reference in other works, such as the *Maduraik-kānji* (line 61), and *Śilappadhikāram* (Book 22, ll. 60-61). Thus all that we are enabled to say of this Mudukudumi is that he was a Pandya celebrity of great fame, of ancient character. If the epigraphist's identification of the Kadumkon with whom the first Sangam came to an end be accepted, this Mudukudumi would have to be regarded as an early Pandyan celebrity of the first Sangam,

13. Poems 9 and 15 of the *Puṛanāṉūṛu* of which a translation is appended.

Poem 6 by Kāri-Kiḻār in a way confirms one part at any rate of this.

much anterior to Kadumkon. But there is no reason for the identification other than the name, and the name and its synonyms are of such frequent occurrence that it would be dangerous to suggest an identification merely on the identity of name.

For a really suggestive lead for any identification in this particular, we shall have to refer to the larger Sinnamanur[14] plates in course of publication in the volumes of the South Indian Inscriptions. This document in its Tamil portion gives the history of a number of Pandyas of a more or less prehistoric character. Then comes in a small series of rulers who may be regarded as historical, and this list is brought to a close with the Pandya ruler (or rulers) who 'cut off the heads of two other coordinate rulers' at Talai-Alanganam, who got the Mahabharata done into Tamil, who established the Sangam at Madura.[15] 'When these Maharajas and Sarvabhaumas (emperors) had passed away,' then begins a series with the Pandya who won a victory at Nelveli. In this passage, while the statement is quite clear that one of the last Pandyas of this series established the Sangam at Madura, it cannot be said equally clearly who this Pandya is. But the fact that a great famine is referred

14. I am obliged to the late Mr. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for an examination of the original plates and the office transcript years ago, and to Mr. Hirananda Sastri, now Government Epigraphist, for a copy of the proof of the inscription which is to appear in the volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions* (since published, Vol. III, iv). I have great pleasure in acknowledging my obligations to both of them for their great kindness.

15. See a note on this since published by me in the *Haraprasad Shastri Commemoration* issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1934 (IX, 63).

to, immediately followed by the battle of Talai-Alanganam, and then follows the translating of the Mahabharata and then the establishment of the Sangam in series: all these four events follow the erecting of the emblem of the twin-fish, the tiger and the bow on the face of the Himalayas. The last achievement is clearly ascribed to the Pandyan Nedum Seliyan, whose name figures in the Silappadhikaram. Then the incidents that follow must be the incident, which happened immediately after. We have the evidence of Sangam literature itself that probably in the reign of the Pandyan of Talai-Alanganam there was a great famine. His contemporary was Nakkiran, who is regarded, according to tradition, as the President of the Third Sangam. There are poems of Nakkiran celebrating this Pandyan. Therefore, it would be reasonable to take it that the four incidents above referred to were incidents in the reign of this Pandyan victor of Talai-Alanganam, the last Pandyan of this group referred to in the charter. We have a few poems composed by this Pandyan himself, and a number by his contemporaries in celebration of him, and several of the poets who have celebrated him happen to be among those who are stated to have constituted the forty-nine of the last Sangam in the traditional lists which have come down to us. For the third Sangam, therefore, we shall have to go to a time much anterior to the time of the first historical Pandya according to this charter, the Pandyan, victor at Nelveli. This Pandyan is taken to be Arikesari, whose predecessor Jayanta (Sendan of the Velvikudi plates), the late Mr. Krishna Sastri takes to be the Pandyan victor at Talai-Alanganam,[16] which I take to be what he means when he says 'with Nedumjelian of the

16. *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, page 297.

Purananuru fame,' though there are at least two, if not more, of these Nedum Seliyans referred to in the Purananuru. Two generations before Jayanta is Kadumkon, and if he is the same as the Kadumkon with whom the first Sangam ended, the second Sangam and almost the end of the third Sangam should all be over in the generations of his son and successor, and his grandson according to this interpretation, which, on the face of it, seems untenable, having regard to the statement in the charters. The interval must be pretty long between Kadumkon and Palyaga Mudukudumi. Half a dozen generations or more would be required to bridge the gap between the one and the other. We must similarly admit a considerable interval between Arikesari of the Sinnamanur plates and the Pandyan king who was famous for the Sangam, for the translation of the *Mahabharata* and for the battle of Talai-Alanganam. Thus we arrive at the position that the Sangam has to be looked for at least six generations before Kadumkon, and Kadumkon is six generations before the donor of the Velvikudi grant, whose date must be taken to be A.D. 769-70. On this basis, if Kadumkon is of about A.D. 600, we have no right to look for the Sangam age on this side of A.D. 400. This is only a conservative and very rough estimate, it must be remembered.

We have so far arrived at the position regarding the Kalabhras. They were a people, intruders into the country of the Pandyas, who upset the order of things long established and created an interregnum in the Pandya rule. They are referred to in the charters of the Pallavas, and in the charters of the Chalukyas almost in the same locality, undoubtedly in the Tamil country, in association with the Chola, Pandya and Kerala. They must have been permanently in this region before A.D.

600 in full authority, perhaps in a position of some considerable importance after A.D. 600

We seem to find an unlooked-for confirmation of this in a reference we get to a ruler of the Chola country early in the fifth century. In the life story of Buddha Ghosha a certain Buddha Datta is stated to have been a contemporary with whom he came into contact at the Mahavihara of Ceylon, to which place he himself went for the purpose of his work of collecting Buddhist works of authority. This Buddha Datta, who seems to have been engaged on a similar mission, has left, in some of his works, a record of his time from which it appears that he was an inhabitant of the Chola country, belonged to a village, Bhutamangalam, and completed his work, Abhidhammavatara in the grove of Vishnudasa (or Krishnadasa) in Kaveripattinam in the reign of a Chola king, Achchuta Vikkanta or Acchyuta Vikrama of the *Kalamba* dynasty.[17] The ruler of the Chola country here is given as Achchuta Vikkanta and the dynasty to which he belonged is put down as the *Kalamba* dynasty. Since the variant reading *Kalamba* occurs in some of the inscriptions of the time for the *Kalabhras,* we may not be far wrong if we take this king to be one of the *Kalabhras.* In fact the alternative reading *Kalabba* is available in the Vinayavinischaya in reference to the same ruler of the Cholaratta (Cholarashtra or Chola Kingdom), and this rules out the equation Kalamba=Kadamba, historically unsound also. The very name itself has a family likeness with the names of some of the chieftains mentioned in the Sendalai Pillar Inscriptions, and of those of the Kodumbalur chiefs, whose names have come down

17. See Abhidhammāvatāra in the introductory part, pp. xiii-xvii of the Pali Texts Society Edition.

to us. At a somewhat later period, these chiefs had established themselves permanently with their headquarters respectively at Tanjore and at Kodumbalur. The Tanjore chiefs took the side of the Pallavas and those of Kodumbalur that of the Pandyas, probably after the defeat they suffered at the hands of the Pandya king Rajasimha I, and often fought against each other. But the time of Achchyuta Vikranta is the time of Buddha Ghosha who was the contemporary of the Ceylon king, Mahanaman, and as such referable to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. and therefore earlier than the chiefs of Sendalai and Kodumbalur, so far as we know of them at present. The Kalabhra immigration must have taken place earlier than this, perhaps by a few generations, for them to have achieved the conquest and the dismemberment of the Chola kingdom. The fifth, sixth and seventh centuries may therefore be taken to be centuries of Kalabhra rule in this locality notwithstanding the fact that some of the Kalabhra chieftains had been reduced to subordination by their neighbouring kings in the latter period covered by these centuries. This, in a way, confirms the information that we get from other sources to a Kalabhra migration, perhaps about the commencement of the fourth century A.D.

The Pallava and the Chalukya charters refer to them as one among the four or five Tamil rulers well known to us. The fact of their conquest by Simhavishnu, who, for the first time, extended the Pallava power to the south, is a clear indication that their territory lay to the south of Kanchi and perhaps to the north of the Kaveri. The Chalukya charters, beyond all question, confirm this location of the Kalabhras. The question therefore arise: Who were they, where did they come from and

how did they manage to be where they are found at the particular period of time? In the age of the Sangam, which certainly was previous to the establishment of the rule of the Pallavas in Kanchi, the territorial distribution was something like this: the Chola country on either bank of the Kaveri perhaps extending northwards to the Pennar right up, it may be, to somewhere south of the Palar; the territory of Kanchi extending from here to perhaps as far as Tirupati. The region north of it almost up to the northern borders of the Pulicat Lake being under a people ruled over by a chieftain whose headquarters happened to be at Tirupati, and whose territory actually perhaps took in all that was under the Tiraiyans with their headquarters at Pavattiri (Reddipalem of the Gudur Taluka, Nellore District).[18] The chieftain at Tirupati is known from a certain number of poems in the Aha-Nanuru[19] collection. He is usually referred to as Kalvar-koman Pulli, that is Pulli, the king or chieftain of the Kalvar. I have it on the authority of the vetern Editor of these Sangam poems, Pandit Mahamahopadhyaya (Dr.) V. Swaminatha Ayyar, that the reading, on the authority of the manuscripts, is *Kaḷavar* and not *Kaḷvar* as he has edited them. He made this verification on my raising the point in regard to this very question of the Kalabhras and their identification. He assures me that wherever the terms occurs as Kalvar, the reading Kalavar would suit equally, and, as far as his manuscript authority does go, Kalavar would certainly be more justifiable than Kalvar. I have pointed out

18. See *Nellore Inscriptions*: Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty, Vol. I, Nos. 86-105, and the author's *Maṇimēkhalai in its Historical Setting,* pp. 48 and 49

19. Poems 61, 83, 209, 295, 311, 393.

elsewhere[20] that the Pallavas of the Prakrit and Sanskrit charters were, in all probability, generals and governors of the Andhras in their south-eastern frontier, and gradually advanced to take possession of the territory of the Tondamans—the country of Tondamandalam—taking the name Pallava, a Sanskrit translation of the Tamil Tondaiyar. The people Kalavar who were occupying the territory above indicated formed the buffer between the southern viceroyalty of the Andhras and the Chola viceroyalty of Kanchi, were dislodged from their position and a movement of people was set up. This probably was the Kallar emigration, as it is called popularly, a movement of this Kalavar into the territory of Kanchi, and then into that of the territory of the Malayaman and his neighbours in the middle, and then into the country of the Chola, extending into that of the Pandyas ultimately. The spread of the Kallar population to-day can be seen over all this locality right down to the district of Tinnevelly.[21] They show themselves the farther

20. Origin and Early History of the Pallavas, Journal of Indian History, Vol. II, pp. 20 ff. See below.

21. By Mr. H. A. Stuart the Kallans are said to be 'a middle-sized dark-skinned tribe found chiefly in the districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura, and in the Pudukotta territory.' The name Kallan is commonly derived from Tamil Kalavu which means theft. Mr. Nelson expresses some doubts as to the correctness of this derivation, but Dr. Oppert accepts it, and no other has been suggested. The original home of the Kallans appear to have been Tondamandalam or the Pallava country, and the head of the class, the Raja of Pudukotta, is to this day called the Tondaman. There are good grounds for believing that the Kallans are a branch of the Kurumbas, who, when they found their regular occupation as soldiers gone, 'took to maraudering, and made themselves so obnoxious by their thefts and robberies, that the term Kallan, thief, was applied and stuck

south we go, to be a people who were foreign to the locality and came to occupy the place that they do by impossing blackmail upon an earlier agricultural population for freedom from their own raids. This Kalavar or Kallar migration seems what is described in Sanskrit as the Kalabhra interregnum.

The term Kalvar, even in the from Kalavar, may not at first sight seem to equate properly with the Sanskrit Kalabhra. It is clear, however, that Kalabhra is not an exact Sanskrit word and is somewhat macaronic in character, a foreign word adopted into Sanskrit and put into a form to give it a Sanskrit look. In a case like that, the laws of phonetics cannot be held to apply strictly. Still Kalavar would seem to be rather far away from Kalabhra. It is not really so. To the Tamils of this age, the Telugus as well as the Kannada people were Vadukas alike, and the Tamil frontier on the northern side was *Vaḍukarmunai,* whether it be in the region of the Kannada people or in that of the Telugus. They seem, therefore, to have made no distinction between these two as yet.[22] The people called Kalavar in

to them as a tribal appellation.' Cf. the Vedic term Dasyu for their enemies. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India,* Vol. III, p. 60.

22. Nacchinarkiniyar commenting on sutras 398-401 of the Tolkappiyam on Tamil words, defines the land of good Tamil as the country lying between the rivers Vaigai, passing through Madura in the south, and Marudanadi flowing a little to the north of the Coleroon in the Trichinopoly District in the north. Its western boundary is marked by Karur, S.I.R., and the eastern by the sea where Tamil (Sen-Tamil) prevails.

Twelve other divisions, circumjacent to this, are also Tamil land and they are, beginning from the south-east of the central block and going round to the north-east: (1) Pongar-

Tamil would have gone by the name Kalabar in Kannada, the root itself and the various secondary forms being quite similar, in Tamil and Kanarese, of this verbal root. If the form had been borrowed from Kanarese, we can readily account for the form, in Sanskrit, Kalabhra. Some of these Kalva chieftains who established themselves permanently in the region of Tanjore and Pudukotta in the period immediately following describe themselves as Kalvar, and themselves give the exalted designation to their chieftain of being *Kaḷvar-uḷ-Kaḷvan,* written Sanskritwise, meaning a Kallan among Kallars or a Kallan

nadu, (2) Oli-Nadu, (3) Ten-Pandi-nadu, (4) Kutta-nadu, (5) Kuda-nadu, (6) Panri-nadu, (7) Karka-nadu, (8) Sita-nadu, (9) Puli-nadu, (10) Malaiyaman-nadu, (11) Aruva-nadu, (12) Aruva-vadatalai (North Aruva).

Twelve other similar regions are marked outside of these: (1) Singalam (Ceylon), (2) Palam-Tivu (old-isle), (3) Kollam, (4) Kupam, (5) Konkanam, (6) Tulu, (7) Kudahu, (8) Karu-nadam, (9) Kudam, (10) Vaduhu, (11) Telungu (Telugu), and (12) Kalingam.

These it must be noted are not the commentator's creation but follow ancient authority current even now.

Another important point worthy of note is the term *Vaḍuhu* here is used as distinct from *Karu-Naḍam* (Kanarese) on the one side, and Telugu on the other. From other references in early literature, *Vaḍuhu* was just on the northern frontier of the Tamil land, and would include the country from *Tirupati* north to Pulicat, and extending westwards through the Mysore plateau almost up to the Ghats. The *Vaḍuhu* country therefore would be practically all Mysore and the districts east of it to the Bay of Bengal. The term Karnatak would be the Kannada country proper and what is called the Andhra country now-a-days along the coast would then answer to the Telugu country. The *Badagas* of the Nilgiris now-a-days would perhaps be the equivalent of the *Vaḍuhar* who must then have had a more extensive habitat than at present.

par excellence. In the Sendalai Pillar Inscription the term actually used for these is Kalvara-Kalvan, the first part with the genitive affix *a*, being the Kannada genitive as well, the whole word meaning 'of the Kalvar.' The *va* here is written as a subscript to *l* and has to be read Kalvar and not Kalavar. In the centuries following the eleventh and the twelfth, we find this Kallar imposition upon the previous agricultural population still going on, and one or two voluntary agreements of the people for common defence against these have come to notice.[23] It seems, therefore, a tenable hypothesis that it is the migration of a people like the Kallar, Kalavar as we should call the people properly speaking, that is responsible for the upsetting of the Sangam civilization in the Tamil country, and this migration was due to the gradual pressure of the Pallavas, who ultimately took possession of Kanchi and the territory dependent upon it, that is, the country of Tondamandalam. If this people advanced through the middle districts rather than the coast region where they must have met with some considerable opposition, it would account for the Kanarese form in which they came to be known to the Sanskritists of a later period. From the Sangam literature, we have been able to picture to ourselves the condition of the Tamil land in a state of considerable prosperity. All of a sudden something came over and destroyed that, and when again we see light,

23. One of them is given in *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* as I copied it in the village Kandadevi in Devakottai against the Tondaman chieftains of Arantangi. There are a number of these Padi-Kaval agreements (protection of established villages) in the collection of inscriptions made in the state of Pudukotta, which is in course of publication (since published).

we see the Tamils trying to hold their own as against the Pallavas and the contest, as far as the historical material at our disposal goes, seems, from the point of view of the Tamils, unequal. The boast of the Pallavas that they were Pallavas of the three kingdoms (Trai-Rajya Pallava) in obvious supersession of the three-crowned kings of the south, namely Chola, Pandya and Chera, is clearly an indication of their claim to overlordship. The activity of this migration may be the centuries from A.D. 300 onwards gradually moving southwards. We hear of the Kalabhra yet in the Tamil country, almost up to A.D. 700 in the Chalukya inscriptions. Under the Cholas, we do not hear of them. In the period of anarchy following the decline of the Chola power, we see them actively in evidence, in the borderland between the Chola and the Pandya country, particularly in Pudukotta and Ramnad, and these people are found in large communities to-day in the Districts of Madura and part of Tinnevelly as also Ramnad and Pudukotta. It thus seems that the explanation which was very much wanted for the disappearance of the Sangam order in South India was due to this migration of Kalvars, and that is the Kalabhra interregnum in South Indian History.

APPENDIX.

'Ye cows! Ye Brahmans who are of the good nature of cows! Women, the suffering, and Ye who have not yet begotten the sons who would cherish the names of their ancestors by the offer of periodical oblations of food and water! Seek Ye your strongholds for protection. We are resolved to shoot our swift arrows.' Such is the proclamation of righteousness, the responsibility for practising which has been assumed by our valiant sovereign Kudumi, whose banners are carried aloft sky-high,

on the backs of death-dealing elephants. May he prosper—the great one who gave away to votaries of the arts the gold that his righteous administration acquired in abundance. May the years of prosperity of him 'who celebrated the sea-festival' be many more than the sands of the fresh-water-river Pahruli.

(Nettimaiyar in *Purananuru*, 9.)

Thou hast destroyed the strong fortresses of thine enemies by ploughing up, with teams of white-mouthed asses, their broad roads cut deep into ruts by running cars. Thou hast likewise destroyed their fields, where birds come in flights for the very heavy crop of paddy, by driving your cars drawn by teams of fleet white-maned horses. Thou hast destroyed their well-guarded tanks by driving your elephants with ever-moving trunks, wide necks, broad feet and angry looks. Such indeed is the nature of thine anger; thine acts show themselves as good. Therefore when thine enemies advanced, carrying great spears with strong plates well-rivetted, very eagerly for victory against thine own well accoutred army of lancers they left their eagerness behind to live in disgrace thereafter. Such are many indeed. Following the faultless *Smṛtis* and the four *Vedas*, thou hast celebrated many great sacrifices of undiminished fame. The vast fields marked by the sacrificial posts planted after the celebration of these sacrifices, are many too. Oh, great one, one who is capable of appreciating critically the music of women who sing to the accompaniment of the drum, tightened with leather slips and responding in various tones, as occasion demanded. Which of these two is the more numerous?

(Nettimaiyar in *Puṛanāṉūṛu*, 15.)

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

The Kaḷabhras.

Since the above was presented to the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists, Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar has published a note on the Kalabhras in the *Journal of Indian History.** He tries to make out that the Kaḷabhras were *Veḷḷālas* and not

**Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VIII, part i.

Kalvars or Kallars, and that we have a survival of the Kalabhras in the caste which goes by the name, Kalappalar, a section of the Vellalas. He quotes a passage from the Korrangudi Plates referring to Nandivarman, Pallavamalla, which mention the Vallabhas, Chalukyas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Pandyas, Cholas, the Tulus, the Konkanas, and others as waiting at his door to gain an opportunity of admittance to render him their service. This is set down in contrast with the *Muttarayar* chieftain, who, according to Vaikuntha Perumal temple inscription at Conjivaram, came to receive Pallavamalla on the occasion of his installation. The Muttarayan chieftain is therefore exhibited as a friend, and, on the strength of the passage first quoted, he regards the Kalabhra as an enemy and therefore they must be distinct from each other. Among the personages enumerated in the Korrangudi Plates, figure the Keralas whom we know to have been allies of Nandivarman, at any rate, at one time in his reign, according to the Madras Museum Plates. Apart from this, a statement such as the one made in the Korrangudi Plates is too general to bear the weight of the interpretation that it refers only to hostile sovereigns or their representatives. The Pandit, of course, does not take into consideration the location of the Kalabhras at the time and of the Muttarayans, who seem to be occupying almost the same locality.

The next point to which he adverts is the Kalabhra-Kalappala equation, the Kalappalar being Vellalas, the Kalavars being the so-called Kallars of today. It may at once be admitted in favour of the Pandit that Kalappalar is a regular form of the Tamil equivalent of the word, 'Kalabhra' through the Pali form *Kalabba*, which would become in Tamil Kalappu in the abstract, the affix 'alar' constituting merely a personal affix, transforming the abstract into a personal name. But this is not quite enough to overrule the other as the gradual uplift of the Kalvar community into the Vellalas is not unknown in South Indian History, and the equation or otherwise of the two may turn round on other purely historical considerations. He is quite correct in respect of the number of Kalappalar chiefs, who became famous at various times in later history. But he takes two, one a Saiva saint, of whom there is a brief account in the Periya Puranam; and the other Achyuta Kalappalan. There are a certain number

of references in Tamil literature to another Achyuta Kalappala, who is said to have conquered the three kings of the south and ruled single-handed the whole of South India. Unfortunately, however, we have no indication whatsoever of the time of this chieftain. About Kurruvanayanar, the Saiva-Kalappala, all that we have is this: that he was a petty chieftain of Kalandai (Kalattur); he gradualy rose to so much power by his conquests that he wanted to be crowned ruler, apparently of the Chola kingdom, in Chidambaram by the Brahman community there 'of the 3000.' They declined to do it and emigrated away into the Chera country, on the ground that they were accustomed to crown only members of the Chola ruling family. So this Kurruvanayanar may be regarded as a ruler of the Chola country. There is nothing else to make him the *kali arasan* referred to in the Velvikudi plates. The Pandit, however, would identify him with the said *kali arasan*, which is anything but a proper name in the context, on the ground that 'Kurruvan' simply connotes the same idea as the expression '*kali arasan*'. We fail to see how distantly synonymous expressions like these could be held to establish identity of proper names, having regard to the fact that the term '*kali arasan*' in the Velvikudi charter is not a proper name at all, whereas Kurruvan is the name of the Nayanar.

In regard to the other identification, that of Achyuta Kalappala, the Pandit takes him to be distinct from the Achyuta Kalappala, the father of the Meikanda Deva, the first of the Saiva Santana Acharyas; and suggests that the Achyuta Kalappala of the literary references quoted, is the Achyuta Vikkama (Vikrama) or Achyuta Vikranta of Buddha Datta. According to Buddha Datta, Achyuta Vikrama or Achyuta Vikranta was ruler of the Cholarashtra with his capital at Kaveripattinam. But the Achyuta under reference in literature (references are given by the Pandit) is one associated with the hill Nandi and must be held to have ruled what was the Ganga territory of Kolar. These early Gangas are described usualy as having ruled from Kuvalapura (Kolar), and as lords of Nandagiri, as owners of the hill Nandi. This Achyuta, therefore, who according to the Pandit, had an alternative name Nandi, must be quite distinct from the Achyuta Vikrama or Achyuta Vikranta, who ruled the Chola country and no more, and is associated with the Chola capital,

Kaveripattinam. He might have been a Kalabhra. It must be noted that he is described in the poems quoted by the Pandit, as one habitually given to making large gifts to Brahmans.

It seems, therefore, clear that on the mere common feature Achyuta in the proper name, it would be hardly right to equate Achyuta Vikranta of the Chola country with Achyuta with a possible Nandi as another alternative name, and with Nandi for his hill. It does not require much of penetration to see that he cannot be regarded as particularly the person who subverted the *Sangam* order, and resumed the *Brahmadeya* of Velvikudi. It is, however, not unlikely that at a later stage of their history, the Kalabhras overran the Ganga territory and a Kalabhra king held rule over that territory, or a part of it in the fifth century or somewhat later.

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CHAPTER XVIII

INTRODUCTION TO THE PALLAVAS

The following pages embody the work of Mr. R. Gopalan, M.A., a Research Student at the University, who took up for his subject the History of the Pallavas of Kanchi. He worked through his full term, and the thesis incorporates his work on the subject. This thesis is just a little over 160 pages constitutes a dissertation on the Pallavas, which takes us as far as we can proceed on the subject with the material at our disposal. Many of the difficulties in the subject have been brought nearer to solution by the work of a number of scholars, all of which is considered in the work. It does not pretend to have solved all questions connected with the history of the Pallavas finally, but it may be stated that Mr. Gopalan's work carries us as near to an up-to-date history of the Pallavas as, in the circumstances, is possible.

Our purpose in this introduction is to draw attention to the salient features of the thesis and indicate points where more light would be welcome. Such advance as was possible in the study of the subject within the last year or two is also incorporated with a view to completing the work of Mr. Gopalan and to invite examination and criticism by those interested in Indian Historical Research.

The name Pallavas has been a problem for scholars, and has received attention from time to time from several of them, offering explanations of various kinds;

the doubt and the difficulty alike have arisen from the fact that a race of people called '*Pahlavas*' were known and are referred to as such along with the Sakas and others, both in the North-west of India and nearer in the North-western coast of the Dakhan. This, in literary texts sometimes takes the alternative form 'Pallava,' and thus two forms 'Pahlava' and 'Pallava' occurring side by side, give colour to the assumption that the two words are identical. They are indeed identical in form, but do not preclude the possibility of another word assuming this identical form. The word 'Pallava' as it applies to the rulers of Kanchi is undoubtedly and invariably a later form. We do not meet with the form '*Pahlava*' in connection with the Pallavas of Kanchi in any record of their time. The question therefore would naturally arise whether we need necessarily regard the name '*Pallavas*' as applied to the rulers of Kanchi as at all equivalent to the other '*Pallavas*' either as a word or in regard to what the word stands for. The word as applied to 'Pallavas' in the first instance seems to be a translation of the Tamil words 'Tondaiyar' and 'Tondaman,' and this finds confirmation in some of the copper-plate charters, which do bring in tender twigs of some kind in connection with the eponymous name 'Pallava.' This undoubtedly is a later use of the term, but gives the indication that even at that comparatively late period, the traditional notion was that they were not foreigners, such as the *Pahlavas* would have been. In all the material that has been examined, there is nothing to indicate either the migration of a people or even of a family that might have ultimately raised itself into a dynasty from the North-west, so that the assumption of a connection between the one set of people and the other rests upon the mere doubtful

ground of a possibility, whereas the translation or adaptation of a Southern word into Sanskrit is very much more than a possibility, as indeed a word like 'Dravida' or 'Dramida' would clearly indicate. The distinction that Rajasekhara makes between the Southern *Pallava* and the North-western *Pahlava* seems in the circumstances to be a crucial indication that in the estimation of scholarly folk of the ninth and tenth centuries, the two were to be regarded as distinct from each other. The foreign origin of the Pallavas therefore seems to have no ground to support it.

The Pallavas seem nevertheless to have been foreign to the locality as far as our evidence takes us at present. The rulers of Kanchi had continued to be known as Tondamans all through historical times. The people of the locality were similarly known as Tondaiyar, the region occupied by the people consequently Tondamandalam. These names are all traceable in South Indian literature in the period of prominence of the Pallavas and even before. The name Pallava however is used generally in the charters ever since the Pallavas issued charters, so that historically speaking we would be justified if we took Pallava and Tondaman to be synonymous, and this receives support in the use of the compound expression in one of the poems of Tirumangai Alvar, 'the Pallava, who is the ruler of the Tondaiyar' (*Pallavan Tondaiyar Kon*). Therefore it is not as if literature did not know the term; much rather literary use regarded the two as synonymous, so that the Pallavas, whoever they were, were Tondamans, rulers of Tondamandalam undoubtedly.

So far as the Pallavas of the charters are concerned whether the charters be issued in Prakrit or in Sanskrit they are termed, the Pallavas of Kanchi, though several

of the charters happened to be issued from localities comparatively far to the north of Kanchi. Several of the places in which their inscriptions and copper-plate charters have been found, or from which these were issued, are capable of location from the Bellary District eastwards up to the River Krishna in the north. Even so they seem to exclude the region which might geographically be described as the region of the Nalla Malais and the Pacha-Malais extending southwards along the mountainous tracts of the Eastern Ghats till we come past Tirupati into Chittoor, and the Bay of Bengal. From the Sangam literature so-called of Tamil, we are enabled to make the following distribution of peoples, if not exactly of rulers and dynasties. The Pandya country was in the extreme south extending from coast to coast. The Chera extended northwards from it along the coast stretching into the interior indefinitely, the actual eastern boundary varying from time to time almost up to the frontiers of Karur. Therefrom went northwards up to the borders of the great forest the territory known to Tamil literature as Konkanam (Konkan), over which ruled a particular chieftain known as Nannan till he was overthrown by the Cheras. The east coast region, however, beginning with the River Vellar flowing across the state of Pudukottah now and emptying itself into the Bay of Bengal which marked the orthodox southern boundary of the Cholas, constituted the Cholamandalam which actually extended northwards therefrom to as far as the River South Pennar where began the division known as Aruvanadu, which extended northwards along the coast almost as far as the Northern Pennar. This last division fell into two parts, Aruvanadu or Aruva main and Aruva Vadatalai or Aruva North. The region set over against this in the

interior including perhaps even a considerable part of what is marked off as Aruvanadu constituted the Tondamandalam, a division occupied by the Tondayar and belonging to them. It is this Tondamandalam which was dominated by Kanchi and extended northwards as far as Tirupati, which seems to have marked off the northern boundary. It sometimes extended farther northwards quite up to the northern borders of the Pulicat Lake, the region round Kalahasti on one side of it at any rate being borne in the old accounts even now as Tondaman *Māgaṇi*. We have evidence of an old chieftain by name Tiraiyan ruling over the territory dominated by Vengadam or Tirupati whose capital was in a place called Pavattiri (Reddipalem in the Gudur Taluk of the Nellore District). At one time this region was known as Kakandinadu, submerged by the sea, 'Kakandi being the name of the Chola capital, Puhar, because of the semi-historical ruler, Kakandan. It seems as though this territory was a new conquest to which was given the name from the capital of the conquering rulers. Whether the name was actually so given to it or not, it is evident that the region was ruled by a *Tiraiyan* chieftain who is referred to in the poems of the *Ahananuru* as Tiraiyan merely without a qualifying adjunct. The Chola Karikala is given credit in tradition which has come down to us for having cleared forests, constructed tanks and made other irrigation works, and thus introduced civilization in Tondamandalam, which till then remained, from the point of view of the Chola country, uncivilized. Chola viceroys were thereafter appointed at Kanchi, and the territory ruled over by the Viceroy at Kanchi is generally referred to as Tondamandalam. What is traditional in the story finds confirmation in the Sangam poem *Paṭṭināppālai* and in another poem by the

same author *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppāḍai,* which had for its hero the Tondaman-Ilam-Tiraiyan as he is known to literature. He is described in the poem as of Chola birth and as a powerful ruler of Kanchi and is ascribed a descent from the Cholas, nay in fact the family of Rama, as in fact in the later Pauranic geneology of these Cholas some of the Ikshvaku rulers are made to figure. This traditional connection is on a footing with that between the Ikshvakus and the Gurjara Pritiharas of Kanauj. During this period and almost contemporaneously with the Tondaman-Ilam-Tiraiyan, the territory of the elder Tiraiyan seems to have been held in power by a chieftain generally associated with Vengadam and described ordinarily by the name Pulli, chief of the Kalvar or, as the corrector reading would warrant, Kalavar. The forest region therefore in the middle seems to have constituted a block inhabited by the people Kalavar who had their tribal ruler with headquarters at Vengadam. That is the position which we derive from the Sangam literature of Tamil as such. Tondaman-Ilam-Tiraiyan passed away and with him Sangam literature as well perhaps, and we are left in the dark altogether as to what had befallen Kanchi or the territory dependent thereon. That is the Tamil side of the evidence from the Sangam literature leaving aside the question of the age of the Sangam for the present.

On the other side of it, the region round Adoni is described in early inscriptions as *Sātāhani Āhāra* sometimes as *Sātavāhana Rāṣṭra* perhaps giving us the indication that it was a settlement of the Satāvahanas, which may be recent or early. It probably indicates that the Satavahanas were perhaps not exactly native to the locality, but acquired the territory and gave it their name to mark a new acquisition unless it be that other

people called it by that name as the homeland of the Satavahanas. In either case, we find the Satavahana rulers on this border of the Tamil country, and one of the inscriptions of Pulumavi mentions a great Satavahana general, Maha Senatipati Skandanaga, probably an earlier governor of a troublesome border country. The records of the Pallavas similarly have reference to this region, and are couched in a form like the Satavahana inscriptions in regard to language, the details of the definition of time, and even such details as do occur in regard to the very nature of the administration itself. The provenance of the ship-coins of lead or potin sometimes ascribed to the Pallavas, but more generally taken to be Satavahana coins, in the region extending from the Northern Pennar to the Southern gives an indication of an effort of the Satavahanas to bring this region under their authority. The references to the successful struggle against the Aryans, which some of the Chola monarchs claim to themselves as well as the Malayaman ruler of Tirukovilur, perhaps is a reflex of this effort on the part of the Satavahanas. When the Pallavas therefore emerged from this region—and we are given the information in the earliest Pallava charter that the first great Pallava ruler of the locality referred to as Bappa Deva made a free distribution of a hundred thousand ox ploughs, etc., we seem to be introduced to an effort at civilizing the locality appearing very like an extension of the effort of Karikala to civilize Tondamandalam itself. This will appear clearly from the sequel. The Pallava charters themselves seem to argue a connection with the Satavahanas of a more or less intimate character, political as well as institutional. This seems clear from the Prakrit charters much more pronouncedly than perhaps even the Sanskrit ones. The conclusion to

which the epigraphists have arrived that the Pallavas of the Prakrit charters were earlier and ought so to be regarded seems well warranted by the circumstances of the case and the character of the documents as such. That these early rulers issued their charters in Sanskrit and Prakrit indifferently at the same time, and must be regarded as the same people is a conclusion which, while it may cut the gordian knot, seems to have little to justify it on the basis of the facts of the position. Superficial paleographical resemblances cannot be held to upset the more certain evidence of institutional continuity to which the Prakrit charters unmistakably point. Since the Pallavas issued their charters in Prakrit and of a style like that of the earlier Satavahana charters, does it not seem reasonable to argue that the early Pallavas of the Prakrit charters were officers of the Satavahanas, or at least officially connected with them and dependent upon their authority? It seems therefore reasonable to argue that the Satavahana governors of the south-eastern frontier gradually extended their territory, civilizing it as they conquered it, introducing the arts of agriculture and ultimately made themselves masters of the locality and extending southwards, when the Tamil powers weakened, to take into their territory Kanchi and Tondamandalam. It was the conquest of this that gave them the standing to make themselves real rulers and whatever of title was wanting in it was made good ultimately by a marriage which brought along with it a further addition to the territory. This becomes clear both from the account that Mr. Gopalan has given of succeeding events as well as from the analysis of these inscriptions which he has provided in the appendix. The Pallavas of the Prakrit charters call themselves rulers of Kanchi. So do the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters.

But at the outset those Pallavas who issued these Sanskrit charters lay claim to having acquired their royal position by an influential marriage with a Naga princess and by that means became 'possessed of a wife and a kingdom simultaneously.' This could only mean that the Naga alliance brought in an accession of territory which put their claim to independent rule on a really more legitimate footing than that of mere conquests or occupation, which might have been regarded as a mere act of usurpation.

In the empire of the Satavahanas which began to break up early in the third century, the dismemberment seems to have been due somewhat earlier to the provincial governors setting themselves up in some kind of independence. The south-western block seems to have remained in its integrity the latest, while the aggressions of the Kshatrapas in the north and north-west to some extent, and the advance of the Vakatakas from the middle to a larger extent, deprived them of what was the headquarters block of the Satavahana empire. The eastern and south-eastern portion must similarly have separated themselves, and we find on the farther side of the Krishna river the Salankayana first and Vishnukundins later occupying the territory north of the Krishna. There was perhaps similar disintegration noticeable further south along the East coast, so that when (about a century after the passing away of Andhra rule completely), Samudragupta's invasion came south, there were many kingdoms in the regions which submitted to his authority and accepted a feudatory position to his overlordship. A ruler of Kanchi by name Vishnugopa figures in the list, and, although he is not called a Pallava in the Samudragupta inscription, we have no right to expect this where every

ruler is simply defined by references to his capital, not to his family or dynasty and Vishnugopa was ruler of Kanchi—leaves but little doubt, and the occurrence of a number of Vishnugopas in the list of Pallava rulers of Kanchi leaves us in no uncertainty that this Vishnugopa was as well a Pallava ruler. It is this disturbing influence of Samudragupta's invasion that introduced a change, which necessitated the succeeding ruler of Kanchi to make an effort at legitimizing his own particular position as ruler of Kanchi. This was done, in all probability, by a marriage alliance with the heiress of the south-western block of the Satavahana territory, the territory dependent upon the viceroyalty of Banavasi. The rulers were known generally as Chutu Nagas, and, if a princess of that family had been married to a Pallava, it would be a Naga alliance that would give at the same time a sort of a claim to the territory of which she was heiress to the Pallavas. Otherwise the overlordship claimed by the Pallavas and acknowledged readily by the Gangas, and none the less acknowledged though less readily by the Kadambas, would be inexplicable. Mayurasarman shows himself a rebel almost against Pallava authority. The Ganga rulers readily acknowledged it, two of their kings having been installed by their Pallava overlords Simhavarman and Skandavarman. This means that the Pallavas claimed authority over the whole of the territory of the Satavahanas in the south, and that is what really accounts for the implacable enmity between the Great Pallavas and the early Chalukyas, who became rulers of the territory in the immediate neighbourhood of the kingdom of Banavasi of the Kadambas. It seems, therefore, clear that the Pallavas began as officers of the Satavahanas, and ultimately rose to undisputed possession of

the territory of Kanchi, the right to which they strengthened by an alliance with the heiress of the southern block of the Satavahana territory, thus in a way becoming titular descendants of the Satavahanas over the whole of the southern region of Satavahana territory including in it their own new conquest, the territory of Tondamandalam dependent upon Kanchi.

From what is stated in the foregoing pages, it would have become clear that the Pallavas of the charters starting from the south-eastern marches of the Satavahana territory gradually occupied the region of Kurnool, Nellore and part of the Cuddapah Districts, and extended southwards till they gradually appropriated the town of Kanchi itself and the territory dependent thereon, in other words, what is known to the Tamils as Tondamandalam. In this process of gradual conquest and appropriation of the territory intervening the south-eastern frontier of the Andhra kingdom and the northern viceroyalty of the Cholas, they must have dislodged the people who were in occupation of the territory under the elder Tiraiyan of Pavattiri, and latterly the chiefs of Vengadam, of whom Pulli's name is familiar to the Sangam literature. It is this dislodgement of the tribe of people known hitherto as *Kalvar*, but more appropriately speaking, *Kalavar* which brought about the disorder in the territory lying immediately to the south of the Nellore District extending southwards to the banks of the Kaveri. It is this region that gets involved in the Kalabhra* trouble and the process of expansion of the Kala-

* For a detailed account of the Kalabhras see my paper *The Kalabhra interregnum and what it means in South Indian History* presented to the International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford, August 1928, and published in the J. R. A. S., Bengal, 1935, Vol. I, No. 3.

bhras is reflected in the disorder and unsettlement which is noticeable even in the kingdom of the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters. The period beginning therefore with the middle of the third century and extending onwards is the period of these migrations of the Kalabhras from their original home in a general southward movement, which overturned the territory of Tondamandalam created confusion and disorder and brought about even the ultimate extinction of the well-established monarchies of the Tamil land. It is a movement like this that is actually under reference in the details which we get of a Kalabhara interregnum as the epigraphists call it, from the Velvikudi plates of the Pandyas of the latter half of the eighth century A.D.

Any reasonable investigation of this particular question requires a general idea of the whole position. Without assuming too much, we may take it that these are known facts in regard to the Pallavas. The first, according to generally accepted opinion, is that the earliest of them issued charters in Prakrit much in the style of the Satavahana charters, of which we have knowledge of the localities concerned. Three or four generations of these Pallavas happen to be known. The Allahabad Prasasti of Samudragupta makes mention of a Vishnugopa of Kanchi. Without pausing to enquire whether this Vishnugopa was a Pallava or not—there is nothing in the context of the inscription to indicate that he was not a Pallava as no ruler is mentioned by his dynastic name, but all of them are associated with their capitals—Vishnugopa must have been a ruler of Kanchi contemporary with Samudragupta. This may be taken to be the second established fact. Then it is that we come upon a confused dark period where more light would certainly be welcome. But soon after, for a couple of

hundred years, we find a dynasty of rulers, the order of whose succession, we cannot as yet fix very definitely. These rulers for some reason or other issued their charters always in Sanskrit, and called themselves invariably rulers of Kanchi, although some of their charters were issued from various 'victorious camps' of which there are as many as three or four capable of location in the Nellore District, that is, the region north of Tondamandalam proper. With these few main facts, which may be taken as established, we have to build up the history of the period from such glimpses as we get of details by setting them in a reasonable order on the basis of what is generally known. One general fact of Pallava history of this period—the period of the Sanskrit charters—is that it was a period of some amount of confusion, in which the succession to the throne itself could not have been in any very regular established order. There had been wars to the north, and wars to the south, and confusion in the interior of the territory of the Pallavas themselves. That seems to have been a period in which the Kadambas rose to power and the Gangas came into historical view on the one side. The Cholas almost passed into oblivion and the Tamil country suffered some kind of a confusion, as to the nature of which we have been in the dark till the Velvikudi plates threw some light upon it by stating categorically that a certain set of rulers, at the head of the people Kalabhras, overthrew the Tamil rulers of the south, the famous three crowned kings of Sangam literature. What is the cause of all this confusion and what is it that could satisfactorily explain all the facts mentioned above categorically? We have a specific lead in the Velvikudi plates for this, namely, that the Kalabhras came into the Tamil country as far south as the territory of the Pandyas, and upset the settled

order to the extent of destroying a *Brahmadeya* gift (a free gift of land to Brahmans) which in orthodox parlance implies the destruction of a settled order of rule by the creation of a very considerable amount of confusion in the administration. If we could know something of these Kalabhras, we may possibly throw some light upon the causes of all the confusion in the history of the Pallavas during the period. For this again, there is a certain amount of light which we can derive from the Velvikudi plates themselves. The plates were issued by an individual sovereign, who restored the grant to the living representative of its original donee on satisfactory proof that the village was originally granted in the manner claimed. His father, generally known to epigraphists by the titles Termaran Rajasimha, we know, beyond doubt, was a contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (*cir.* A.D. 717 to *cir.* A.D. 782). Alloting him to somewhere about the middle of the long reign of Nandivarman, we may roughly place him in about A.D. 750, or A.D. 740. We want six generations to come to the period when the Pandya country emerged from out of the Kalabhra rule and got back into Pandya rule, and a certain ruler by name Kadumkon is stated in the grant to have done this. Even allowing the moderate span of twenty-five years' rule to each of these six generations, Kadumkon's rule would come to somewhere about A.D. 600 more or less, bringing him roughly into contemporaneity, with the first great Pallava ruler, Simhavishnu. The period of the Kalabhra interregnum, according to the Velvikudi plates thus coincides with the period of Pallava history under the rule of the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters. If the Kalabhras created confusion in the Tamil country, they must have come from elsewhere into it. Wherefrom did they come ? It is obvious that they did not come from

the south. The Pandya country seems the southern limit of their reach. During the period, Chola rule seems to have gone into eclipse of a more or less thorough character. The natural inference therefore would be that they probably advanced southwards. If they were in the Chola country before coming to the Pandya, could we not reasonably infer that they had been in the Pallava country before coming into the Chola or at least had something to do with the Pallava? If so, who could these Kalabhras be, why were they so-called, and what would be the cause of their southward migration?

We have stated above on the authority of the Prakrit charters that the so-called Pallavas were viceroys of the south-eastern marches of the Andhra country, and they gradually extended their territory so as to occupy the region dominated by the hill Vengadam, and ruled over by tribal chieftains, the earlier one known to literature being Tiraiyan of Pavattiri and the later one Pulli of Vengadam. The latter chief is generally spoken of as the chief of the Kalvar in the so-called Sangam literature. But the learned editor of these works has since discovered that the correcter reading, on manuscript authority, would be *Kalavar* and not *Kalvar*. In the region which they occupied in the period of the later Satavahanas, and therefore the period immediately preceding that of the Pallavas, they had been a set of frontier people, at least somewhat predatory in point of character, accustomed to lifting cattle from the northern frontier and thereby flourishing upon it as a profession, and that is how Pulli is described in the Sangam literature. The tightening of the hold of the Pallavas even as viceroys of the Andhras by a pressure applied both from the north and west, must have dislodged these people from the locality of their denizenship, and set forward their migration which ulti-

mately overturned the Tondamandalam first Cholamandalam next, and a considerable part of the Pandyamandalam after that. Perhaps it is this disturbance, and possibly the confusion caused by the invasion of Samudragupta through some of these regions, that must have ultimately brought about the subversion of the settled order and the introduction of the confusion, from out of which emerged the Pallavas of Kanchi of the Sanskrit charters. That period, it will be found, is the period in which something of a radical change had been taking place in the south-western viceroyalty of Banavasi—the palatine viceroyalty of the Andhras. We see in that region, a set rulers who called themselves Chutu Naga, claim relationship with the ruling family of the Satavahanas and achieving political distinction by wars against the Sakas and the Kshatrapas, the enemies of the great Satavahana, Gautamiputra Satakarni. In the best days of their power, their territory seems to have extended as far north as the Godavari, but it began to shrink on the northern side, so that they became a purely southern power. The illuminating detail that the Velurpalayam plates gives us of Virakurcha becoming, heir to a kingdom by a marriage, by which, as is stated in the quaint language of the character, 'he simultaneously obtained a wife and a kingdom.' This seems to be no more than his marrying the heiress of the Chutu Nagas and, by securing a wife of that distinction, he became also the heir to that territory either in his own person, or, possibly better, in that of his son. It is this alone that can account for the very important historical fact that we know of in the history of the Pallavas later,—the acknowledgment of allegiance to the Pallavas by the Gangas, two successive rulers of the Gangas having been installed on their hereditary throne by the contemporary

Pallavas. That seems to be the position also in regard to the Kadambas, who became heir to the territory of the Chutu Nagas clearly by conquest, as the story of Mayurasarman indicates.

The Kalabhras then were the Kalavar of the region immediately north of Tondamandalam, who being dislodged by the pressure of the Andhras, penetrated the Tondamandalam itself, and as the Andhra power itself advanced, moved southwards, occupying the territory gradually till in the course of generations, they subverted the Chola rule and spread themselves farther south, to the occupation of the territory of the Pandyas so as to produce the interregnum referred to in the Velvikudi plates in the Pandya country. This interregnum followed when the grant of the village Velvikudi was made to the Brahman and had been enjoyed for a considerable length of time by him and his successors. The interregnum itself must have lasted for some considerable time, and to justify the lapse of the grant being forgotten for five or six generations after the restoration of Pandya rule. The Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters therefore had to advance into the country dependent upon Kanchi, dislodge the Kalabhras or Kalavars who were in occupation as a normal continuation of the struggle which must have began between them and the Kalabhras somewhat earlier, till they could master possession of the region. It is probably in this process of conquest that the invasion of Samudragupta introduced another element of confusion, to provide against which an alliance with the more powerful neighbour, the Chutu Nagas of the west, must have been felt to be necessary by the Pallavas of Kanchi. Whether the Vishnugopa of Kanchi referred to in the Harisena inscription of Sumudragupta is Kanagopa identified with Kumaravishnu I is more than we

can assert at present. It is possible that the Kanagopa of the later charters had a name Kumaravishnu or Vishnugopa. But in the absence of any lead, such a statement would be nothing but a guess, and it may be safer to leave Vishnugopa the contemporary of Samudragupta unidentified with any of the names in the genealogy of the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters for the present. When the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters established themselves in the region of Tondamandalam, their struggles with Kalabhras of the south must have begun, as a continuation of the struggle that dislodged them from the territory of Tondamandalam. It is this which is reflected in the statement that Kumaravishnu retook the capital from some enemy undescribed, and that Buddhavarman, one of the rulers of this dynasty, won victories against the 'ocean-like army' of the Cholas, which at the time could only mean the Kalabhras established in the Chola territory, as about that time we do hear of a Kalamba ruler by name Acchyuta Vikranta holding rule at the Chola capital, Puhar over the Chola Rashtra, according to Buddhadatta, a contemporary of Buddhagosha. The establishment of the Kalabhras in the Chola country therefore seems to have been a settled fact by the middle of the sixth century. They were found there by Simhavishnu at the end of the sixth; by Narasimhavarman I in the middle of the seventh, and by the Chalukyas about the end of the seventh and almost the middle of the eighth centuries. It seems to be these Kalabhras who come into view later on near Tanjore and Kodumbalur as Muttaraiyan chiefs bearing names and titles very much like that of Achhyuta Vikranta. We come to the spectacle in the eighth century of the Tanjore chiefs being feudatories of the Pallavas and the Kodumbalur chiefs those of the Pandyas, and fighting against each other in

consequence. The Kalabhra migration, the movement of the *Kalavar* southwards from their original home, seems thus to provide the explanation for the disappearance of the settled order in the Tamil country as portrayed in the Sangam literature and offers the explanation of the interval of obscurity and oblivion in Chola rule till the rising of the later Cholas to power in the latter half of the ninth century.

The narration of events above, it would have been noted, assumes the existence of a period of prosperity reflected in the Sangam literature anterior to the coming of the Pallavas of Kanchi into the region of Tondamandalam. The assumption is based on evidence which an effort has been made to upset by another assumption without any valid evidence, we should say, of a Chola interregnum in the rule of the Pallavas of Kanchi on the basis of the statement that Kumaravishnu II had to retake his capital from his enemies. The difficulties against accepting this assumption are many and fundamental; anything like a capture of Kanchi by the Cholas and even its retention in the hands of the Cholas for some little time till recapture by Kumaravishnu, would hardly satisfy the conditions of the Chola Karikala's capture of Kanchi, because the Chola Karikala is associated, in the Sangam literature so called, with a succession of rulers extending over three or four generations, during which, since his conquest, Kanchi remained a Chola viceroyalty. The provision of an interval of that length before Kumaravishnu II retook Kanchi would be on the face of it impossible. Karikala is supposed to have introduced the arts of agriculture and civilization into the bulk of the region constituting Tondamandalam, and the viceroyalty was held with distinction by Chola princes immediately following him and subsequently by an illegiti-

mate scion of the Chola family, Tondaman-Ilam-Tiraiyan, before it passed into the possession of the Pallavas of the inscriptions. There is not the slightest hint of all this in the various charters, of which we have information, and Bappa Deva's civilizing effort in the region farther north seems almost to indicate an extension of the effort of Karikala. Looked at from any point of view therefore, it seems impossible to postulate a Chola interregnum in the middle of the succession of Pallava rulers of the Sanskrit charters, and the effort seems to us futile. We have almost fifteen generations of rulers subsequent to the Samudragupta invasion. Although we cannot be very definite about the order of succession or of the detailed history of the period, the general trend seems clear enough to rule out the possibility of this interregnum. There is the evidence of the Sangam literature by itself and the evidence of the later Pandya charters leading thereto, and they seem alike to negative this possibility. Whether the Sangam actually existed or no, the existence of something like a Sangam and of a body of literature known as Sangam literature came to be an accepted article of faith among the Tamils at the commencement of the seventh century A.D. among the Tevaram hymners like Appar and Sambandar. For a tradition like that to grow and for a body of literature to get thus distinctly classified, we do require a certain efflux of time, and that could not be less than half a dozen generations or more, and thus the indication seems to be that the period of the Sangam literature will have to be referred to a time anterior to the advent of the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters into the region of Kanchi. A Chola interregnum associated with the name of Karikala in the generations immediately preceding Kumaravishnu II seems impossible of justification. The period of

the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters marks the advent of a new dynasty, their long, but fairly successful, struggle against hostile occupation of the territory of Tondamandalam, probably by the Kalabhras, their assertion of their overlordship over the Gangas, and a similar recognition of their overlordship at any rate, by the Kadambas after a struggle ending in the final establishment of the Pallava authority there till Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishnu the first Great Pallava, founded a dynasty of powerful rulers for the next two centuries and a half, all require the couple of centuries which are left between the invasion of Samudragupta and the accession of Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishnu. The accession of these powerful rulers to authority in this region is almost coeval with the rise of the Chalukyas into view in the region north of their territory.

The origin of the Chalukyas and their accession to power in the period with which their name is associated is somewhat obscure. Their habitual hostility to the Pallavas and the constant warfare between the two that this hostility brought about are facts recognized all round, although the reason for this constant hostility has been far from clear. The one is perhaps to some extent associated with the other, and an explanation of the hostility does not seem altogether beyond recovery. In the traditional stories connected with their origin, the historains of the dynasty, or the heraldic custodians of their traditional origin, gave them credit for association with the Ikshvakus of Ayodhya whatever the reason. The association with Ikshvakus seems to have been fashionable even in this distant south at this particular time. The Chalukyas connect themselves with the Ikshvakus and some well-known Ikshvaku rulers figure in Chola

genealogies when they began to appear. Even before the days of genealogies, the Tondaman ruler of Kanchi is associated with some of the Ikshvakus in one of the Sangam classics. So the Chalukya's claim to an association with the Ikshvakus, while historically possible because of the existence of Ikshvaku rulers in their neighbourhood in the Andhra country, still remains unproved in the face of the fact that they have to invent a kind of explanation, at the very best unsatisfactory for the name Chalukya. This defect seems to make them an indigenous dynasty of feudatory rulers, who raised themselves to power gradually, and set themselves up independently. The fact of their obscure origin coupled with the boar ensign on the one hand, and the impossible derivation of the word from Sanskrit on the other, seem alike to indicate a southern origin for them on a reasonable basis. Feudatory dynasties placed in rule over the less hospitable regions of the Tamil country went by the name generally *Vēḷpula Araśar* or *śaḷukku Vēndar*. They were given the flag of the boar indicative of the nature of the territory over which they ruled and of the character of that rule. It is a family of chieftains like this probably who ultimately raised themselves to a position of higher dignity that became the Chalukyas of a later period. That this is so is reflected in the term sometimes being used in the form *Salki,* used as a term of contempt, in Telugu, with reference to Salki Bhima, who is spoken of as a disloyal person. Those petty chieftains seem to have risen first to power in the northern region of Vakataka territory, perhaps in succession to the Nalas, or, at any rate, as one of the tributaries along with them. They then gradually spread southwards, extending their territory, and under the sons of Pulikesan I, they conquered the Kadambas and the Gangas and so extended their

operations gradually as to come into contact with the territory of the Pallavas with the set object of recovering the southern block of the territory under the Andhras included in the viceroyalty of Banavasi. It was stated already that the Pallavas probably laid claim to this very territory on the basis of a marriage, and naturally, therefore, the two powers had a reason for perpetual hostility on an important, and at the same time, a vulnerable frontier for both of them. Therefore it is that since the Chalukyas established their power by the conquest of the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas, they are seen in the full tide of their hostility to the Pallavas and this hostility continued, now the one, now the other getting the better, till one of the dynasties, the Chalukyas vanished from Dakhan politics. That accounts for the Chalukya invasion in the reign of Mahendravarman, who from his headquarters beat them back, and left it to his son to carry the war into the enemy's country, destroy their capital and bring about an interregnum, which lasted for thirteen years. This happened at the end of the reign of Pulikesan II, and his son Vikramaditya was able to turn the tables upon the Pallavas and carry the war into their territory by a flank movement, so as to fight on the banks of the Kaveri near Trichinopoly against the Pallavas supported by all the Tamil powers this time. One of his successors was able to carry the war into Kanchi itself, occupied the town in his turn, and, instead of destroying it, as the Pallava Narasimhavarman had done at Vatapi, their capital, not merely restored, but even made a fresh donation to the temple showing thus distinctly that he was more humane in warfare than perhaps the Southern power. It is in revenge for this insult that Nandivarman Pallavamalla took the tide on the turn when, on the occasion of a marriage

alliance brought about diplomatically between the Ganga princess, the daughter of Sri Purusha Muttarasa, and the Pandyan prince, Nedum-Sadaiyan Parantaka, the donor of the Velvikudi plates, the Pallavas led the combination of the southern powers, in which the Pandyan minister got distinction, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Chalukyas at the battle of Venbai. Kirtivarman II was so thoroughly defeated that the Chalukya power found it impossible to recover from the defeat. It is this again that was taken advantage of by the feudatory Rashtrakuta Dantidurga, himself, the son of a Chalukya princess to subvert the Chalukya power. He was able to do this by fortifying himself by an alliance with the great Pallava ruler Nandi to whom perhaps he gave his daughter in marriage and thus brought about his own elevation and the subversion of the dynasty of the early Chalukyas. The battle of Venbai is graphically described in detailing the achievements of the *āgñapati*, Maran-Kari of Karavandapuram at whose instance the grant was made. Tirumangai Alvar's reference to Rashtrakuta Dantidurga, under his title Vairamegha, and the deferential treatment which Nandivarman Pallavamalla is said to have accorded to him finds justification in this, and the question how the early Chalukyas were ultimately overthrown and the Rashtrakutas established themselves in their stead is now put on a clear footing.

The accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla to the Pallava throne and how it actually happened have alike remained a problem in Pallava history till recently. The publication of some of the Vaikuntha Perumal temple epigraphs* clears the doubt completely, though it does

*'*S.I.I.*, Vol. iv, pp. 10-12.

not altogether dispel the darkness that surrounded the actual character of his accession to power. From the epigraphs, it is clear that, when Paramesvaravarman died, for some reason or other the great citizens of the land had to be on the look out for a suitable successor. The position of the Pallavas at the time was far from easy. After some futile efforts they ultimately made up their minds to offer it to Hiranyavarma the collateral cousin through the younger brother of Simhavishnu; but Hiranya shrank from the responsibility as an old man and offered the chance to each one of his four sons in turn. The three elder ones refused the responsibility and the youngest of them all, Pallavamalla by name, or Paramesvaraṛavarman Pallavamalla, agreed to accept the responsibility with an alacrity which was disconcerting to the father's paternal instincts. He was however allowed to succeed, and, when he reached Kanchi, he was duly installed under the title Nandivarman. Hence his full style Nandivarman Pallavamalla or Paramesvaran Pallavamalla *alias* Nandivarman. This gives colour to some of the hymns of Tirumangai Alvar which celebrate the temple as Paramesvara Vinnagaram. It cannot now be taken that the Vishnu temple was founded by Paramesvaravarman II, nor even by Paramesvaravarman I. It now becomes quite clear that the founder of this temple is the Pallava prince to whom the Alvar makes so many direct references. All of them refer to Nandivarman Pallavamalla in his family name Paramesvaravarman. That apart, the accession, according to these records is a peaceful one by the choice of the people and therefore come to legitimately. But there are other charters which broadly state, as is recounted in the following pages, that he came to the throne as a result of fighting and by an act of usurpation. The two statements it is possible to

reconcile, and it is hardly necessary to take them as irreconcilable alternatives. The facts seem to have been these. A Chalukya invasion seems to have been imminent, and the constant hostility of this power on the northern frontier together with the rising activity of the Pandyas in the south made the position of the Pallavas in the middle one of extreme anxiety. The maintenance of the Pallava power intact meant a Janus-faced fight, south against the Pandyas and north against the Chalukyas. When Paramesvaravarman II died, if the responsible people of the kingdom felt that the ruler who succeeded him should be a man of ability and resource, and not a child succeeding a comparatively inefficient rule of a father, their offer of the throne to Hiranyavarman, possibly a veteran administrator of the time, would have valid justification on the basis of the fitness of the person. The legitimate successor, Chitramaya, or, whoever he was, may have been comparatively young and weak; and even later, the fight which could be put up in his favour does not appear to have been strong enough to make this assumption unwarranted. It was a useful change though the actual successor happened to be a young boy of twelve, supported as he must have been with all the resources of his father and brothers, and other officers of the kingdom. Those whose sympathies were on the legitimist side would naturally call such a succession an act of usurpation, while to those of the opposite faction Nandivarman's acceptance of the office was an honourable act of public beneficence for the well-being of the State. The thirteen or fourteen epigraphs which have been published throw very important light upon this position, and from these, what has hitherto been known regarding the succession receives fresh illumination. Nandivarman probably came

to the throne and accepted the responsibility that it involved, by the invitation of those responsible for the welfare of the state, necessarily setting aside the legitimate claims of another prince of the family. The war which was a consequence necessarily, went against the legitimate prince, but the actual achievements of the general in behalf of Nandivarman seem fully to justify the anxiety of those who went out of their way to set aside the legitimate successor in favour of another. It need not therefore be the fault of Nandivarman Pallavamalla that he ascended the throne, not an act of his own, and merely for the sake of the position or the power that it carried with it. Though his earlier years were clouded by these wars he managed to tide over these troubles both by successful war and by equally successful diplomacy, subverting the natural enemy, the Chalukyas in the north, and entering into a more or less permanent alliance with their successors, the Rashtrakutas; on the south, he got into perhaps a treaty of alliance with the Pandyas, after a good deal of fight with them on behalf of the rulers of Kongu, whose independence all his efforts could not sustain. When he died, his kingdom could pass down to his son without any difficulty and Pallàva rule continued for another three or four generations, for almost a century, without distress.

There has been considerable discussion in regard to the successors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and a controversy has raged over the fancied displacement of the dynasty and by the succession of a new dynasty called till recently by the epigraphists (Ganga-Pallavas.) Inscriptions published since the hypothesis was put forward seem entirely to negative the position taken and with the information at our disposal now, there is hardly any need to maintain the hypothesis, whatever justification it might

have had in its origin. Nandivarman was succeeded by Dantivarman his son, Dantivarman by another Nandivarman, and then followed Nripatunga in a regular line of succession, all of them tracing their descent through Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Why a certain number of these should be distinctly marked off and given the name Ganga-Pallavas is far from clear. That there was some kind of a family connection between the Gangas and the Pallavas may be readily admitted. That is a connection which the Pallavas had with other royal families as well, namely, those of the Rashtrakutas and the Kadambas, taking the dynasty of Nandivarman Pallavamalla alone. A marriage alliance of this sort need not give a new direction unless we can specifically prove that a scion of the Ganga family through a daughter even, or through a Pallava princess set up rule in the territory of the Pallavas. For this, we have absolutely no lead. Comparatively minor changes in the titles of rulers at a certain stage of their history, or of the existence of a number of rulers simultaneously in the same territory, are not reasons which would justify a hypothesis as grave as this. What seems actually to have taken place is this. The Pallava-Pandya struggle in the time of the great Pallavamalla seems to have been more or less for the overlordship of Kongu to begin with. At some period of his reign that overlordship, if it was at any time exercised by the Pallavamalla at all, passed over to the Pandyas. To fortify this position, they entered into a marriage alliance with the Gangas across the Kongu frontier and this brought down upon them a great Chalukya invasion, as the Gangas were perhaps regarded as Chalukya feudatories at the time. Feudatory or no, the Gangas in alliance with the Pandyas would be a real danger on the flank of the Chalukya, having regard to the fact that they regarded the

Pallavas as their standing enemies. That brought on the battle of Venbai which had for its ultimate result the subversion of the dynasty of the Chalukyas and the establishment, in their stead, of the rule of the Rashtrakutas who apparently fortified their position by an alliance with the Pallavas. This for the time settled the question of the political relationship between the Gangas, the Rashtrakutas and the Pallavas. Later on the wars continued between the Pandyas and the Pallavas on the one side, and hostility gradually developed between the Pallavas and the Rashtrakutas on the other. The Gangas in the middle now played the one part, now the other, till at last they were ultimately reduced to a position of subordination by the Rashtrakutas. This certainly was one element of weakness in the Pallavas. The Pandyas in consequence were slowly gaining the upper hand, and tightened their hold on the Pallavas, so that the Pallava territory which had at one time been so very extensive, was gradually shrinking to one of comparatively narrow dimensions. The final victory achieved by Varaguna II at Sripurambiyam near Kumbakonam gave a crushing blow, if not the death blow to the Pallava power, in which one section of the Gangas, the Gangas who held authority in the Bana country, assisted the Pallavas. But the Pallavas still continued in a comparatively precarious position. This precarious condition of the Pallava power, as in the case of all other Indian imperial powers, brought about a dismemberment, which began usually with an independence of the provinces constituting the empire more or less definite, and this dismemberment is what is in evidence in our having a certain number of rulers in the Pallava territory, each issuing inscriptions, almost on his own authority simultaneously, when the power of the Cholas,

newly come into existence under Vijayalaya, advanced northward under his successor Aditya and put an end to the crumbling empire of the Pallavas and annexed the whole of their territory to the Chola dominions, thus introducing a new overlordship, which was symbolized by the name Jayamkondacholamandalam given to the Pallava territory which till then was known Tondamandalam. The existence therefore of several Pallava princes marks nothing more than a mere stage in the dismemberment of the kingdom or empire, and need not be regarded as the establishment of a separate dynasty of rulers distinct from the one which held rule from Kanchi. That seems the general trend of Pallava History, which Mr. Gopalan's work indicates. The purpose of this introduction is merely to supply a few gaps in the narrative, and thus to provide the few links required for the continuous story of the rise, growth, decay and the dissolution of the power of the Pallavas of Kanchi.

[Written October 15, 1928.]

CHAPTER XIX

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI

The question of who the Pallavas were is one which can hardly be described as being out of the stage of discussion yet. The theory that held the field till recently almost unchallenged, was that they were a tribe of foreigners supposed to be of Parthian origin, who, having effected a lodgment in the part of the country near the mouth of the Indus, moved south-eastwards gradually till they came to be found in possession of the region dominated by Kanchi. The main reason for this contention is that a class of people called Pahlavas figure in the lists of tribes on that frontier in the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*[1] and other such sources of information. They are also found to figure among the enemies overthrown by the Satavahanas, namely Gautamiputra Satakarni and his son. The Ceylon chronicle also mentions a tract of country which seems to be located in that region which is named in the Mahavamsa, Pallavabhogga. This collocation of re-

1. *Tataḫ sāgara kukṣisthān mlēchān parama dāruṇān*
Pallavām Barbarāṁschaiva Kirātān Yavanān Śakān
Tatōratnānyupādāya vaśe kritvā cha pārthivān
Nyavartata Kuruśrēṣṭo Nauklaschitramārgavit
Mah. II, 36 sl. 16 & 17.

Barbarā Yavanāśchaiva Gargar Ābhīrakāstathā
Pallavāḥ Śaka Kāruśyas Tumbakāḫ Kāśikāstathā.
Ibid, sl. 99.

ferences to the Pallavas is held to justify the conclusion that they were a body of foreigners who entered India by way of Baluchistan, and moved on till they hinduised themselves so far as to forget their foreign origin and raise no suspicions among the peoples over whom they imposed their authority. There are, however, grave difficulties in the way of accepting this apparently satisfactory account as we have some information in Tamil literature, which militates strongly against this view of their origin. We have elsewhere pointed out that, in the days of the early Cholas, Kanchi was a Chola viceroyalty, Palatine viceroyalty though it was. We have a number of references to show that the Tamils regarded Pulikat as their northern boundary, and the people or the tribes which inhabited the region immediately north of it have invariably been referred to as speaking a language different from that of the Tamils.[2] Those people are invariably referred to as *Vaḍukar* which is the name by which the Telugus are ordinarily known in the Tamil country today. But in that early age the term *Vaḍukar* seems to have been invariably applied both to the Telugus and the Kannada people across the Tamil frontier. Even the *Periyapurāṇam*, a work of the early twelfth century, observes this classification as it speaks of the Karnatakas as *Vaḍukar*.[3] That designation is still preserved in the name of the *Baḍagas* of the Nilgiris. The region on the eastern side of this portion of the peninsula occupied by this people is the region where we find the earliest memorials of Pallava rule. When the Pallavas emerge into the full light of history we find them in possession of

2. See Appendix, n. 1.
3. See Appendix, n. 2.

Kanchi. Whether they were Tamils or Telugus they were people we find located along the region between the lower course of the Krishna and the river Palar. To begin with, this region, at least the major part of it was designated Tondamandalam in those days. In regard to their origin and their previous habitat we have elsewhere exhibited a certain number of references from the old classical collection *Ahanānūṟu* referring to what actually constituted Tondanadu; both Kanchi and Vengadam (Tirupati) were alike included in this territorial division Tondamandalam. We have also an old passage, in Nachchinarkiniyar's commentary, of an author whose name is not quoted, giving the important equation that the people called Tondaiyar (people of Tondamandalam) were treated the same as the Pallavas. During the period to which this reference must be held to relate, the words Tondaiyar and Pallavas were considered to be synonymous.[4] On this basis alone there is good reason for regarding the Tondaiyar as the name of the people living in the country who were subsequently called by a Sanskrit translation of the name. This inconvenient position is sought to be got round, by votaries of the foreign origin of the Pallavas, by bringing the Chola occupation of Kanchi and the literature bearing on the period to a comparatively short period of interregnum which is supposed to have existed between one of the early dynasties of the Pallavas and the later great dynasty; in other words, by bringing the Sangam age itself to the fifth century A.D. We have already demonstrated clearly that it would be impossible for a variety of reasons, to move the period down by about four centuries in that arbitrary fashion.

4. *Ibid,* n. 3.

The question rests still upon the specific Gajabahu synchronism supported by so much of valuable historical evidence that it would require a very strong case to turn it upside down, not to speak of the insuperable difficulty in detail which would have to be confronted in any attempt at constructive criticism. Kanchi figures in this body of early literature as a viceroyalty of the Cholas, and the Tondaman who figures in the whole body of this literature as the ruler of this part of the country is the Tondaman Ilam-Tirayan of Kanchi who ruled over Conjivaram not so much in his own right but by right of his Chola ancestry. We shall come to this point a little later.

The Pallavas: Native to South India.

Among the large number of places in which the Pallavas get mentioned in Sanskrit literature they are found mentioned with the well-known tribes of the North-Western Frontier, such as the Sakas and the Yavanas. It would be difficult to find any clear reference to these anywhere in South India. There are a certain number of places in which the South Indian kingdoms are mentioned. We do not find anything corresponding to the Pallava, or Pallava State or tribe in the south. The Asoka edicts do not mention any. Even where the reference comes in in classical Sanskrit literature the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Keralas are referred to, and where we should, from geographical position, expect the Pallavas a class of people by name Dravida is mentioned. Dravida or Dramida is generally taken to be the equivalent of Tamil, and Tamilakam (Sans. Dramidaka), the whole of the Tamil country. It is also used in a somewhat narrower sense as indicating one of the four kingdoms, a kingdom that would correspond to, and that gets

to be known to later history as, the Pallava Kingdom with Kanchi for its centre. It would be rational, therefore, to regard the Pallavas native to South India, and as the people who were before then known by the name Tondaiyar more generally. There are some objections which we have to meet before taking this particular position definitely. By a careful study of the available Pallava records which epigraphy has unearthed we are able to throw the early Pallavas into three groups. They are found first of all as tribal chieftains ruling their various little states—three or four of them could be specifically mentioned—in the region which extended from the lower course of the Krishna to almost the Palar, Dasanapura, Palakkada, Menmattura and Kanchi. The records of some of these rulers happen to be in Prakrit and the others in Sanskrit and they are found scattered across from the West Coast to the frontiers of the Godaveri District in the east, the actual belt of country constituting the Vaduka frontier of the Tamils of the age of classical literature. Their association with Amaravati, the discovery of certain statues of the Buddha which are believed to be of Roman workmanship, and a statement that one of these early rulers attained to this royal dignity by a marriage are all brought into requisition to give them a marriage alliance with the Andhras, to give their art a Roman origin and to make these a foreign people who imposed themselves as rulers over the vast region extending almost from the Godaveri to at least the Palar in the south. The matter requires, therefore, careful consideration.

In the region which these later inscriptions indicate as peculiarly the Pallava province we find, in the days of the Satavahanas, certain records which describe the territory peculiarly the district of the Satavahana. The

Myakadoni inscription[5] refers to the region round Adoni as *Sātahani Āhāra,* and the person responsible for the government of it is named Khanda Naga (Skanda-Naga), the Mahasenapati (great general). If the *Āhāra* or district, of the Satavahanas in this record meant anything it must refer to the district which was the fief of the Satavahanas peculiarly the Satavahanas being a clan or powerful family of the Andhra people as a whole.[6] This interpretation of the term Satavahana is quite in keeping with what we find in Tamil literature. The Hirahadagalli copper-plates found in the Bellary District would confirm the same position; but being on copper-plates, it is likely that the record had travelled before it reached its final resting place at the village named above. This spread of the Satavahanas from east to west among the regions which the Tamils call Vaduka region would make the Satavahanas Andhra, and give the region the character of an Andhra frontier province. The name Khanda Naga itself shows a family likeness to the early Pallava names which we know of from other records. Along with these must be considered the records of another class of Satavahana officers who gave themselves Naga names and symbols in their records, and are associated with the district which went by the name of Nagara Khanda afterwards. That is the region along the Western Ghauts with Banavase for its capital. The expanded cobra-hood at the beginning of the inscription and the very name Cutukulananda as the title of one of the chiefs, the name Cutu being Tamil or old Kanarese for crest, in this case the crest of the cobra. This interpretation can be supported by a familiar use in classical literature of

5. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XIV, pp. 153.
6. Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra,* II, vii.

Sudu (*Śūḍu*) *Śūda* being frequently associated with cobra hoods; and Cutukula can, without violence, be taken to stand for Nagakula, a family of Nagas. We find this chieftain and his records associated with the western part of the belt of the country extending from the East Coast to the west which the Tamils of the classical age invariably called the country of the Vaduka.

There is, besides, the mention of *Sadakana kaḷalaya-mahārathi*, *Angiyakulavadhana maharaṭhi Tanakayiro*, father of the Queen Naganika of the sacrificial inscription at Nanaghat, on coins found in Chitaldrug. These are Andhra coins and the legends, as interpreted by Prof. Rapson and others, make them Satakarnis, and Andhra officers of rank. The reference to Agnikula brings them into relationship with the Tamil Irungo-Vel chiefs of Araiyam who are said to have been Agnikulas. The particular chief addressed by the poet Kapilar belonged to this family which came fortynine generations after the founder, who sprang out of a sacrificial fire-pit, and ruled in Dvaraka, in all probability after the destruction of the Vrishnis following the death of Krishna. There is also the feature that Andhra coins bearing on the obverse the effigy of the two-masted ship are found all over the Tondamandala country proper. This would imply the possession of this tract by the Satavahanas at least for a time. The representation of a ship on the Satavahana lead coins found in this region is very appropriate as the more important section of the people who inhabited this tract of country is known to Tamil literature as the Tiraiyar (*lit.* sea-people). It is one of their chieftains, the son of a Chola king by a Naga princess, who figures in classical Tamil literature as the first viceroy, other than a royal prince, of Kanchi. He is invariably given the name Tondaman (great one among the

Tondar or Tondaiyar), and a classical passage quoted by Nachchinarkiniyar[7] equates the Tondaiyar with the Pallavas. Naturally, therefore, if the region occupied by the Tondaiyar or the Pallavas passed under the authority of the Satavahanas, and if they appointed governors for this particular region from among them, these governors would be governors of the Tondamandalam or the Pallava country, and would get to be known popularly as Pallava governors. The name of the great general in authority round Bellary having a family likeness to the names of the early Pallavas would warrant the assumption that it is these Mahasenapatis of the south-eastern territory of the Satavahanas who were the founders of the family which came to be known to history as the Pallavas. They extended their territory from Amaravati in Guntur southwards to Kanchi itself, and the territory dependent thereon extended to the banks of the South Pennar. The Naga or snake as one of the ensigns on the banners of the Pallavas would argue some intimate connection with the family of the Nagas, and that is what we find on an examination of such records of theirs as are so far accessible to us. There might have been foreigners in the region of the Guntur District. That is something different from calling the dynasty a dynasty of foreigners. So far as the available evidence goes, they were a dynasty of the Andhras, probably related to or even springing out of, the clan of the Satavahanas. When the power of the latter extended southwards as the result of constant struggle on this frontier, the Governors of the Guntur District extended their sphere of authority so as to take in the newly acquired territory. When the Satavahana

7. See Appendix, n. 3.

dynasty broke up in the middle of the third century these apparently set up independently and founded the new dynasty of the Pallavas as distinct from the older chieftains, the Tondamans of the region. As the Tamils did not note any distinction between these Vadukas and those who lived to the westward of these along their own northern frontier, they must have been near of kin to each other in many respects. Belonging to the same clan as the ruling dynasty of the Dakhan, it is nothing strange that they should have entered into marriage alliance, even of an important character. All these circumstances would only be natural in their particular position. Hence the conclusion seems warranted by the known facts in relation to these people that they were natives of South India and were not a dynasty of foreigners. The conquest of the Tondamandalam by the Satavahanas would amply account for the eclipse of the Chola power in that particular region which had hitherto remained unaccounted for. When the Pallavas emerged into importance we find them engaged in a two-faced struggle—one against the Cholas of the south in alliance often with the other Tamil powers, and the other against the newly rising power of the Chalukyas in the north-west. In the beginning of this struggle we find the Cholas not the great political power that they were, but comparatively insignificant and depending upon the support of the Pandyas.

The words *'Pahlava'* and *'Pallava'* are philologically one, but we have good authority for taking it that the two terms refer historically to different peoples, thereby illustrating that the partition that separates philology from history is not always very thin. The poet Rajasekhara lived in the courts of the Gurjara sovereigns Mahendrapala and Mahipala about the end

of the ninth and the commencement of the tenth centuries A.D., just the period when the Pallavas were passing out of existence as the dominant South Indian power. He is the author of a geographical work named *Bhuvanakośa*, to which he actually refers for further information in Chapter XVII of the *Kāvya Mīmāṁsa*. In this last work, he makes a division of India into five and allots to each division, the peoples, towns and rivers which belonged to it. In that section he allots the *Pallavas* to the southern division, or Dakshinapatha, lying beyond Mahishmati, while the *Pahlavas*, he allots to the division Uttarapatha, lying beyond Prithudaka. This last place, 'the great water' has been identified with Pehoa near Paniput, and the people Pahlava are found associated with Huna, Kamboja, Bahlika, etc. In the estimation, therefore, of Rajasekhara, who seems a much travelled man and has really much interesting information to give of the different parts of India in respect, at any rate, of the cultivation of Sanskrit learning, the *Pahlavas* and *Pallavas* were distinct peoples, one of them belonging to the south and the other to the frontier on the other side of the Jamuna. Rajasekhara, no doubt, is a late authority, but undoubtedly gives expression to the prevailing opinion of his time in regard to these two peoples.

Pallavas: Patrons of Northern Culture.

We find in the earliest known inscriptions of the Satavahanas that they were votaries of the well-known Hindu gods Vishnu and Siva. The Nanaghaut inscription refers to some of the names of Lokapalas (the guardian deities of the directions), the four *vyūhas* (forms) of Vishnu and Skanda or Subrahmanya. The Myakadoni inscription itself is the record of the gift of

a village by a queen to a Vishnu temple. If, therefore, as was pointed out in the preceding section, the dynasty of the Pallavas was native to the locality and were in close association, official and personal, with the ruling family of the Satavahanas, we should find them devoted to the same cult generally as the main branch of the Satavahanas, their religious culture being naturally northern, probably in both forms Vaishnava and Saiva. We find in the Andhra country, even a foreigner like the Saka Rishabadatta a votary of this comprehensive cult of the Andhras themselves as we are enabled to understand from the inscriptions recording his various benefactions. It is that broad culture that the Pallavas carried into the Tamil country when they moved into the northern part of it. Although we find evidence of the prevalence both of the cults of Siva and Vishnu in the Tamil country already, the patronage of this northern culture generally seems to have been associated with the Pallavas. Their inscriptions till late in the history of the dynasty happened to be either in Prakrit or Sanskrit; their earliest temples, even the cave ones, are devoted to Siva and Vishnu, and to none of the other deities known to the somewhat miscellaneous pantheon of the early Tamil classics. Hence the advent of the "foreign Pallavas" into the Tamil country not only meant the rule of the foreigner, but also carried along with it the special patronage of the new culture of the north. The hostility between the Pallavas and the Tamil kings of the farther south seems to be accounted for, to a certain extent at any rate, by this partiality apart from their character as *barbarian* foreigners in the eye of the Tamil. Throughout the period of Pallava history, which may extend from A.D. 200 to almost the last quarter of the ninth century, the Pallavas and the

southern powers were in constant hostility if they were not always at war. The hostility between the early Chalukyas and the Pallavas, which is a prominent feature of the history of both the powerful dynasties, is due to the effort of the Chalukyas, successors of the Andhras, to extend their authority over the whole of what was once the Andhra Empire, and the correlative effort of the newly founded dynasty of the Pallavas to make good their own possessions against these new claimants. It is the necessities of this struggle on the northern frontier that sometimes gave respite to the southern frontier, but otherwise the normal state of relationship seems to have been one of hostility between the Pallavas and the Tamils all through this long period of close on seven centuries.

Pallavas: Not Great Patrons of Tamil Literature.

This long period of Pallava dominance, as it may well be called, was a period of, no doubt, considerable activity and output in regard to Tamil literature. A large number of Tamil works are referable to this period but in none of them do we find the Pallavas as patrons of Tamil literature in the sense that we find the kings and the petty chieftains of the age preceding are. Several of these poets were contemporaries of some of the great sovereigns of the Pallava dynasty. The Tevaram hymner Appar, a Jain first and a Saiva afterwards, was a contemporary of the great Pallava Mahendra Varman, whose conversion to Saivism is said to have been due to him. His companion but a much younger man Sambandar, was a contemporary of his son and successor, Narasimhavarman, but neither of these rulers can be considered as a special patron of either of the authors that the kings or chieftains of the Sangam

age could be said to be; and the works of most of these writers have reference not directly to the celebration of the exploits of the patrons. They devote themselves more or less to other themes, and such references as we get to these rulers are merely incidental. It is only one work so far known which can clearly be referred to the literature of patronage, and that is the work *Nandikkalambakam* dedicated to a Nandi Varman victor at Tellaru, a late Pallava of the eighth or ninth century. So far as is known, therefore, the Pallavas do not show themselves to have been in any special sense patrons of Tamil literature as their predecessors were.

Early History of the Pallavas.

What was said of the origin of the Pallavas in the previous sections would have made it clear that they were, in all probability, a family of feudatories of the Satavahanas of the Dakhan. These feudatories are clearly described as belonging to the family of the Nagas, whatever that may mean to us now. Northern Mysore and the country set over against it up to the western sea, which later on became a fief of the Kadambas, was in the possession of a Naga family of Maharathis belonging to the Cutukula, apparently a Naga designation. The Satavahana Rashtra proper set over against the territory of Kanchi further to the east of this division, was the fief of the great commander (Mahasenapati) Skanda Naga. In the days of the greatest expansion of the Andhra Empire under Pulumavi II and his immediate successors the whole of the southern frontier of the Andhra country, the region of the Vaduka according to Tamil literature, was held by powerful families of these Nagas. When the Andhra Empire broke up early in the third century these powerful feudatories made themselves

independent in the regions under their government. Tondamandalam, which in the reign of the great Pulumavi was under Satavahanas, should have fallen to the lot of the Mahasenapati referred to above, or his successors in the same region, the district which was called peculiarly the district of the Satavahanas. The advance of the Satavahanas themselves under Pulumavi must have put an end to the authority of the Cholas in this particular region. When the governors set up independently of the Satavahanas, a generation or two later, the Mahasenapati Skanda Naga himself, or one of his successors, became heir to this region of the Tondamandalam as well.

The Pallava Dynasties.

According to the available inscriptions of the Pallavas, the Pallavas could be divided into four separate families or dynasties. The connection of some of these to one another we know, and of others we do not know. Of their charters in Prakrit, we have three important ones. Then follows a dynasty which issued their charters in Sanskrit; following this came the family of the great Pallavas beginning with Simha Vishnu; this was followed by a dynasty of the "usurper" Nandi Varman, another great Pallava. We are overlooking for the present the dynasty of the "Ganga Pallavas" postulated by the epigraphists. The earliest of these Pallava charters is the one known as the Mayidavolu[8] (Guntur District) copper-plates.

These plates contain the charter issued by the heir-apparent (Yuva Maharajah) Sir Skanda Varman making a grant of the village Viripara[9] in the division

8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 84.

9. May be the same as Vipparla, 12 miles west of Amaravati. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 147, n. 1.

Dhannakada, that is Amaravati, in the tenth year of the reign of his father, whose name is not given.

The next record is what is known as the Hirahadagalli[10] plates (Bellary District). This record is dated in the eighth year of Sivaskanda Varman, and confirms the gift made by his father, who is described merely as Bappadeva (revered father). Another copper-plate charter found in the Guntur District[11] is dated in the reign of a Vijaya Skanda Varman and is the record of a grant made by Charudevi, wife of the Yuvamaharaja Vijaya Buddha Varman and mother of Prince Buddhyamkura. There is no doubt that the Yuvamaharaja of the first record is the same as the ruling sovereign of the second, the name and circumstances of the two records giving us full warrant for the identification. The question is a little less certain in respect of the sovereign mentioned in the third record, namely Vijaya Skanda Varman. Is he the same as the Siva Skanda Varman of the previous two records? Among the records of the age Siva, Vijaya and sometimes even Vijaya-Siva, are used as prefixes, Vijaya indicating the regard or respect in which the ruler was held and Siva possibly the name of the father. Apart from this, the use of the attribute Vijaya before Skanda Varman does not alter the name, but only gives an additional circumstance of importance. It would not, therefore, be doing any particular violence to identify the Vijaya Skanda Varman of the other two. These three charters all of them refer to the region which was peculiarly the district of the Satavahanas. If this identification of Vijaya Skanda Varman turns out correct, the succession could be arranged in the following table:—

10. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 2.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

"Bappa-Deva"
|
(Siva or Vijaya) Skanda Varman
|
Yuva Maharaja, Vijaya Buddhavarman—Charudevi
|
Prince Buddyamkura.

The Mayidavolu grant was issued from Kanchipuram (Conjivaram or Kanchi) by the heir-apparent, to the Governor at Amaravati, and the village granted is described as being in the *Āndhrapatha* the Andhra country. (*Vaḍukavaḻi* of the Tamils). Thus it is made clear to us that Kanchi was already the capital of a region taking in naturally the Tondamandalam and the districts north of it, at least as far as Amaravati or the river Krishna. In the second charter the ruler Siva Skanda Varma lays claim to having performed the Agnishtoma, Vajapeya and Asvameda sacrifices. Of these the last could be performed only by a conqueror, or one who set up as such. The way that he addresses his grant to the Lords of Provinces, Royal Princes, Generals, Rulers of Districts, Customs Officers, Prefects of countries, etc., gives us an insight into the distinct Asokan character of the organisation of the Government and its affiliation even to the Arthasastra. What is more important, it exhibits an organisation which is northern in character, perhaps quite distinct from that of the Tamils of the farther south.[12] There is another

12. *Amham.*
Visaye savatta rājākumāra
senāpati ratthika mādabinudesadhikatādike gāmāgāma bhojake
vallave govallave amachche āranadhikate gumike tutheke
neyike anne vi cha amhapesanappayatti sancharantaka
bhadamanusana, etc.
Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 50.

interesting detail in it, that the father of this king, whatever his name, had granted many crores of gold and, what is more important to us in connection with the origin of this dynasty, one hundred thousand ox-ploughs. This, if it means anything, indicates undoubtedly the effort made by this ruler for the conversion of the great forests into arable land. It would be well to remember in this context that this part of the country was known to the Tamils as *Daṇḍāraṇyam,* the same as the Sanskrit *Daṇḍakāraṇya* where cattle-rearing was the principal occupation, and cattle-raiding the principal sport. It was apparently this "Bappa-deva" who made an effort, with what success we are not told, to transform the forest into cultivated country. It will thus be clear that this dynasty of the Prakrit charters beginning with "Bappa-deva" were the historical founders of the Pallava dominion in South India. It is taken here that all the rulers whose charters in Prakrit have come down to us are to be regarded as members of a single dynasty while there is the possibility that they were members of two dynasties which may not, after all, be connected with each other; but there is little doubt, if this alternative should turn out true, that the two dynasties followed each other without much interval.

Dynasties of the Sanskrit Charters.

Passing on to the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters, we come to a number of dynasties which would at first sight appear to be so many separate dynasties. According to the Uruvapalli[13] copper-plates the succession is as follows:—

13. *Indian Antiq.,* V. 50.

Skanda Varman
|
Vira Varman
|
Skanda Varman II
|
The Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa
|
Simha Varman II.

The Darsi[14] fragment refers itself to the time of the great-grandson of Virakorcha Varman, that is Vira Varma, referring apparently to Simha Varman, son of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa.

The Chendalur[15] plates issued from the "victorious Kanchipura" give:—

Skanda Varman
|
Kumara Vishnu
|
Buddha Varman
|
Kumara Vishnu II

The Udaiyendiram[16] grant similarly gives:—

Skanda Varman
|
Simha Varman
|
Skanda Varman II
|
Nandi Varman.

14. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 397.
15. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 233.
16. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 142.

The newly discovered Ongodu[17] plates give:—

Kumara Vishnu
|
Skanda Varman
|
Vira Varman
|
Skanda Varman.

These four separate genealogies were apparently not altogether separate in respect of the fact that several of these grants were issued from Kanchi, and others from places like Dasanpura, Palakkada and Menmattura. There are considerations which would lead us to consolidate these four separate genealogies into one genalogical table.

The Uruvapalli copper-plates record the grant of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa, but the grant is dated in the reign of a king named Simha Varman. If Vishnugopa issued the grant as Yuvamaharaja, and dates it in the reign of a Simha Varman, Simha Varman must have been the Maharaja, either the father or an elder brother of the donor. According to the grant itself, Vishnugopa's father is a Skanda Varman. The only other alternative, therefore, is that Simha Varman was, in all probability, an elder brother of Vishnugopa. So the genealogy will have to be extended by the addition of Simha Varman and would stand:—

17. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 246.

Skanda Varman
|
Vira Varman
|
Skanda Varman II
|
Simha Varman I — Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa
|
Simha Varman II.

The Chendalur genealogy contains four names beginning with Skanda Varman. Dr. Hultzsch from palaeographical considerations concluded that these rulers must have come in between Simha Varman II and Simha Vishnu. The following two considerations, namely, that (1) the first part of the grant is the same in form and substance with the Uruvapalli, Managalur and Pikira grants; (2) the palaeography almost the same, however, would lead to the identification of the Skanda Varman of these plates with that Skanda Varman, the father of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa. This arrangement would make Kumara Vishnu another brother of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa, with a son Buddha Varman and his son Kumara Vishnu II.

The genealogy given in the Udaiyendiram grant gives again at the top a Skanda Varman, followed by three other names ending in Nandi Varman. The Velurpalaiyam plates introduced what appears a gap after Kumara Vishnu II, and bring in a Nandi Varman before introducing Simha Varman, the father of Simha Vishnu. The only Nandi Varman referable to this period would be the last name mentioned in the Udaiyendiram grant. Therefore it is possible to include this genealogy in that of the line of Simha Varman, the elder brother of Vishnugopa; Skanda Varman being the father; Simha Varman

the eldest son and the elder brother of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa, his son Skanda Varman and his son Nandi Varman. This will, according to the Velurpalaiyam plates, bring us on to the line of Simha Vishnu.

The Ongodu plates discovered in the year 1915 introduce us to yet another line beginning with Kumara Vishnu. The last of these, Vijayaskanda Varman, issued the document not from Kanchi but from Tambrapa. None of these names figure in the Valurpalaiyam plates in this order; nor does the Vayalur pillar contain the four names in this order as given in the Ongodu plates. Mr. H. K. Sastri identifies the first Ongodu list with the first four names:

Kanagopa or Kalabhartr=Kumara Vishnu
|
Skanda Varman
|
Vira Varman
|
Vijayaskanda Varman.

The Kumara Vishnu at the head of the table, therefore may be Kumara Vishnu I or Kumara Vishnu II, and the whole dynasty, a local dynasty having had nothing to do with the regular succession of the main line. If it should actually have been so, we get the final genealogy arranged as follows:—

Skanda Varman I
|
Vira Varman
|
Skanda Varman II
|

Simhavarman I	Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa or Vishnugopavarman	Kumaravishnu I
|		|
Skandavarman II		Buddhavarman
|	|	|
Nandivarman	Simhavarman II	Kumaravishnu II.

Verse 10 of the Velurpalaiyam plates introduces then, without specifying any connection, Simhavarman father of Simhavishnu, and that introduces us to the line of the well-known Pallava dynasty. Before proceeding to a consideration of that dynasty we have to consider one or two questions which arise in respect of the relation between the dynasty of the Prakrit charters and the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters, and Vishnugopa of Kanchi, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta.[18] Incidentally, also, we shall have to consider the question whether the dating of the Uruvapalli, Mangalur and Pikira grants, respectively, from Palakkada, Dasanapura and Menmattura, all of them places in the Guntur District, warrants the assumption of a Pallava interregnum in Kanchi; and if there had been such an interregnum, whether this is the time to which we could refer the ancient Chola Karikala and others connected with him.

The Interregnum in the Pallava Rule at Kanchi.

The question of this interregnum is so closely connected with the question of the origin of the Pallavas that the one cannot be separated from the other for any clear understanding of the early history of the Pallavas. The late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya made an excellent contribution, on the subject of the Pallavas, to the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1906-07. This article was an elaboration of his presiden-

18. *Kausālaka Mahēndra, Mahākāntāraka Vyāgrarāja, Kaurāḷaka Manṭarāja, Paishṭāpuraka Mahēndra Girikauṭṭuraka Svāmidatta, Airāṇḍapallaka Damana, Kānchēyaka Vishṇngopa, Avamuktaka Nīlarāja, Vaingēyaka Hastivarmma, Pālakkaka Ugrasēna, Daivarāshtraka Kubēra, Kausthalāpuraka Dhananjaya prabhṛti sarva Dakshināpatharāja-grahaṇa-moksha-anugrha-janita-pratāpōnmiśra mahābhāgyasya, etc.*

tial address to the South Indian Association, Madras, on the same subject. He states it as his opinion, on page 221, that the Pallavas with whose history we are concerned, may until their origin is satisfactorily established by indisputable evidence, be supposed to be identical with the Pahlavas, Palhavas, Pahnavas of the Puranas. This identification is based on etymological grounds and supported by the facts that Palhavas formed a distinct element in the population of Western India early in the second century. Their movement from Western India to the East Coast is not only possible but rendered likely by known historical facts. Future researches must disclose the actual circumstances which led to the movement of the Palhavas to the East Coast and to their assumption of sovereignty.

"As I have already remarked, the Pallavas were the political successors of the Andhras in the Godaveri and Kistna Deltas, and consequently the former must have acquired sovereignty soon after the latter ceased to be the ruling power. The Andhras probably lost their dominion about the middle of the third century and the Pallavas may be supposed to have taken their place about the end of the same century."

The late Mr. Venkayya arrived at these conclusions by dismissing the consideration that the Tondaman Ilam-Tirayan, who is known to Tamil literature as the viceroy of Kanchi, was the Tondaman who was the son of the Chola king by a Naga princess as it is not stated so anywhere specifically. The connection is, however, clearly enough indicated in lines 29 to 37 of the Tamil poem *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*,[19] a poem of Kadiyalur Rudran Kannan. This same poet has celebrated Karikala in the

19. See Appendix, n. 4.

Paṭṭinappālai, both the poems being included in the collection *Pattuppāṭṭu.* But Mr. Venkayya would bring in Karikala to the period of interregnum, and Ilam-Tirayan will therefore naturally go also to that period according to his arrangement.[20] He was led to this consideration by the fact that in an Eastern Chalukya grant of Vimaladitya[21] of the early eleventh century, a Trilochana Pallava is mentioned. This Trilochana Pallava, Mr. Venkayya takes to be the feudatory of the Chola king Karikala, and, therefore, Karikala must be brought to that period. "Though this story is found only in records of the eleventh century and is not corroborated by earlier inscriptions, it is evidently based on the belief current in the eleventh century that the Pallava dominions extended in those early times to the modern Ceded Districts." If this consideration is due to certain grants of the eleventh century it is hard to understand why a commentator who might have followed them, may be a century after, should not be shown similar consideration in regard to the connection of Ilam-Tirayan of Kanchi with the Chola, as the *Perumbāṇāṛṛuppaḍai* makes it certain. The learned scholar admits that there is no evidence of the eastward movement of the Pallavas, and still would postulate that the Pallavas of the Tondamandalam were the Parthian Pallavas who got into the country and imposed themselves upon the people of the locality. We have already quoted references

20. *A.S.I.,* 1906-7. Note on page 224.

21. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 146.

Ep. Rep., 1900, Sec. 45, and 205, of 1899 of Saka 1079. Karikala was son of Jatachoda, King of Ayodhya, and had three sons: Karikāla, Tondamāna and Dasavarman. Karikala is said to have ruled in Kanchi.

from early Tamil literature to the territory of the Tondaiyar, that is Tondamandalam, dominated by Kanchi, the capital of Ilam-Tirayan. We have also quoted one passage in which the hill Vengadam (Tirupati) is said to have been in the territory of the Tondaiyar. What is more, we have referred to a passage, apparently from the ancient classics, though the actual source is not known at present, from the commentaries of Nachinarkiniyar and Ilam Puranar on the *Tolkappiyam* that the Tondaiyar were also known to these early Tamils by the name Pallava. Better even than this last, is the clear distinction, made by Rajasekhara, of early tenth century, between the foreign Palhavas and the southern Pallavas, explained in a previous section. These cogent considerations would make it certain that the terms Pallava and Tondaiyar were synonymous in the estimation of the early Tamils. If, therefore, we have to look for the origin of the Pallavas, here are the people from among whom they must have sprung. The region of the Tondaimandalam, the more extended division, was known to the Tamils by another name; the Tondaimandalam proper was called *Aruvā-Nāḍu*, the northern portion of which, dominated by Tirupati was apparently known as *Aruvā-vaḍatalai.* The people were also called Aruvalar, people who inhabited Aruva, (or people with the bill-hook). The two descriptions, therefore, of these people as Tondaiyar and Aruvalar are descriptions based the one upon the totem of the tribe, the creeper Tondai (the Indian caper, *Caphalandra Indica*); and the other a professional name from the scythe which must have been their weapon as cattle-herds. We have pointed out already that the whole border land of the Tamils beyond this was occupied by a race of people known to them by the generic name Vadukar, whose profession was cattle-

rearing. That this region was divided among a number of petty chieftains is also known. These chieftains were called by the Tamils Kurumbar, sometimes also *"Kuṟu-nilamannar"* (petty chieftains of inferior lands). They are also classed as cowherds (Idaiyar). Among these one name comes out prominently, and that is the name of a chieftain *Kaḻuvuḷ* who was very troublesome on this frontier, perhaps on the western side of it, and a victory against whom by the early Cheras is made much of in poem 88 of the *Padiṟṟupattu*. That same passage taken along with poem 71 of the same collection makes it clear that *Kaḻuvuḷ* was a chieftain among the cowherds.[22] It is apparently these people who are referred to in the poem 88. as *Anḍar*. *Anḍar* is a term in Tamil which is taken to be synonymous with cowherds. The index to the work makes Andar mean enemy. In that sense the penultimate syllable must have been shortened for which process there is no need as the metre of the poem does not require it. It seems, therefore, open to the interpretation that the term *Anḍar* is a modification of the Sanskrit *Andhra* which Ptolemy renders *Andarae*, standing for Andhra (*Vaḍukar* of the Tamils). As *Andha* and *Vrishni* were two divisions of the Yadavas, *Iḍaiyar* would be a term applied to them as cattle-rearing was their main occupation. That that region was remarkable for cattle-rearing, and that even southern kings undertook expeditions against that region and its petty chieftains for the purpose of bringing in their cattle are in evidence in two poems of the Sangam collection. One of the early Cheras is described as the Chera who carried off the cattle from *Danḍāraṇyam* (*Aḍu-kōṭpāṭṭu-Śēral*).

22. Compare poems 135 and 365 of *Aham.*

There is a reference of a similar character to the cows from this country being carried off to the headquarters of Pulli of Tirupati. There is some justification, therefore, for Sir Walter Elliot's classification of certain early coins as those of the Kurumbar of this region; but anything like a dynasty of Kurumbar would seem unwarranted as the Pallavas never gave themselves that name, and the Kurumbar chiefs never seem to have advanced to the dignity of founding dynasties. Hence it is a far cry to connect the Pallavas of the Tondamandalam with the Yavanas, Sakas and Pahlavas of the west till more evidence of a specific character becomes available to justify the hypothesis of a migration of the foreigners south-eastwards from the region of Gujarat and North Konkan to the Ceded Districts part of the Tondamandalam.

Evidence of Tamil Literature.

The validity of evidence from Tamil literature would be admissible if the chronology of the latter could be fixed with some degree of certainty. If with Mr. Venkayya we should believe that Karikala and Ilam-Tirayan lived in the fifth or sixth century, the period of the interregnum he finds warrant for in the Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas, we shall have to demonstrate that all the region that came into the literature of the Tamils of this period had, in the fifth or six century, the general political division and the distinct character which could be gleaned from this body of literature. I have elsewhere thrown into relief the political condition of South India in this period. It does not require very much of argument to show that this is not the political condition of South India in the fifth or sixth century as we know it from such information as is at our disposal. For one

thing, the social organisation of the region as portrayed in this body of literature is too primitive for this date. Other specific facts which would fix the age of this body of literature to the first and second century A.D. have all been indicated, and they relate to a period anterior to the rise of the Pallavas both of the Prakrit and the Sanskrit charters. It is the Satavahanas under Pulumavi that made the first conquest of the Tondamandalam as the coins of this Satavahana ruler find their provenance in the Tondamandalam. The type of the lead coins with a two-masted ship found in this region is appropriate for the locality of the Tiraiyar, and it is probably this invasion of the Satavahanas that deprived the Cholas of the viceroyalty of Kanchi which must have followed immediately the rule of the Chola Killi referred to in the *Manimekhalai*. This inference is supported by a number of references in the same body of Tamil literature which refer to invasions of the south by the Ariyas and Vadukar which were beaten back with great exertion by the Tamil chieftains. One of the Cholas is praised for having subjugated the Paradavar in the south and Vadukar in the north.[23] Another Chola claims credit for having broken up the Arya force on the field of Vallam.[24] The Malayaman chieftain Kari is said to have beaten back single-handed the Arya forces besieging Tirukovilur, his capital.[25] Similarly a Chola king, probably the same as the one already referred to, is said to have beaten down the heads of Vadukar at Pali or Serup-Pali,[26] a place very likely on the West Coast, or at least in the western part of the Tamil country.

23. *Puram*, 378.
24. *Aham*, 336.
25. *Narrinai*, 170.
26. *Aham*, 375.

The fact that Dandaranyam was a forest in the country of the Ariyas, according to the Tamils, would lead to the conclusion that the Ariyas under reference in these contexts are the people of the country or their rulers, and the region in their occupation was the country included in the name, the Dakhan. It may be as the ultimate result of this struggle that the assistance of the Cholas was called in and they constituted the viceroyalty of Kanchi under Karikala. There is clear evidence from the *Ahanānūṛu* that one chieftain, by name Tiraiyan, ruled over the Tondamandalam with Kanchi and Vengadam included in it. It is doubtful whether he was the same as Ilam-Tiraiyan; but the fact that the latter takes the attribute Ilam (Eng. young) is a clear indication that there was another Tirayan before. This may render the inference possible that the Satavahana conquest under Pulumavi came in after the disappearance of the Chola ascendancy; but the advance of the Chera into this region makes the inference not likely. In any case, it is clear that the Satavahana hold on this region could not have lasted long.

Evidence of Epigraphy.

This seems the condition of things reflected in the latest Pallava grant, the Velurpalaiyam plates. This document together with a few others of quite recent discovery seem to make the interregnum hardly called for. It seems quite possible from the known facts relative to the genealogy of the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters to arrange them in a continuous line, and even bring them into connection with the Simhavishnu line. The late Mr. Venkayya himself and the epigraphists consider it impossible that the Prakrit charters could be brought down to a date after the middle of the fourth century, the

date of the invasion of Samudragupta in his victory over Vishnugopa of Kanchi. The Prakrit charters, therefore, and the dynasty or dynasties evolvable from them must be anterior to about A.D. 350, or better A.D. 330. As we have nothing to lead to the identification of Samudragupta's Vishnugopa of Kanchi with either of the two known Vishnugopas of the later Sanskrit charters, we shall have to regard him as a separate person distinct alike from the dynasty of the Prakrit charters and of the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters. We shall have to find room, therefore, for the dynasty or dynasties of the Sanskrit charters after this particular period. This arrangement seems warranted by one circumstance which may fix the chronology. The Velurpalaiyam plates state it clearly that Skandasishya, Skandavarman II of the genealogical table, seized from King Satya Sena, the *Ghaṭika* of the Brahmans. This Satyasena seems to be the same as Svami Satya Simha, father of a Mahakshatrapa, Svami Rudra Simha III.[27] The transcript of the legend gives the name as Satya*sena* which is rendered

27. Prof. Rapson, pp. 191-92, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum; Andhras, etc.* In regard to the reading of the coin legend suggested above, Prof. Rapson is of opinion: "the letters of the coin legends are so minute and so carelessly formed (at this period—the close of the Ksatrapa dynasty) that I consider it quite possible that the true reading may be Satyasena and not Satyasimha, as given by me on page 192 of the *B. M. Catalogue of the Andhra Dynasty*." On a kind reference by the obliging professor in my behalf, Mr. John Allan examined the coin in question and gives it as his opinion, "I certainly think you would be justified in reading the name as Satyasena and not Satyasimha." This is the period to which the conquest of Kuntala by the Vakataka Prthvisena I is ascribable. Such an advance is possible only by the overthrow of Kshatrapas, and other successors of the Andhras in this region.

by the learned professor Satya*simha*. It might as well be Satya*sena*. His son would be Rudra*sena* as well. Names ending in *sena* are not unknown among the rulers of this dynasty. The date of this Satyasena would be sometime anterior, about forty to sixty years, if all three of them did rule. It is Skandasishya's father, who according to the Velurpalaiyam plates, "simultaneously with the daughter of the chief of serpents grasped also the complete insignia of royalty and became famous."

The Velurpalaiyam Plates.

Passing on now to the Velurpalaiyam plates themselves, we are provided with the following genealogy of the early Pallavas up to Simhavishnu:—

Kalabhartr	
Chuta Pallava	
Virakurcha	*m. Naga princess and became king thereby.*
Skandasishya	*capd. from Satayasena ghatika of the twice-born.*
Kumaravishnu	*capr. of Kanchi.*
Buddhavarman	*submarine fire to the army of the Cholas.*
(a host of kings passed away including Vishnugopa.)	
Nandivarman	*made Drishtivisha dance by favour of Pinakapani.*
Simhavarman	
Simhavishnu	*capr. of the Chola country.*

Along with these have to be taken the table provided by the Chura[28] plates.

Skandavarman
|
Maharajah Vishnugopa Varman
|
Simhavarman
|
Vijayavishnugopa Varman

The two Ongodu plates give us two genealogies:—

I Maharajah Kumara Vishnu
|
Maharajah Skandavarman
|
Vira Varman
|
Maharajah Vijaya Skandavarman

II Maharajah Viravarman
|
Maharajah Skandavarman
|
Yuvamaharajah Vishnugopa
|
Simha Varman

These separate genealogies are obviously intimately connected with one another and could be worked into one table as many of the names are common and are apparently connected with each other. This is to a certain extent facilitated by the full list of Pallava succession given in the so-called Vayalur Pillar inscription. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastrigal proposes to identify Kalabhartr with the Kanagopa of the Kasakudi plates

28. *Ep. Rep.*, 1914.

and also with Maharajah Kumara Vishnu of Ongodu plate I. Similarly in respect of the second name, Chuta-pallava, which would mean "a tender twig of the mango," he would regard it as a surname of Skandavarman I of the Uruvapalli grant; the Ongodu plate I also giving the name Skandavarman. The names that follow do not differ. Virkurcha and Viravarman are not so different, nor Skandasishya and Skandavarman. He is led to this identification of the genealogy of the Ongodu plates with those of the Velurpalaiyam ones as he finds the palaeography of the Ongodu plates No. I, older in point of character, and almost the earliest known record of the Pallava dynasty of the Sanskrit charters. The Maharajah Vijaya Skanda Varman, the donor of the grant, would be Skandavarman II, the Skandasishya of the Velurpalaiyam plates. If this is agreed to, there is no difficulty in accepting this except the first name Kumaravishnu which has no affinity with Kalabhartr or Kanagopa, one part of the genealogical tree gets settled. The genealogy in the Ongodu plates No. II amounts to almost the same as the Mangalur plates giving the genealogy from Viravarman to Simhavarman II as in the table below. The Chura plates add to this and carry the genealogy to Maharajah Vijaya Vishnugopa Varma, the son of Simhavarman II, the donor of Ongodu grant No. II and Mangalur grant.

The point that the donor's grandfather Vishnugopa is given the title Maharajah in this may be overlooked as a similar discrepancy is noticeable between the Ongodu plates I and II in respect of Viravarman, the first grant omitting the adjunct Maharajah. The fact that the first Ongodu grant was made from the victorious camp of Tambrapa is taken to warrant the conclusion that it was a subordinate family by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil, and

taking advantage of the name Kumaravishnu he would make the members of the Pallava dynasty, whose names are found on this table, another line of descendants of Kumaravishnu I. That would make a difference of three generations between the epigraphist's estimate of time and the professor's, both of them based on palaeography and nothing else. Three names being in agreement, we are rather inclined to accept the epigraphist's dictum on a question of palaeography. We arrive then at a consolidated table of the Pallavas somewhat as in page 554.

(1) Kalabhartr (Kanagopa)

(2) Chutapallava
(perhaps a surname of Skandavarman I mentioned in the Uruvapalli grant)

(3) Virakurcha (Virakorchavarman or Viravarman)

(4) Skandasishya (Skandavarman II)

V. Simhavarman I (5)
XI. Skandavarman III (10)
XII. Nandivarman (12)

Yuvamaharajavishnugopa or Vishnugopavarman
IX. Simhavarman II (6)
X. Maharajah Vijaya Vishnugôpa Varman (9)

VI Kumaravishnu I (7)
VII Buddhavarman (8)
VIII Kumaravishnu II (11)

Turning now to the Vayalur pillar, the names 31 to 36 are in the recognised order of the later dynasty. The name 30 is a Vishnugopa which may be the Vishnugopavarman of the Chura plates, in which case we go on to the Simhavarman II in No. 29. No. 28 (Simhavarman) seems an additional name. Nos. 25, 26 and 27 may be the names Simhavarman I, Skandavarman III and Nandivarman I of the table. No. 24 (Skandavarman) then

1.	Vimala.	19.	Vishnugopa.
2.	Konkanika.	20.	Vishnudasa.
3.	Kalabhartri.	21.	Skandavarman.
4.	Chutapallava.	22.	Simhavarman.
5.	Virakurcha.	23.	Viravarman.
6.	Chandravarman.	24.	Skandavarman.
7.	Karala.	25.	Simhavarman.
8.	Vishnugopa.	26.	Skandavarman.
9.	Skandamula.	27.	Nandivarman I.
10.	Kanagopa.	28.	Simhavarman.
11.	Virakurcha.	29.	Simhavarman.
12.	Skandavarman.	30.	Vishnugopa.
13.	Kumaravishnu.	31.	Simhavarman.
14.	Buddhavarman.	32.	Simhavishnu.
15.	Skandavarman.	33.	Mahendravarman I
16.	Kumaravishnu.	34.	Narasimhavarman I
17.	Buddhavarman.	35.	Mahendravarman I
18.	Skandavarman.	36.	Paramesvaravarman I.

would be Skandavarman II on the table. Then comes in a Viravarman (No. 23) who may be the Virakurcha of table. He is preceded by a Simhavarman (No. 22) for whom and for three preceding names we can find no equivalent on the table. Then comes in a name (Skandavarman) preceded by three names: Skandavarman, Kumaravishnu, Buddhavarman, which may be the names Skandavarman II, Kumaravishnu I, and Buddhavarman;

but the same three names repeat from 12 to 14. These are preceded by two other names (10 and 11) Kanagopa and Virakurcha; then from 9 to 3 there is a considerable agreement with the table here except that No. 6 (Chandravarman) has to be taken as a mistake for Skandavarman. The name Karala does not appear in any other grant at all, nor do the first two names (Vimala and Konkanika) find reference in any of the grants so far available to us. In respect of this list of thirty-six names it must be borne in mind that it is a list made up in the reign of the later Pallava Narasimhavarman II, and in all probability the list was put together from a comparative study of the various tables discussed above from some record of these various grants; what is worse, put together, perhaps, without any accurate knowledge of the connection of the various members to each other, or their actual position in the succession. This seems the only explanation for the repetitions and variations which one notices in the list in comparison with the genealogies of the grants. It would be safer to guide ourselves by the various tables discussed above rather than by this one omnibus list which otherwise provides us with no details whatsoever, to indicate the order of succession.

The History of these Pallavas.

Having arranged the various genealogies in the Sanskrit charters of these Pallavas in a consolidated table, we might now turn to enquire what exactly it is possible for us to know of them from these records and other sources of information available to us. Turning to the Velurpalaiyam plates, we can pass over the document till we come to Kalabhartr, described as the head jewel of his family like (Vishnu) the husband of Indira (Lakshmi). This, perhaps, gives us a hint that he bore

the name Kumaravishnu as the Ongodu plates No. I would make us infer. No information of a historical character is given in regard to him. Then follows his son Chutapallava, identified in the table with Skandavarman of the Uruvapalli and other grants. Even that name seems to be a mere eponymous name, the later tables giving instead the name merely Pallava. It is his son Virakurcha who emerges the first historical character. He is said to have grasped the complete insignia of royalty together with "the hand of the daughter of the chief of the serpents", thereby becoming famous. Put in ordinary language this would mean that he married a Naga princess and thereby acquired title to sovereignty of the region over which he ruled. This obviously has no connection with the birth of Tondaman Ilam-Tiraiyan who, according to the tradition embodied in the classical poem *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppadai*, was the son of a Chola king by a Naga princess whose union with him was not exactly what Virakurcha's union as described is intended to be. The former is purely an affair of love which may even be regarded as a liaison. Virakurcha's is a regular marriage to a princess and through her, the acquisition of sovereignty. Neither the detail of the marriage nor the acquisition of sovereignty will agree with the story of Ilam-Tiraiyan. The explanation of this apparently is that the Pallava chieftain, whoever he was, contracted a marriage alliance with a more influential Naga chieftain in the neighbourhood and thereby acquired his title to the territory which came to be associated with the Pallavas. We have already noted the Satavahana viceroy of the region round Adoni was the great commander Skandanaga. We also noted that even before his time the territory round Chitaldrug extending westwards to the sea almost, was in the possession of a family which went by

the name Cutukula, the members of which family described themselves as Satavahana also. This would mean that they were a clan of the Satavahanas other than that which held rule over the Dakhan, but connected by blood and, perhaps even by alliance with that clan. At one time under the rule of the later Satavahanas, these Nagas appear to have extended their authority and even acquired a considerable portion of the kingdom of the Satavahanas themselves. If the Pallava chieftain in the neighbourhood made himself sufficiently distinguished, a marriage alliance with these Nagas, from whom came the early Satavahana queen Naganika would have been possible for him. Such an alliance might have led to his having become recognized as a feudatory sovereign of the region either by the Satavahanas themselves nominally, or by their successors the Cutu or other Nagas. This hint, vague as it is in the inscription, seems to let us into the secret of the rise of this dynasty of the Pallavas to power, and may give us even an idea of the time when these Pallavas should have risen to the kingly position. This must have happened at a time when the Satavahanas as a ruling dynasty had passed away and the attempt at the assertion of the Gupta power over this region under Samudragupta had in a way shaken the authority of the older dynasties to allow of a new dynasty to spring into prominence. The character of the invasion of Samudragupta[29] itself makes it clear that the whole of the western portion of the empire of the Andhras was in the hands of a power whom for some good reason Samudragupta did not attack. One such reason might have been that they held possession of the territory with some power, such

29. *Ep. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 10, where Daivarastra and Airandapalli are identified with Elamanchi Kalingadesa in the Vizagapatam District and Erandapalli in Ganjam (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 212).

as the Vakatakas in Berar and Central India. It is likely that their authority was not readily acquiesced in by the smaller chieftains, feudatories of the Satavahanas, along the East Coast. If this surmise should turn out correct it is possible to conceive that the south-western portion was held by the powerful family of the Nagas, relatives of the Satavahanas, and the Pallavas were among the feudatories who showed a ready inclination to throw off the Satavahana yoke. When Samudragupta had come and gone, the western power, whatever that was, might have entered into a marriage alliance with the Pallavas and recognised them in the position to which they had already risen by their own efforts. That this was the state of affairs seems supported by what is said of Virakurcha's successor. Skandasishya, son of Virakurcha, succeeded the father and is described as "the moon in the sky of his family"; in other words, the most distinguished member of the family. He seized from king Satyasena the *ghaṭika* of the Brahmans. We already indicated the possibility that the Satyasena here referred to may be Mahakshatrapa Svami Satyasena of the coins whose time would be the ninth decade of the fourth century A.D. We do not know definitely that the power of the Mahakshatrapa extended as for south as to come into contact with the Pallavas. The probability seems to be the Pallavas co-operated with the dynasty of the Western Dakhan in a war with the Kshatrapas of Malva who might, it is possible, have made an effort to extend their authority southwards into the region of the Dakhan.

Decadence of the Andhra Power.

The state of things foreshadowed in the previous section is confirmed by the history of the decadence of

the power of the Andhras, who held sway for more than three centuries in the whole of the Dakhan extending even into the Tamil country round Kanchi. According to Professor Rapson, an elaborate study of the coins and inscriptions relating to this dynasty leads to the conclusion that after the long reign of Yagna-Sri Satakarni the empire broke up into two. The *Puranas* mention only three names after this Satavahana. One of the names Sri Chandra, could be read on coins found in the Andhradesa proper. There are three other names, also traceable in the coins of this region and in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces. The coins of neither of these groups have been found in Western India. This distribution of the coins of the later Andhras seems to justify the conclusion that the empire was divided. What is more, this investigation seems to confirm what the *Matsya Purana* has to say regarding the dynasties which succeeded the Andhras. This portion of the dynastic list, according to the version common to several manuscripts of the *Matsya, Vayu* and *Brahmanda Puranas* begins, "*Andhrāṇām saṁsthitē rājyē tēṣām bhṛty ānvayā nṛpāḥ sapt aiv Andhrā bhaviṣyanti*" meaning that while the Andhras were still ruling a family of their servants, who were themselves Andhras, ruled for seven generations. One version of the *Matsya Purana*, however, has "*Āndhrā Śrīparvatīya ca tē dvipancaśatam samāḥ*": that is, the Sri Parvatiya Andhras ruled for fifty-two years. Taking the two together we get to this. That one section of the Andhras who were subordinates to the authority of Yagna Sri, asserted their independence and ruled for fifty-two years in the region round Sri Parvata, that is the "home territory," if it may be so called, of the Andhras. There is no mention in that list of what had happened to the western portion of their territory unless

we take the next following passage to refer to what probably happened to that part. Ten Abhiras, servants of Andhras as the others, ruled for sixty-seven years. We have an Abhira Governor of the Mahakshatrapa, Rudra Simha, son of Rudra Raman with a date 103 which is equivalent to A.D. 181. The Abhira concerned here is the general Rudra Bhuti, son of the general Bapaka, the Abhira.[30] The *Puranas* seem to be correct to this extent that the Abhira feudatories in the region of Gujarat set up rule on their own account in the later years of the Andhras, in all probability in the years following Yagna-Sri. This would have reference to the early years of the third century A.D., and if the Abhiras ruled for sixty-seven years it would bring them practically to the end of the third century. The inscription of the Abhira king Isvara Sena at Nasik is a clear indication that that part of the Andhra country was under the rule of the Abhiras. Isvara Sena himself was the son of the Abhira Sivadatta. If with Professor Rapson we can take these Abhiras to be identical with the members of the Traikutaka dynasty, the Traikutaka era beginning A.D. 249 would be the era of the Abhiras as well. The Abhira Isvara Sena may, therefore, be referable to about the same time. The inscription found in Jaggayyapetta of one Sri Vira-Purusha Datta of the family of Ikshvaku and dated in his twentieth year shows that even the eastern territory of the Andhras was passing into other hands. This inscription is referable on palaeographical grounds to the period of the later Andhras. What is most important to our

30. *Luder's List of Brahmi Inscriptions. Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X., No. 963 (Southern List).

present purpose here is that the southern portion and perhaps, by far the largest portion of the empire of the Andhras, passed into the hands of a family of feudatories who called themselves Satakarnis as well, and had for their capital Banavase (Vaijayanti). This is the famous Cutu dynasty who give themselves the name Naga as well, and who had for their crest an extended cobra-hood. Their inscriptions are found in Kanheri, in Kanara, and in the Shimoga District of Mysore. From their inscriptions so far made available to us we know of three generations of these and two reigns, namely, that of Haritiputra Vishnu *kada* (Skanda) Cutukulananda Satakarni, and his grandson by the daughter Sivaskanda Varman, also called Siva Skanda Naga Sri in the Banavase inscription, and Skanda Naga Satavahana in the Kanheri inscription. These two rulers appear to have preceded the Kadambas almost without any interval. It would appear as though the Kadambas made the conquest of the territory which became associated with them from this Siva Skanda Varman himself. The inscriptions of this dynasty at Kanheri may be taken as an indication of the extent of the territory to which they had become heir when the Satavahana power decayed. These were themselves Satakarnis, and, almost from the commencement of the rule of the Satavahanas, held possession of the southern viceroyalty for them. Their ascent to independent power would again support the statement of the *Puranas* that it was the Andhrabhrityas who attained to power and independence while the Andhras were still ruling. It is this Cutukula, successors of the Andhras in the territory immediately adjoining that of the Pallavas, that must be the Naga family by a marriage alliance with which Virakurcha was able to make good his position as ruler of the south-eastern

viceroyalty of the Andhras. Probably the Pallavas in the locality of the Prakrit charters fought and took possession of the territory from the later Andhras. It may be that the Sri Parvatiya Andhra and the Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters, at least the early members among them, either felt it necessary or considered it advantageous to get their possession validated by alliance with, and countenance of, perhaps the most powerful among the successors of the Andhras. It may be possible that even the princess-mother of Sivaskanda Varman Skanda Naga had married the Pallava chieftain, perhaps Mahabhoja as holding an important viceroyalty of the Andhras. If this surmise should turn out correct, as we have as yet no direct evidence to confirm it, Sivaskanda Naga Sri of the western inscription could even be held to be the Skandasishya of the Pallava inscriptions. Such a position for Skanda Varman would be in accordance with the tradition associated with the foundations of the dynasty of the Kadambas.

According to the tradition as we find it recorded in the inscription of Kakustha Varman, it was a Brahman by name Mayura-Sarman who went to complete his *vedic* studies to the "Brahman settlement" (*ghaṭika*) of Kanchi, and there he got into a quarrel with either some cavalry men or an important officer of the cavalry of the Pallavas, and gave up the life of a Brahman and assumed that of a warrior.* He was so successful in this new life that he acquired possession of all the forest country up to Sri Parvata, laid the great Banas under

*This quarrel really seems to have been among the Brahmans assembled on the occasion of the celebration of an *Aśvamēdha,* Aśvaśaṁstha, as it is called and led to differences of opinion on the propriety of the celebration.

contribution, and otherwise made himself a very considerable obstacle to the pretensions of the Pallavas, who were just then rising into importance. The Pallava monarch for the time being considered it prudent to recognise the redoubtable Brahman as a military officer of his with the government of a considerable province extending from the sea in the west to the eastern limit of *"Prēhāra."*[31]

Who were the Pallavas to appoint this Brahman to the governorship of the province whose capital was Banavase? The Pallavas must have possessed the territory which the Brahman perhaps made his own, and then the Pallavas rightfully conferred it upon the Brahman as his fief. If it had not been so, there is no sense in a Kadamba inscription claiming this as the rightful foundation of their title to the province. It seems, therefore, that the alliance between the Naga and the Pallava which gave the title to the Pallava for the possession of the whole of the territory means nothing more than an alliance between the Pallavas and the Cutu-Nagas. This alliance resulted in the Pallavas becoming ultimately rulers not only of the Pallava territory proper but of practically the whole empire of the Andhras—as much of it, at any rate, as had not gone into the possession of foreigners like the Abhiras and the Ikshvakus of the east. This assumption would satisfactorily explain the setting up of the Kadamba power in the region which was peculiarly the province of the Cutus. If that should turn out to be so, the statement regarding Skandasishya that he

31. Could this be Perur, almost synonymous with Prēhāra, in the Cuddapah District with which the origin of the Ganga dynasty is connected?

took from Satyasena the *ghaṭika* of the Brahmans would become not merely possible but very likely. It is, perhaps, a subsidiary branch of this family of the Cutus which ultimately overthrew the Kadambas in this region, in the dynasty of the Chalukyas.

The Pallavas and the Gangas.

It has already been shown above that the Pallava overlordship of the territory associated with the Kadambas indicates that the Pallavas succeeded to the whole of the southern portion of the Andhra Empire. This accession of territory to the Pallavas is explained by the fact of a marriage alliance between the Pallavas and a race of the Nagas who held the southern viceroyalty on behalf of the Satavahanas and claimed to belong to the same clan of the Satakarnis as well. A similar position of overlordship over the Gangas is given to the Pallavas in the so-called Penukonda plates[32] of the early Ganga, Madhava, the third of the name according to the complete list of Mr. B. L. Rice. These plates record the gift of a number of villages adjoining Parigi, about seven miles north of Hindupur in the Anantapur District, and therefore quite on the borders of the Kolar District, with which the rule of the Gangas is peculiarly associated. The document being undated the late Dr. Fleet, who held that most of the Ganga plates hitherto known were spurious records, was of opinion that these plates must be regarded genuine, with the remark "A.D. 475 seems a very good date for it." These plates give a genealogy:

32. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 331, ff.

Konkanivarman
|
Madhava I
|
Ayyavarman
|
Madhava II.

In regard to the first two there is nothing worthy of note except that, according to other records of this dynasty, Konkanivarman had the name Madhava and was the uncle of the other Madhava rather than the father. This difference may be explained on the ground that the table given here is a list of succession not necessarily from father to son. Ayyavarman, which name may be Ariyavarman and may be synonymous with Ari-Varman and Hari-Varman, and even possibly with Krishna-Varman as Mr. Rice suggests, succeeded Madhava I. What is of peculiar importance in regard to him in connection with the Pallavas is that he was installed by a Maharaja Simhavarman, the Indra of the Pallava *kula* 'in a literal sense' (*yathārtham*). His successor, according to this record Madhava, had the alternative name Simhavarman, and he is said to have been similarly installed 'in a literal sense' by Maharaja Skandavarman of the Pallavas. According to the other records of these Gangas, however, a Vishnugopa comes after Ayyavarman. Mr. Rice, who is the editor of the Penukonda plates finds it possible that there is an omission of the name in these plates by the fault of the engraver. It seems likely, however, from the unanimity of the records in respect of this ruler Vishnugopa, that a ruler by name Vishnugopa did precede Madhava, the last of the name in this pedi-

gree, whether he was the latter's father or grandfather, or there is still the possibility that he might have been an uncle, for which assumption there is no authority in any of the records. The fact that Simhavarman installed Ayyavarman who was followed by a ruler who bore the name Vishnugopa, and that this Vishnugopa was followed by a ruler who was installed by a Pallava, Skanda Varman, seems to imply a Pallava overlordship over the Gangas. If, as suggested above, Vishnugopa happened to be an uncle or grand-uncle of Madhava, the name Simhavarman given to Madhava would be an honour done to Simhavarman who installed Ayyavarman on the throne. There is, therefore, reference to a Pallava ruler Simhavarman, who must have had a successor following either immediately or in the next generation by name Skandavarman with just the possibility that the Vishnugopa of the Gangas was a name given to the ruler in honour of a Vishnugopa, the Pallava overlord. If this possibility should turn out a fact, then we have this succession: Simhavarman, Vishnugopa and a Skandavarman. According to the Udaiyendiram grant we have had the succession Skandavarman, Simhavarman and a second Skandavarman followed by a Nandivarman, and we have for good reasons regarded this Simhavarman as the son of Skandasishya, father of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa. The possibility of connection, therefore, between the Pallava sovereigns of the Penukonda plates, and the succession list of the Pallavas we have arrived at, seems clearly indicated as following the reign of Skandasishya or Skandavarman II; but the identification of the actual rulers is not thereby made easy. Simhavarman I, his younger brother Vishnugopa and Skandavarman, the son of Simhavarman, may be one set of names, if that is the order in which they ruled; for our present purpose

it would quite do if Simhavarman was followed by Skanda Varman, Vishnugopa being a mere Yuvamaharaja. There is another alternative: the three names referred to may be Simhavarman II, son of the Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa; his son Maharaja Vishnugopa of the Chura plates followed by the same Skanda Varman, the son of Simhavarman I, if this had been the order of the Pallava succession. Whichever of the two alternatives should ultimately turn out correct, the three Ganga rulers Ayyavarman, Vishnugopa and Madhava, the second or third of the name, must have ruled in the period between Skandasishya or Skandavarman II and Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishnu, of the dynasty of the great Pallavas that, for good reasons, we have ascribed to the period c. A.D. 380 to A.D. 600. Even the approximate date of these rulers would depend entirely upon the arrangement of the Pallava order of succession. After Skandavarman II we might take it almost certainly from the Uruvapalli plates, that Simhavarman I succeeded the father, Vishnugopa being the Yuvamaharaja under him. If Vishnugopa did not rule, Simhavarman was probably followed by Simhavarman II, Skandavarman, perhaps, having been very young. It is also likely that he was followed by Vishnugopa II of the Chura plates, he in turn being succeeded by Skandavarman III; then must have followed the dynasty of the other son, Kumara Vishnu I. If we can safely follow the Velurpalaiyam plates, Kumaravishnu must have been succeeded by Buddhavarman, Nandivarman following then after Vishnugopa and others. The fact, however, that the Velurpalaiyam plates speak of a host of rulers following Buddhavarman before Nandivarman at last succeeded would indicate that Simhavarman I was probably followed by Kumaravishnu; he by his son Buddhavarman, per-

haps followed for a short while by Kumaravishnu II. The succession, perhaps, passed then to Simhavarman II of the table; then Vishnugopa II; then Skandavarman III and lastly Nandivarman. We may accept this order of succession tentatively till we get a more clear lead as to the actual order of succession of these having regard to the date A.D. 436 for Simhavarman II, and A.D. 475 for the Penugonda plates. If we turn to the Vayalur pillar for this lead it would be difficult to find any. Simhavarman, the father of Simhavishnu, is preceded by Vishnugopa, whom we might take to be the second of the name. He is preceded by a Simhavarman which is so far correct. He is preceded by another Simhavarman, and the only Simhavarman available is Simhavarman I of the table. He is preceded by five names (23 to 27) which are the names found in the Udaiyendiram plates already referred to of which No. 28 (Simhavarman) must be one. Nos. 15 to 22 seem difficult of adjustment on the table; some of the names are new and there is also confusion in the order. As was pointed out already, this list seems to be a jumble of various genealogies collected and put together as the order of succession without a correct knowledge of the actual succession. It would, therefore, be better to accept the arrangement last suggested, namely Simhavarman, the eldest son of Skandasishya, being followed by Kumaravishnu I, and then by Budhavarman and perhaps even by Kumaravishnu II, the succession going back to the son and grandson of Simhavarman. That would bring Simhavarman, Vishnugopa and Skandavarman of the Penukonda plates late in the succession, which would make the date A.D. 475 for the plates possible. It may even be somewhat later. Skandavarman was, according to the Velurpalaiyam plates, followed by Nandivarman,

then comes in a break in the succession as far as our present knowledge of it goes; and then follows the line of Simhavarman, father of Simhavishnu, Nandivarman, Simhavarman, Simhavishnu and Mahendravarman occupying almost a century and, perhaps, a little more, between Simhavarman of the Penukonda plates, and Narasimhavarman, the great Pallava, whose accession may be dated approximately about A.D. 600.

It was already pointed out that the Ganga territory lay in the Anantapur and Kolar Districts particularly, and later on extended to take in practically the whole of the Mysore District as well with an alternative capital at Talakad. Kolar, however, is regarded as the ancestral capital of this dynasty even when the capital was actually at Talakad, and the hill Nandi is regarded as peculiarly the hill of the Gangas. According to one traditional verse defining the boundaries of Tondamandalam, the Pallava territory proper, the western boundary is fixed at Pavalamalai (coral-hill); according to another it is taken westwards to Rishabhagiri; the former apparently denotes the foot-hills of the Eastern Ghauts that skirt the foot of the plateau and have a westward trend till they strike the Western Ghauts beyond the Nilgiris; while the latter is obviously the hill Nandi. This latter boundary, perhaps, explains the overlordship claimed by the Pallavas over the Gangas. This claim to overlordship was clearly admitted by the Gangas themselves, according to the Penukonda plates. It is clear from this that the original territory of the Gangas, at least the eastern part of it, formed a portion of the Tondamandalam and the Pallava claim to overlordship rested upon a sound historical basis. The overlordship claimed over the territory specially associated with the Kadambas was already explained as being due to the Pallavas becoming heir to the

territory by virtue of a Naga marriage, that is, the marriage of Virakurcha with the Naga princess which gave him a queen and a kingdom together. This historical union has nothing whatever to do with the period of the Tondaman Ilam-Tirayan of Kanchi. We thus see that the period extending from the latter half of the fourth century down to almost the commencement of the seventh is occupied by what seems a continuous succession of Pallava rulers. Anything like an interregnum postulated by the late Mr. Venkayya within which has to be brought in not merely the great Chola Karikala, but the succession of political changes centring round his name and that of his successors for a generation or two at the outset, seems impossible.

The Theory of a Pallava Interregnum.

After all, the theory of a Chola occupation of Kanchi during a Pallava interregnum in the fifth century rests upon the flimsy foundation of the eleventh century tradition recorded in copper-plate grants. According to a record of date the equivalent of A.D.[33] 1157 (Śaka 1079), Karikala was son of a Jatachoda, King of Ayodhya, and had three sons himself: Karikāla II, Tondaman and Dasavarman. Karikala is said, in this record, to have ruled in Kanchi and had under his authority a Trilochana Pallava. An Eastern Chalukya grant of Vimaladitya[34] of the eleventh century refers to a Trilochana Pallava also. According to this grant Vijayaditya, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, is said to have been the fifty-ninth in descent

33. *Ep. Rep.*, 1900, Sec. 45 and No. 205 of 1899. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI p. 339, *et seq.*

34. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 146.

from Udyana, apparently Udayana of Kausambi, and was ruler of the locality called the Ceded Districts nowadays. He is said to have belonged to the family of Ikshvaku of Ayodhya wherefrom he came to the south. Being an interloper, he had to fight against the man in possession of the country, who was Trilochana Pallava. The record claims a victory for Vijayaditya who, however, was killed in battle by his enemy Trilochana Pallava. His wife, who was then in an advanced state of pregnancy, found shelter in the Brahman village of Mudivemu (Pedda-Mudiyam of the Cuddapah District) and gave birth to a son who was named Vishnuvardhana in honour of Vishnusarman, the Brahman protector of the bereaved queen. The names Vijayaditya and Vishnuvardhana occur in the genealogy of the Chalukyas. The victor Trilochana Pallava is given credit for having reclaimed the forest country and brought it into cultivation. Certain of the later historical Telugu families claimed descent from this Trilochana Pallava, as did the so-called Telugu Chola families from the Cholas of the south. It is the fact of the reclamation of the forest country that has led to the connection between Karikala and Trilochana Pallava. This reclamation is ascribed in the *Paṭṭinappālai* to a Karikala Chola who is said to have effected such vast conquests as to strike terror into the hearts of his neighbours. He is said to have brought the Oliyar (a class of Vellalar generally entrusted with the government of the conquered territory) into subordination, and reduced the ancient Aruvalar to take his orders. He is said then to have made the northerners and the westerners shrink in fear. He destroyed the valour of the southern Pandya by an angry look. He made the shepherd-rulers languish in their territory and destroyed the power of the five great chieftains (Vels). Having done all these, he is said to

have destroyed forests to make arable country out of them, and increased their fertility by digging tanks and providing for irrigation.[35]

The two points to be noticed here are that his authority extended across the whole territory occupied by the Oliyar, the Aruvalar, the Idaiyar and the other chieftains, and reached the neighbourhood of the territory of the Vadavar (Aryas). We have naturally, therefore, to hold the reclamation worked by Karikala to apply to the country conquered by him, and could not be held to apply, as the commentator takes it, to the Chola country that descended to him, as an ancient stanza quoted by the very commentator in regard to this doing of Karikala, says in effect that all the product of fertility poured forth in plenty in other countries by means of tanks and water-lifts, if well considered, was barely equal to the gleanings of the paddy-fields of the ancestral land of Karikala watered by the Kaveri. This makes it clear that Karikāla's work of reclamation and improvement cannot apply to the Chola country.

This reclamation of the forest country is clearly indicated to have been the achievement of the first important member of the Pallava Prakrit charters who is given no name and who is credited with having bestowed upon eligible persons crores of money and a hundred thousand ox-ploughs. Nothing could be clearer than this statement in regard to the reclamation of the forest country by him. The fact that he is referred to only by the term Bappa-deva (revered father), and not by any specific name, points to the fact that his services were specially distinguished in regard to this matter and that he left such a deep impression upon the people that it

35. See Appendix, n. 5.

was hardly necessary he should be defined by a specific name. He is probably the one referred to in later records as the Bhattaraka Maharaja Bappadeva. Dr. Hultzsch attempted another explanation of the expression occurring in the Uruvapalli plates in regard to Simhavarman II that he was a "worshipper at the feet of the Bhattaraka Maharaja Bappadeva" as meaning his father. It will bear the interpretation, quite justifiably in regard to later documents. In regard to this particular document, however, Vishnugopa was not a maharaja, and could not, perhaps, exactly be described as Bhattaraka Maharaja. There is no indication of a reason for the departure in respect of him particularly. If later tradition credited Trilochana Pallava with having cleared the forest country to turn it into occupied land, here was Bappa-deva's work which later tradition might indicate as that of Trilochana Pallava. It is just possible that Bappa-deva's name was some equivalent of Trilochana (Siva) taking the fact that his son called himself Siva Skandavarman into consideration. If he bore anything like the name Siva he could be spoken of as Trilochana, and the late tradition seems to be an echo of the achievement of Bappa-deva himself.[36]

On palaeographical considerations alone the Prakrit charters have to be regarded earlier than the southward march of Samudragupta, that is about A.D. 350 at the

36. It would be worth while noting here one feature of Karikala's achievement, *i.e.*, his efforts at the conquest of new territory involving reclamation of forest land etc. This is found detailed in the first passage in note 5 (Appendix) making it clear that the reclamation detailed above cannot refer to his ancestral dominions of the Cholas.

Sloka 4 in 24, *S. I. Ins.*, I, p. 12.

latest; Samudragupta's date being known, it is impossible to bring in either of the two Vishnugopas who figure in the genealogical table to a date about A.D. 350. Vishnugopa of Kanchi, the contemporary of Samudragupta, must have been a ruler different from the two Vishnugopas of the later table. Therefore, then, after the Satavahanas we have the Pallava dynasty or dynasties of the Prakrit charters; then follows the reign of Vishnugopa and then the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters, to whose history actually we shall now turn.

The Chronological Datum in the Lokavibhaga.

The Archaeological Department of Mysore discovered a manuscript of a Digambara Jaina work named *Lokavibhāga,* of which an account is given in the report for 1909-10. The subject treated of is Jaina cosmography. The work was supposed to have been first given by word of mouth by Vardhamana himself and is said to have been handed down through Sudharma and a succession of other teachers. Rishi Simhasuri or Simhasura made a translation of it, apparently from the Prakrit into Sanskrit. The work is said to have been finally copied some considerable time after this (*purā*). The date of the copy by Muni Sarvanandin in the village named Patalika (Tirupadiripuliyur, Cuddalore New Town) in the Panarashtra (Bana country) then follows. It was in the year 22 of Simhavarman, the Lord of Kanchi, and in the year 80 past 300 of the Saka year, in other words Saka 380. This piece of information is confirmed by two other manuscripts of the work since discovered. The late Dr. Fleet who was suspicious of early Saka dates, after having examined the date carefully and making a correction in respect of the month and date, has arrived at the conclusion

that it is equivalent to the year A.D. 458[37] The Simhavarman under reference, therefore, must have begun to rule in A.D. 436. Unfortunately for us, there are two Simhavarmans according to our genealogical table, Simhavarman I and Simhavarman II. As we have arranged it on the table three reigns come between the one and the other. It is just possible that the reference is to Simhavarman I except for the fact that Skandasishya's reign would be very long, having regard to the Satyasena datum already examined. If the Simhavarman referred to in the Penukonda plates is Simhavarman II, as we have shown reasons that he was the person referred to, the *Lokavibhaga* was a work which was composed in

37. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastrigal, in editing the Ongodu Plates II in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV., pp. 252-55, concludes that this datum is invalidated by the grant, which is of Simhavarman's fourth year and, therefore, of A.D. 440. This conclusion is arrived at on page 253. He takes the grant to have been on the occasion of an eclipse, although it is said to be on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Vaisakha. The text has "Kaśyapa-gotrāya Chhando-vidite (vide ?) *sarva śāstra kuśalāya dēvaśarmaṇè graha* (*ṇa*) *ṇa nimittam asmad-āyur-bhala-vijayābhivriddhayē sampradāṇa.*" The question is—Does "*grahaṇa nimittam*" mean "on the occasion of an eclipse" or "for the sake of his acceptance"? It is very unusual to indicate an eclipse in this manner in grants, without saying what eclipse it is and otherwise defining the *Puṇyakāla.* What is worse in the interpretation of the epigraphist is the date of grant is actually specified in the concluding portion. "*Sa-Vijaya rājya samvatsarē chaturthē Vaisākha-Śukla-paksha-Panchamyām dattam.*" This is quite unequivocal. In the face of this it would be difficult to prove that the grant was made on an eclipse day from the document. The difficulty and inconsistency are the results of the interpretation, and neither the author nor the scribe could be held responsible for a blunder which is not of their creation.

the reign of Simhavarman II, having regard to the fact that the Penukonda plates are datable about A.D. 475. The period A.D. 436 to 475 is of forty years duration and might be regarded long enough for the reign of two kings and part of the reign of a third. After the Simhavarman referred to in the Penukonda plates there should have followed three rulers before we come to Mahendravarman, whose date would be somewhere near A.D. 600, namely, Nandivarman, Simhavarman, the immediate successor of Nandivarman according to the Velurpalaiyam plates, his son Simhavishnu followed by Mahendravarman. One century might be considered too long a period for three reigns on an average computation, but there is nothing impossible about it if one of these had been an unusually long reign, or if any two of them had fairly long reigns. The possibility of anything like an interregnum in which we could work in the kings and potentates associated with Karikala and intimately connected with the so-called Sangam literature would then be obviously impossible.

As a result of this somewhat detailed investigation the trend of the early Pallava history may be described as follows.

While yet the Cholas were ascendant in the south holding Tondamandalam under their control with Kanchi for its capital, the later Satavahanas under Vasishtiputra Pulumavi made an effort at conquering the country answering exactly to the Tondamandalam, extending from North Pennar to South Pennar. This is reflected in Tamil literature by references to various incidents in the struggle between the Ariyar and Vadukar on the one side, and the Tamil rulers, particularly the Cholas, on the other. Among these rulers stands out the name

of Ilam Perum Senni, who is given credit for having defeated the Paradavar of the south and the Vadukar of the north. Another is similarly credited with having crushed the Vadukar at Pali on the West Coast. That these Vadukar should be no other than the Andhras is in evidence in a passage of the *Paṭṭinapālai* where Karikala is said to have brought under his control the Oliyar and then the Aruvalar and then the Vadavar, these last being interpreted by the commentator as those next north to the Aruvalar.

The region indicated by this reference is the region which would correspond exactly to the south-east frontier province of the Andhras dominated by Dhanakataka (Amaravati). In this region at one time the Satavahanas had so far succeeded as to create a frontier province under a Naga general, Skanda-Naga, who is described as the Mahasenapati. Under Pulumavi, therefore the war had gone on for a considerable time. When after the death of Karikala, owing apparently to the civil war that raged in the Chola country the Chola hold over the north relaxed, the Andhras advanced south and occupied the country almost up to the banks of the Southern Pennar as the ship-coins of the Andhras in this region indicate. It was during that period that the Andhras felt the necessity of a viceroyalty in the south-east of an important character to which none other than a great general and, possibly, even a blood-relation of the ruling family was considered necessary. After some time, probably in the reign of Yagna Sri, they felt the viceroyalty so far settled as to appoint a local chieftain of some influence to the position. This apparently was the Bappa-deva referred to in the earliest Prakrit inscription available to us. His gift of money and a large number of ox-ploughs

seems to be a continuation of the good work begun by Karikala of destroying jungle and creating arable land from it, and digging tanks and providing for irrigation. This chieftain is of the Bharadvaja gotra, like the later Pallavas, and his son ruled over Kanchi as the head-quarters. Whether these were in any manner connected with the Tondamandalam of Ilam-Tiraiyan, Viceroy of Kanchi in the age immediately preceding is not known. Ilam-Tiraiyan's viceroyalty passed on to Chola Ilam-Killi, the younger brother of Nedumudik-Killi. After the viceroyalty of this prince we do not hear of Kanchi being under the Cholas. It is very probable that it then passed into the hands of the Pallavas. As was already pointed out, there were four generations of these rulers, it may be two dynasties of two each, who ruled over this territory. Whether the territory passed to another dynasty or whether it was the same dynasty that continued, we do not know for certain, but it is clear that the territory of the Pallavas had broken up at least into three as in the Harisena inscription of Samudragupta three rulers at least are said to be governing the territory under the early Pallavas. That inscription refers to Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Palakka and Vishnugopa of Kanchi. This probably was the result of a struggle between the new dynasty of the Ikshvakus who came from the north and occupied the eastern portion of the Satavahana territory, and the Pallavas of the south. The rulers of Palakka and Vengi may have been offshoots of this intruding dynasty of the Ikshvaku king Vira-Sri Purusha Datta. If that is so, Vishnugopa of Kanchi would represent the native Pallava as against the new dynasty of intruders from the north, Samudragupta's defeat of these rulers seems to have brought about a change in Kanchi. Vishnugopa's power was apparently

undermined by the defeat, and his throne was usurped by the founder of the dynasty of the Sanskrit charters. This seems the actual course of events, as Vishnugopa's name is not mentioned in any of the charters; and Virakurcha is the man who is said first to have acquired possession of this territory along with the hand of the Naga princess. This clearly indicates a struggle, and the struggle must have been between Vishnugopa himself and a collateral branch of the family, who sought the alliance of the powerful Nagas in the immediate west. Virakurcha or Viravarman, who, we have pointed out, might be the unnamed son-in-law of the Cuttu chief of Banavase, whose son is named Skanda Naga in one of the records, and Skandavarman in others. This Skandavarman was, apparently, the Skandasishya of the Sanskrit charters. In other words, Viravarman became heir alike to the south-eastern viceroyalty of the Satavahanas held by the Naga general, first in behalf of the Satavahanas, and later by the usurping local dynasty of the Pallavas of the Prakrit charters, which may be by right of birth, but certainly by an act of policy. Through his wife he became alike heir to the perhaps most powerful south-western viceroyalty of the Cutu family of the Satakarnis, thus uniting under one ruler the whole southern block of Satavahana territory about the time that the northernmost part of the Satavahana territory was being disputed for by the Nagas from the south, the Vakatakas in the middle, and the Kshatrapas from the north. Either Virakurcha himself or his son Skandavarman was able to re-assert the authority of the Pallavas over the territory extending as far north as Vengi. Several of the Sanskrit charters were issued from their victorious camp in various of the well-known localities along the lower course of the Krishna. Skandasishya's son Simhavarman,

perhaps much more the younger son Vishnugopa, probably took part in this reconquest of the north to the Pallavas. Another son, Kumaravishnu, who probably ascended the throne after his elder brother Simhavarman, is given credit for the taking of Kanchi, either from his cousin or from the Kadambas, and his son Buddhavarman for the conquest of the Chola country; that is perhaps, the first effort at expansion southwards by the Pallavas. The history of the next following generation is somewhat obscure but when we come to Simhavarman and his son Simhavishnu we are more or less on firm historical ground. There was a reassertion of the Pallava authority over the Chola country under Simhavishnu, and Mahendravarman was able to make very much more of a permanent advance.

In the meanwhile changes of a momentous character had taken place to the west of the Pallava territory. The region of the Naga chieftains, cousins of the ruling Satavahanas, had been taken either in the reign of Skandavarman himself or his somewhat feeble successor by an enterprising Brahman who succeeded almost as a rebel in putting an end to the Pallava power in the northern half of their territory extending southwards from Sri Sailam. He extended his power so far as to levy contributions from the territory of the Banas (Tam: *Pāṇa*) immediately to the west and south of the Pallava territory proper. The Pallavas apparently recognised his hold upon his native country by conferring it as a fief upon him, thereby purchasing peace and, perhaps, a restoration of the Pallava territory including the Ceded Districts. This achievement of Mayura Sarman, the Veda scholar, must have taken place in the reign of Skandavarman himself or that of his son Simhavarman. A certain number of generations of these had actually

ruled. We find the Pallavas slowly gaining strength and reasserting their authority over the Gangas by successfully anointing and thus ratifying the succession of two Ganga rulers. The inference of a weakening of the power of the Kadambas at that time seems possible, and this was taken advantage of by a feudatory dynasty of the Kadambas themselves. These are the western Chalukyas who, like the Kadambas, claimed to belong to the Manavyasa gotra and described themselves as Haritiputras. Other later charters traced their descent from the rulers of Ayodhya and laid claim, in their behalf, to belong to the family of Ikshvakus; the Cholas laid claim to the same descent as did Purushadatta, the interloper in the eastern half of the Andhra territory. By the time that Simhavishnu had placed himself firmly on the throne of Kanchi, the Chalukyas had so far established themselves in power first in the north-western part of the Andhra dominions, gradually extending downwards to occupy what belonged to the Cutu Nagas, the cousin viceroys of the Andhras. It is in this frontier that they came into contact with the Pallavas, necessarily hostile, as it meant an expansion of Chalukya power and territory in that direction. It is then there began the war between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas, which is the feature of their later history.

Kanchi, the Centre of the Pallavas.

During the whole period of their history extending from about A.D. 200 to about the end of the ninth century, the Pallava power centred round Kanchi, which became definitely associated with them, at any rate, from the days of Samudragupta onwards, though a very much earlier ruler states, in a charter that he issued, that he ruled from Kanchi. Kanchi was the centre and capital

of the region known to the Tamils as Tondamandalam, and the Pallavas came into possession of that region exactly. They show almost from the beginning of their history to have brought along with them the culture of the north, that is, Aryan culture as distinguished from what may be called Dravidian (Tamil). Their charters were all issued either in Prakrit or in Sanskrit. It may even be regarded that during their age Sanskrit literature came in for some encouragement in the region which must be regarded as Pallava. The Jain work *Lokavibhāga*, already referred to, is a work which was composed in Cuddalore in the fifth century. That is not all.

Patrons of Religion and Art.

They seem to have been patrons as well of religion and art. With the accession to power of the great dynasty of the Pallavas beginning with Simhavarman and his son Simhavishnu, they extended their power southwards and brought it up to the banks of the Kaveri. As a matter of fact, Simhavishnu is stated to have taken possession of the country of the Kaveri. Throughout this region we see evidence of the work of his son Mahendravarman, otherwise called Mahendravishnu. The tanks, the cave temples and some even of the smaller temples are ascribable to him. A Sanskrit burlesque ascribed to him and called *Matta-vilasa-prahasana* is not merely evidence of what may be regarded as partiality for Sanskrit literature; it also throws considerable light upon the religious condition of the times. The purpose of the work is to bring into ridicule the votaries of the various cults which prevailed at the time. An ascetic Pasupata, a Kapalika and his wife, and a Jain (Buddhist) mendicant are brought into colloquy in the

play and held up to ridicule. The omission of the Jain in the group may lead to the inference that at the time he composed the work Mahendra was a Jain and might thus lend support to the Saiva tradition that rather late in his life he was converted to Saivism by the saint Appar. That a work of the character of *Matta-vilasa-prahasana* should be composed in Kanchi for the purpose for which it should have been intended is evidence of a certain degree of prevalence of Sanskrit learning. This position of Kanchi is supported by its having been a *ghaṭika* of the Brahmans at an earlier period, and by the fact that Mayurasarma of the Kadambas found it necessary to go to Kanchi to complete his vedic studies. Mahendra seems to have been a patron of music as well, and a short musical treatise referable to his time is inscribed on the face of the rock in the great Siva temple at Kudimiyamalai in the Pudukotta State, so that Mahendra in particular was a patron of art as well as of religion.

Sanskrit Literature during the Period.

Among the finds of manuscripts brought to light by the search parties sent out by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library are two works ascribed to Dandin, the author of the *Kāvyādarśa.* This last work has a verse illustrating a particular kind of composition. The verse, which has to be of a recondite character, takes for its illustration the city, Kanchi and its rulers the Pallavas.[38] This reference alone would lead one to suspect that Dandin had something to do with Kanchi. Two manuscripts newly brought to light relate to the subject-matter of the prose-work *Daśakumāracharita,* generally

38. *Kavyadarsa,* III, 114.

ascribed to Dandin. The poetical work seems to be called *Avanti-Sundarikatha Sangraha,* and of the original prose version a few fragments alone are yet available; but the substance of the story is put in poetic form and contains an introductory chapter which gives some information regarding Dandin himself and his ancestry. The matter of peculiar importance to our subject at present is that Dandin calls himself the great-grandson of Bharavi, the author of *Kiratārjunīya,* and Dandin seems to refer himself to the reign of Rajasimha or Narasimha II among the great Pallavas.[39] This seems supported by the fact recently brought to notice by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachariar that a Ganga king by name Durvinita lays claim to having written a commentary on the fifteenth canto of the *Kiratārjunīya* of Bharavi. In this account Bharavi is also brought into contemporaneity with the Chalukya Vishnu-vardhana who became famous afterwards as the founder of the Chalukya dynasty. This would make Bharavi contemporary with either Mahendra Pallava himself or his son Narasimha I. In either case Bharavi's *Kiratārjunīya* may account for the great popularity which this particular incident, in the epic tradition of the manifestation of Siva, attained in this part of the country. Apart from its being one of the most oft-quoted instances of Siva's beneficence, the cut-

39. This position seems to gain authority from Kavyadarsa I, 5, which according to tradition, involves an address to the prince, Dandin's pupil. There is a further reference in II, 278-79, which gave the name Rajavarman or Ratavarman. The latter seems obviously a misreading. Could Rajavarman have been the princely designation of Rajasimha? Varman is the terminal affix of the names of all Pallava monarchs, and Rajasimha is one of the titles of Narasimhavarman II.

ting out of the particular episode on the face of the big rock in Mahabalipuram which remained somewhat inexplicable till now finds a satisfactory explanation. Though we have another instance of a sculptural illustration of this in distant Bihar in Chandi Mau, still it was a matter which could not readily be explained why the Tevaram hymners should have pitched upon this particular incident among a large variety, and the sculptors of Mahabalipuram should have chosen this for an illustration.[40] If Bharavi and Dandin flourished in Kanchi, Kanchi must have been a very important centre of Sanskrit learning at the time.

Great Religious Ferment in the Country.

This period must also have been one of great religious activity. Many of the existing temples came into existence during this period and most of them in Kanchi and the surrounding countries received encouragement and extension. The town of Kanchi itself is so full of these Pallava monuments that it would be possible for one to make a complete study of Pallava art and architecture without going out of it. The great renaissance of religion and literature characteristic of the age of the Guptas in the north found a reflex during the age of the Pallavas in Kanchi. Both Saivism and Vaishnavism, the two offshoots of the school of Bhakti, took form and shape during this period. Literature bearing upon both of these in Tamil is almost entirely the product of the age of the Pallavas. Of the sixty-three Saiva devotees, one of the earliest is the Chola king Ko-Sengan, who must have followed the age of the Sangam very closely. We

40. See my article on "The Antiquities of Mahabalipuram" in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1918.

have shown elsewhere that the earliest of the Vaishnava alvars were in all probability contemporaries of the Tondaman Ilam-Tirayan himself. It is not at all unlikely that some of the Saiva Adiyars of the sixty-three may be referable to an age as early as these. The latest among the alvars is Tirumangai Alvar, who lived as certainly as it is possible for us to know the fact, in the middle of the eighth century. The latest of the Saiva Adiyars, Sundaramurti, lived perhaps a generation later in the closing period of the Pallava dominance in the south. The greatest among the Adiyars, Sambandar and Appar, two of the three most celebrated among the Adiyars, were undoubtedly contemporaries of Narasimha I. Thus we see the school of Bhakti, the early features of which we already find reference to in the Sangam literature, began their great developments under the Pallavas and took the form that they have at present in this age.

Influence of the Gupta Culture.

How much of this development may be due to any direct Gupta influence we are not in a position to trace in detail yet. It is impossible that there should not have been that kind of influence, but the whole of the Pallava development in point of religion of the Bhakti school is explainable without this external stimulus. It certainly was the age for the south of a certain amount of reorganisation of the Brahmanic religion such as it was in the earlier time. The reorganisation seems to have taken the form of a great emphasis being laid on what is generally described as "theistic religion"—religion whose centre and heart-core is a personal god, watchfully beneficent for the salvation of devotees. Such a movement was called for to remedy one of the vital defects of Vedic Brahmanism, and the great success

which attended the early efforts of Buddhistic teachers, and to a certain degree of the Jain as well, was due to the congregationalism of both these religious systems. It is the need, therefore, of a religion which would appeal to the masses that led on to this great development in this particular period of Brahmanical reorganisation as against Buddhism and Jainism. The recognition of a personal god and of popular worship necessitates the form of worship associated with temples.

Temple Building in the South.

If this happens to be the age during which the great majority of temples in the south came into existence, the explanation is here ready. It was an age when the people were anxious to bring themselves into touch with God, and that could be done only by means of the cult of Bhakti and the institutions embodying in a visible form the all-beneficent personal God. It is possible to trace the history of many of these temples to this particular period and the work of temple building, at least so far as Siva temples are concerned, is closely associated with the early Chola Ko-Sengan. It seems demonstratable that this great Chola built temples both to Siva and to Vishnu so that he could be described by the Saivas as no less than an Adiyar (devotee) among the sixty-three. The Vaishnava Alvar (Tirumangai Alvar) can, without sacerdotal impropriety refer to him also as having constructed seventy temples to Siva. It is thus clear that temple building on a large scale was only the exhibition of the inward ferment that led to the great development of the Bhakti school.

Clear Evidence of Hindu Expansion in the East.

It is to the earlier portion of this period that Dr. Vogel refers the sacrificial inscription discovered at

Koetei in East Borneo. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, the characters are Pallava-grantha and the donations have relation to the various benefactions and gifts which followed the completion of a Brahmanical sacrifice by the ruler Mulavarman. This document illustrates the prevalence of Brahmanism so far out as East Borneo in a form which made the celebration of a sacrifice of the greatest importance and which proves beyond a doubt the existence of a colony of holy Brahmans who could celebrate sacrifices in the distant East. Later, we have it, on the authority of Fa-hien, that in Sumatra and the Malaya Peninsula there were large settlements of votaries of the Brahmanical religion, but as yet nothing that could be called a community of Buddhists. A later traveller of this age, I-Tsing, found the prevalence of Sanskrit culture in Sumatra so great that all the wealth of manuscripts that he was able to acquire by years of travelling in Northern India he could take over with him and translate in the 500 volumes which he despatched home, as a first instalment, in Sumatra as offering all the facilities that India itself could have offered for that kind of monumental work of devotion and learning.

[1] குல்லைக் கண்ணி வடுகர் முனையது
வல் வேற்காட்டி னன்னாட்டும்பர்
மொழிபெயர் தேஎய்த்தராயினும்

—MAMULANAR in *Kurum-togai*, 11.

புடையலங் கழற்காற் புல்லிகுன்றத்து
நடையருங்கானம் விலங்கி நோன்சிலைத்
தொடையமை பகழித் துவன்று நிலைவடுகர்
பழியார் மகிழல் கலிசிறந்தார்க்கும்
மொழிபெயர்தே எய மிறந்தனராயினும்.

—*Ibid*, in *Aham*, 295.

நுண்பூணெருமை குடநாட்டன்ன.

Ibid, in *Aham*, 115.

கன்றுடைப் பெருநிரை மன்றுநிறைதரூஉ
நேராவன் றோள்வடுகர் பெருமகன்
பேரிசை யெருமை நன்னாட்டுள்ளதை
யயிரியா றிறந்தனராயினும்.

—NAKKIRAR in *Aham*, 253.

2 கானக்கடிசூழ் வடுகக்கருநாடர் காவன்
மானப்படைமன்னன் வலிந்து நிலங்கொள்வானாய்
யானைகுதிரைக் கருவிப்படை வீரர்திண்டேர்
சேனைக்கடலுங் கொடுதென்றிசை நோக்கிவந்தான்.

—SEKKILAR's *Periya P. Muriinayanar*, II.

Peria-Vadugan Kalaham, referring to an invasion of the Tamil country by the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana, *Ep. Rep.*, 1913, Secs. 46 & 47.

This equation held good in the age of the great Pallavas as Tirumangai Alvār in the *Periya Tirumoli* refers to a "Pallavan Tondaiyar Kon," the two terms being in apposition.

3. Quoted by Nachinarkiniyar and Ilam Puranar in their comments upon Tolkappiyam. Purul 54.

முலைபொழிதீம்பான் மண் சேறுபடுப்ப
மலர்தலையுலக மோம்புமென்ப
பரிசிலைத் தொண்டைப் பல்லவனானையின்
வெட்சிந்தாயத்து வில்லேருழவர்
பொருந்தா வடுகர் முனைச்சுரங்
கடந்துகொண்ட பல்லாநிரையே.

4 இருநிலங்கடந்த திருமறுமார்பின்
முன்னீர்வண்ணன் பிறங்கடையன்னீர்த்
திரைதருமரபின் உரவோனும்பல்.

5 பல்லொளியர் பணிபொடுங்கத்
தொல்லருவாளர் தொழில்கேட்ப
வடவர் வாடக் குடவர் கூம்பத்

தென்னவன் றிறல் கெடச் சீறிமன்னர்
மன்னெயில்கதுவு மதனுடை நோன்றாண்
மாத்தானைமற மொய்ம்பிற்
செங்கணாற் செயிர்த்துநோக்கிப்
புன்பொதுவர் வழிபொன்ற
விருங்கோவேள் மருங்குசாயக்
காடுகொன்று நாடாக்கிக்
குளந்தொட்டு வளம்பெருக்கிக்
பிறங்குநிலைமாடத் துறந்தைபோக்கிக்
கோயிலொடுகுடி நிறீஇ......

—*Pattinappalai*, ll. 274-286.

ஏரியும் ஏற்றத்தினும் பிறர்நாட்டு
வாரிசுரக்கும் வளனெல்லாம்—தேரின்
அரிகாலின் கீழுகூஉ மந்நெல்லே சாலும்
கரிகாலன் காவிரி சூழ்நாடு.

—First Venba quoted at the end of *Porunararruppadai.*

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CHAPTER XX

THE CHOLA EMPIRE IN SOUTH INDIA

PART I—HISTORY

1. *The Ancient Cholas*

The name Chola is given to a people, as well as to a dynasty of rulers, not only in ordinary parlance but also in literature, and reaches to the highest antiquity that literature or usage can take us. Who the people were, and where they came from, it seems well-nigh impossible to determine at present. That they were in the country which they occupied in historical times very much earlier than the beginning of history for South India, does not admit of any doubt whatsoever. The Cholas, as rulers, find mention in the *Māhābhārata* and the Epic and Puranic literature generally. The chronology of these, however, is yet matter for investigation. The first undoubted historical mention[1] of the Cholas is in the second and thirteenth rock edicts of the great Mauryan emperor Asoka, who refers to these friendly Powers along with the great Potentates who made themselves heir to the empire of Alexander the Great. Passing down the stream of time, from the days of the great Maurya, whose fame spread through the whole of Asia, and even eastern Europe and Africa, the Cholas are spoken of as a source of trouble to the Ceylonese rulers set over against them in the neighbouring island. In the century

1. V. A. Smith's *Asoka* (2nd ed.), pp. 156 and 174.

immediately preceding Christ there were six Tamil usurpers from the country of 'Soli',[2] according to the *Mahāvamśa.* In the centuries immediately following the advent of Christ, however, we seem to be at the gray dawn of South Indian history. The period between this and the rise of the Pallavas is the period of the high water-mark of Tamil literature; and our information, though not up to the requirements of modern historical criticism, is certainly more in volume and not altogether valueless. It is most convincingly clear from this body of literature that there was a powerful dynasty of Chola rulers in the early centuries of the Christian Era.

Before dealing with this dynasty of rulers, a few names which find mention in this body of literature have to be considered. These are most of them Puranic names[3] that have been adopted into this body of literature by the genealogist. Genealogy making was regarded as a particular pastime of the eleventh century bards; but these genealogists seem to have had a much anterior vogue. Among the names mentioned in this manner are those of Sibi, who gave his life to save a dove; Kavera the father of the river Kaveri ; Musugundan who helped Indra ; Manu who ran his car over his son in justice to a cow. Passing these over, there still is left a reference of a different character, when we come to a Chola called *Perunjōṟṟuchchōḻan.* The first part of the word means 'the great food supplier'; and this is explained by reference to the

2. Upham, *Mahāvamśa,* Vol. I, p. 218.

3. *Śilappadhikaram,* Canto xxiii, ll. 58-9 and pp. 488-9; *Manimekhalai,* Canto 1, l. 5, note Pandit Swaminatha Iyer's edition. Also *Vikramasolan ula.*

Chola's having fed the armies of both the Pandava and Kaurava combatants on the occasion of the Great War. This, however, is a feature claimed alike by all the three—Chera, Chola and Pandya. One fact stands out clear from all this—that when these rulers began to think of their pedigree they found that they could easily graft themselves on the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* either directly or indirectly. Taking leave of these heroes as being beyond the pale of history, there come into view two or three personages who must be regarded as quite historical. The first great Chola among them who demands our attention is the Chola Karikala. There are a number of his predecessors mentioned in the Sangam works; but in our present state of knowledge of these it would be hazardous to attempt arranging them on any scheme, either genealogical or successional. Karikāla's grandfather would appear to be *Vērpaharaḍakkai Perunarikiḷḷi.*[4] He was a contemporary of Kudakko Nedumseraladan, the Chera king, and they both fought and fell in battle on the same field. Poets who celebrated this sad catastrophe were contemporaries of Karikala as well. Karikala's father is spoken of in these works as *Uruvappaharēr Iḷaiyon* or *Iḷanjētchenni.* The latter part of this long name means a prince. It would appear therefrom that he never succeeded to the throne. The father died a prince and the grandfather fell in battle, and so the grandson was left, when quite a young boy, heir to the throne of a kingdom not in the enjoyment of peace. Nor were causes wanting for civil dissensions. Young Karikala found himself a fugitive at Karur after the dis-

4. *Puranānūrū.* Reference in pp. 8 and 9. Pandit Swaminatha Iyer's edition.

astrous battle in which his grandfather fell along with his Chera enemy. It was from here that he was fetched to ascend the throne by the State elephant from *Kaḻumalam* (Shiyali). He met with a serious fire accident from which he escaped with difficulty, though he was maimed for the rest of his life. It is from this early accident that he got the rather peculiar name of 'blackleg'. As a young man he had to sit as judge in a cause, the parties to which feared that the young man might misjudge. He appeared as an old man to them, and the award he gave was as sound as that of a judge of the most mature experience. He had for his uncle a chief by name Pidarttalaiyan. He had married among the Nangur Vel family. He had to fight a great battle at Vennil (probably Koilvenni in the Tanjore district),[5] both the Chera and the Pandya having combined against him. His Pandya enemy is not specially mentioned by name, though the Chera was almost certainly the 'Seraman Perumseraladhan.' This Chera felt the defeat so keenly that, like the Italian Charles Albert, he exiled himself and ended his days by starvation. Notwithstanding the sad fate of this great Chera, the war seems to have ended in a treaty which was sealed by a marriage. The heir presumptive, or heir apparent, to the Chera throne married, either then or later, the Chola princess who is called Narchchonai.[6] Peace had been secured on that side and along with it on the side of the Pandyas as well. He appears to have been among those who were a source of trouble to the Ceylonese ; for it was he who built the city

5. *Porunarrupadai*, ll. 143-8 and other references under Karikala, q. v. above, note (4).

6. *Silappadikaram*, p. 10 and Canto xxix.

of Kaverippattinam, to which he transferred the headquarters that had hitherto been at Uraiyur near Trichinopoly. The construction of this city and the transference of the capital to it, perhaps after the definitive treaty with his immediate neighbours, would argue security on the one side and want of safety on the other. This is exactly what is reflected in the *Mahāvamśa*. Gajabahu I of Ceylon heard from an old woman who was bewailing the loss of her only son, that twelve thousand Ceylonese were carried away by the Tamilians, in one of their recent invasions, to work in the 'town of Kaveri.'[7] Having secured his frontier on the west and south, he transferred his capital to the coast, both for purposes of the flourishing commerce of those days and for the defence of the sea frontier. He is given credit by the poets of the period with having carried his arms victoriously as far north as the Himalayas, on which he is said to have erected the tiger emblem of his family. His northern expedition is specifically mentioned in the *Silappadhikaram*;[8] and, what is even more, he is said by the same authority to have been on diplomatic terms with the rulers of Magadha, Vajra (Bundalkhand) and Avanti, the second of these being a subdued enemy and the third a positive friend. These specific assertions of a poet, only one generation removed from him, cannot be regarded as mere figments of the imagination. Kaverippattinam in the days of Karikala seems to have been a great emporium of trade both inland and over sea. The poem *Paṭṭinappālai* is a mere description of this city in the days of Karikala. He is besides uniformly credited

7. Upham's *Mahavamsa*, Vol. I, pp. 228-9, ch. 35.
8. Page 139.

with having made the embankments for the Kaveri.[9] The Chola kingdom reached the height of its glory under him in the days anterior to Rajaraja the Great. He was none the less as a patron of letters. *Paṭṭinappālai* already referred to was composed in his honour for which the author received the reward of a lakh and sixty thousand gold pieces. This lucky author lived on to celebrate another patron, Tondaman Ilandirayan[10] of Kanchi of a later generation.

Other poets there were who flourished in his time and enjoyed his patronage as well. Among these must be mentioned Paranar, Kalattalaiyar Vennikkuyattiyar, etc., all of Śangam fame. His reign must have been a long one, and when he passed away the succession fell to the lot of a son, or a grandson, by name Nedumudikkilli, also known with many another attribute. His reign also must have been a comparatively long one. He began with a victory over the Cheras and Pandyas at *Kāriyāṛu*.[11] If this is to be connected with a river of the name in the Salem district, the allies must have advanced with a view to taking advantage of the new succession. The Chola was able to make his position good, with the aid of a valiant brother, who was probably the viceroy at Kanchi at the northern end of the Chola dominions. Killi's capital was also Kaverippattinam at the commencement of his reign. It was in his reign that Kaverippattinam was destroyed by the sea. He was the father of Tondaman Ilandirayan, the ruler of Kanchi

9. *Epigraphist's report*, 1906, sec. 14. Large Leyden grant Arch. Survey of South India, Vol. IV, etc.

10. *Perumbanarrappadai*, Pandit Swaminatha Iyer's *Pattupattu*.

11. *Manimekhalai*, XIX, 126—*Purananuru*, 47.

celebrated by Rudirangannanar in his *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppadai.*[12] This Tondaman was the offspring of a liaison between the Killi and a Naga princess who sent him to his father when the boy had grown old enough to leave the mother. A mishap to the ship brought about the neglect, on the part of the anxious father, to celebrate the annual festival to the patron goddess of the city.[13] Hence the destruction of the city. This great calamity struck a deadly blow at the prosperity of the city and its rulers; and this misfortune may have become the occasion for a civil war among the several branches of the Chola family. It was in the course of this war that the Chera ruler Senguttuvan found occasion to intervene in behalf of his cousin, and defeating his enemies at Nerivayil,[14] not far from Uraiyur, restored somewhat the shattered fortunes of the family. During the period of the Chera ascendency thus ushered in, the Cholas were able to maintain an independent existence, though with reduced territory and shorn of much of their glory. The rise of the Pandyas, almost simultaneously with the Pallavas, destroyed what was still left of their greatness and the Cholas of this period pass into darkness. During the period of decadence and decay of the Chola power and the advance of the Chera, the viceroyalty of Kanchi was cut off from the Chola kingdom by the wedge of a Chera viceroyalty in the Salem district.[15]

12. Mackenzie's Papers on the Chola Colonisation of Tondamandalem.

13. *Manimekhalai,* XIV, ll. 55-70; XXV, ll. 179-205.

14. *Silappadhikaram,* XXVII, ll. 115-125 and *Padirruppattu,* Sec. 5.

15. *Padirruppattu,* Sec. 5. *Silappadhikaram,* Canto XXIV, last lines.

What had happened to the Tondaman of Kanchi, whether he founded a separate family of his own and whether that family had any connexion whatsoever with the Pallavas of history, are problems on which more light has to be thrown by further research before any answer can be ventured. During the three centuries of Pallava ascendency the Cholas are heard of only in a general way, and no particular details are forthcoming. But there is one Chola who may have to be referred to the early part of this, if not to a period somewhat anterior even. This Chola is known by the name Kochchengan. He is credited with having defeated the Chera Kanaikkalirumporai,[16] whom he threw into prison. He is besides said to have won a bloody battle at Kalumalam (Shiyali), though his enemies are not specifically mentioned. The Saivas claimed him among the *Aḍiyārs*, while the Vaishnavas claim him equally among their benefactors. He was a great temple builder, and among these temples are mentioned both Siva and Vishnu shrines. He is definitely said to have built and dedicated seventy temples to Siva in a Vaishnava work.

Passing on into the Age of the Pallavas, the Cholas find mention among those defeated both by the Pallavas themselves and their hereditary enemies the Chalukyas. The wife of the Pandya king whom Tirugnanasambandar converted was a Chola princess. Beyond these few references Chola history during this period is an absolute blank.

2. *The Earlier Cholas*

The making of the empire now begins. All the time the Pallavas were in the ascendent the Cholas had not

16. *Purananuru*, 74, *Kalavazhi* 40, *Periatirumozhi* 6.

passed out of existence, as has been pointed out already. They were a Power maintaining a precarious independence hemmed in by the Pallavas on the one side and the Pandyas on the other. There appears to have been a branch of them ruling in the Ceded districts,[17] in the days when the Chinese traveller Yuwan Chwang was in India. When the Pallavas began to decline in power in the south, the political condition of peninsular India was somewhat as follows. The Dakhan portion was divided into two parts, the western under the Rashtrakutas with their capital at Manyaketa; the eastern under the Chalukyas with their capital at Rajamandri. The southern frontier of these was the Pennar, or perhaps a line somewhat farther south. The Pallava territory proper was divided among three connected branches of the Pallava family. The westernmost part of it was under the Gangas, who now begin to play a decisive part in the history of South India. Next last of them was the territory of the Banas called Ganga-Banas, and further east near the coast was the dominion of the Pallavas themselves. It was the founder of the Rashtrakutas[18] that gave the *coup de grâce* to the tottering Pallava Power; but the new dynasty had presently to turn its attention to the north, where the Gurjaras were rising fast to an imperial position. The Pallavas were, therefore, left unmolested for a time by them. It was under Govinda IV[19] and his son Krishna III[20] that the Rashtra-

17. *Epigraphist's Report*, 1906, Sec. 5.
18. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 389-90. *Periyatirumozhi*, III, viii, 10.
19. *Bombay Gazetteer* I, part 2, p. 417.
20. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, 284-285.

kutas were able to turn their attention to the south. The former was, however, kept fully engaged as a result of his intervention in a disputed succession to the Eastern Chalukya throne. The accession of his son to power was coeval with the rise of a usurper *Perumānaḍi* Butuga in the Ganga kingdom. The Rashtrakutas seem to have had a hand in this usurpation[21] as in the disputed succession in Vengi. Govinda's diplomatic efforts bore fruit in his son Krishna's reign. Krishna was able to advance southwards and was for some time in occupation of Kanchi and Tanjore. Simultaneously with this southward move of the Rashtrakutas was the march northwards of the Pandyas. A generation earlier than Krishna the Pandya Varaguna[22] advanced north to extend his power into Pallava territory, and was beaten back by a supreme effort on the part of the three connected dynasties, of the Ganga, Pallava, and Bana. The battle at Tirupparambium near Kumbhakonam sealed the doom of the Pandya against achieving an ascendency, and the occasion was taken advantage of by the Cholas. The latter then begin to carve out for themselves from their own patrimony as it were, a small kingdom which grew into a mighty empire in the hands of their more powerful and enterprising successors. The Cholas beginning with Vijayalaya up to Rajaraja the Great, can therefore be called the makers of the Chola empire.

Vijayālaya: The Pandya Varaguna already referred to in the previous paragraph came to the throne in A.D. 862-3. He invaded the Chola country and directed his attack upon Idavai in the same country. It was in

21. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. IV, 281.
22. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1909, Secs. 8-10.

the same campaign that he stormed the fortress of Vembil.[23] He then marched as far north as Araisur on the Pennar in the southern Tondanadu from which he issued a grant. Against this aggressive Pandyan there was a combination brought about between the Gangas and the Ganga-Pallavas, before which he thought it prudent to retire. The allies were victorious at Tirupparambium near Kumbhakonam. In the battle the victorious Ganga Prithvipati I fell, while the Ganga-Pallava Aparajita the overlord was rid of so troublesome an enemy. He seems, however, not to have been able to recover much of the lost ground, perhaps owing to other movements in the north of his territory. The opportunity had now arrived for the Chola. Vijayalaya was ready to take advantage of the situation that was fast developing. He began extending his humble patrimony without awakening suspicion, and in the course of his long reign of thirty-four years at least, he was able to capture Tanjore and make it not only his capital, but also to leave records of his reign in such distant places as Ukkal, Conjeevaram, Tirukkovilur and Suchindram[24] near Cape Comorin. Calculating back from the known and verified date of Parantaka's initial year, Vijayalaya began his reign in about A.D. 846.

Āditya:[25] The successor of Parakesarivarman Vijayalaya, to whom are referable some at least of the records of a Parakesarivarman without any other distinctive appellation, was succeeded by his son Aditya I, Rajakesarivarman. Aditya I continued in the forward

23. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1906, Sec. 25.
24. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1909, Sec. 35.
25. *Ibid.*, 35 and references under Kielhorn's Southern List, *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 676-80.

policy of his father and conquered finally the Pallava Aparajita victor over the Pandya Varaguna, and brought himself into touch with the Rashtrakutas on his northern frontier. If the *Kongudēśarājākkal* is worthy of any credit, he was also the conqueror of Kongu. The history of his successors seems only to confirm this so far. His was also a long reign of twenty-seven years and brings us to the reign of his son Parantaka I.

Parantaka I, Parakesarivarman, Viranarayana, etc., (A.D. 907-947). Parantaka succeeded to a kingdom of considerable extent, and his frontiers touched the Pandya country in the south and south-west, Kerala in the west, the Bana and Vaidumba country in the north-west, and the eastern Chalukya and Rashtrakuta countries in the north. He first attacked and overthrew the Pandya Rajasimha in battle before A.D. 910 having, perhaps previously, entered into a marriage alliance with the Keralas on his western flank. This secured him safety on the southern side. His next move appears to have been the subjugation of the Banas. He was enabled to follow in this policy unmolested, as the Rashtrakutas[26] were fully occupied with their own aggressions on their neighbours. Govinda IV of this dynasty was engaged on a fruitless, nay, suicidal intervention in a disputed succession to the eastern Chalukya throne. When Parantaka had repeatedly overthrown two Banas in succession he conferred their patrimony upon his ally the Ganga-Bana Prithvipati Hastimalla.[27] His next conquest was that of the Vaidumbas, and the acquisition of their territory of the *Vaḍugavaḻi* (the road to the

26. *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 416-7.
27. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. II, No. 76.

Andhra or Telugu country). He ensured peace to his vast conquests in such a way that his reign marks the beginning of the religious activities of the period. The *Kāḷāmukha*[28] and *Pāśupata Śaivas* begin to find favour, and the earliest *Vaishṇava Achāryas*[29] commence their apostolic work. Parantaka himself appears to have been a Saiva[30] and did his pious duty to the great shrine at Chidambaram by renewing the gold plating of the great hall there. In his thirty-seventh[31] year or somewhat earlier he felt himself strong enough to venture on a successful invasion of Ceylon. After a long reign of at least forty years during which he extended and consolidated his patrimony, and secured his frontiers from hostile attack both by conquest and diplomacy, Parantaka passed away. He left behind him five sons, among whom three appear to have ruled. His eldest son Rajakesarivarman Rajaditya succeeded Parantaka.[32] The approach of the Cholas towards their southern frontier put the Rashtrakutas on the alert, and their hand is clearly discernible in the usurpation of the Ganga kingdom by Perumanadi Butuga,[33] a son-in-law of Amoghavarsha and a brother-in-law of Krishna III. This threw that frontier into confusion and insecurity, and Rajaditya promptly marched forth to set matters right. A bloody battle at Takkolam was the result. Rajaditya was killed on the field of battle by Butuga, who managed to mount the elephant of the Chola and kill him. This

28. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1909, Sec. 37.
29. *Vide* the Chapters on Ramanuja and Tirumangai Alwar.
30. Leyden grant and *Kalingattupparani.*
31. Reference under note 2 above.
32. Views of Somasundara Desikar, Cf. *Hindu,* 15-11-1924.
33. *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 304 and 418.

event took place in A.D. 949-50.[34] Krishna III took advantage of his victory to the full, marched into the Chola country and was in occupation of Kanchi for a while; and, what was even more of a calamity to the Cholas, he laid siege to Tanjore.[35] Gandaradittan, the second son of Parantaka, succeeded his elder brother and did his best to beat back the enemy and prevent his getting a permanent hold upon the Chola kingdom, not altogether without success. The Rashtrakuta power had hardly twenty more years to run, and there were already the premonitory symptoms of the coming storm. Anyhow the Cholas had some little respite given them to recover lost ground. Gandaradittan has left behind him memorials of his rule in the town that bears his name, and the fifth '*Tiruviśaippa*' in which he calls himself ruler of Tanjore. His devoted and pious widow built a temple at Konerirajapuram[36] and erected a statue of her late husband which is to be seen in the temple even now. He left behind him a son, probably a baby, and was succeeded by his brother Arinjaya, or as he is sometimes called, Arjuna. The other two sons of Parantaka were prince Uttamasili and one Arikulakesarin, who held high command both under his father Parantaka I and under his elder brother Rajakesarivarman Arinjaya.[37] This last may have been the person referred to by the name *Madiraikoṇḍa* Rajakesarivarman. The attribute Madiraikonda may be due to either a particular achievement of his own or borrowed from his father's. Arinjaya was succeeded by his son Parantaka II, Sundarachola.

34. *J.R.A.S.*, for 1909, pp. 443-5.
35. *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, 7.
36. *Epigraphist's Report*, 1909, Sec. 41.
37. *Epigraphist's Report*, Secs. 38-9.

In this reign there appears to have been trouble on the Pandya side, and this ended unfavourably for the rebels through the exertions of the Chola, ably supported by the efforts of his general Siriyavelan. The Pandya king had to find 'shelter in the desert.'[38] This seems to be the achievement which is reflected in the statement that Aditya II 'while a boy played sportively in battle with the head of Vira Pandya.' The yet unidentified battle of Chevur may also refer to the same achievement against the Pandya. Parantaka II was succeeded by his son Aditya II, Karikala, of whom but little is known beyond the achievement against the Pandya, as a boy. He was followed on the throne by his first cousin Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola. His accession took place in A.D. 969-70. His succession does not appear to have been altogether beyond question. If the recently discovered Tiruvalangadu plates[39] are to be believed Rajaraja was probably the favourite. He, however, would seem to have declined to be the cause of a civil war. If Rajaraja really did this he ought, in the circumstances, to be counted a genuine patriot. The accession of Uttama Chola was coeval with the invasion of the Rashtrakuta dominions by the Paramaras of Malva under Harsha and his successor Munja, who carried their arms up to the capital Manyaketa itself. This catastrophe was taken advantage of by their enemy within, the Chalukyas, who under Taila II overthrew the Rashtrakutas and restored their fallen dynasty to power. The latter's relative Marasimha, the son of the Ganga Butuga, was able to do nothing more than recognize one of his

38. *Ibid.*, Sec. 40.
39. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1906, Secs. 11 and ff.

nephews as the paramount ruler.[40] This naturally brought on a struggle between the Gangas and the Chalukyas, and gave the much-longed for occasion to the Cholas. At this critical moment in South Indian History appeared Rajaraja, the Great.

3. *The Great Cholas*

Rajaraja was nominated successor when Madhurantaka Uttama Chola ascended the throne in A.D. 969-70; and became Sovereign in his own right in A.D. 985. Except for the Pandyas in the southern corner and the Keralas beyond the ghats, he was master of the Tamil country south of the Pennar. The Pandyas were likely to give trouble; the Keralas might stir; but the greatest vigilance was required on the north-west where the Chalukyas were fast setting the loyal Ganga kingdom into allegiance to themselves. In the eastern Chalukya dominions matters were not more satisfactory either. There was about this time an interregnum, which may have been the result of a civil war. These two regions were ripe for intervention by a powerful ruler inclined to make his influence felt. No prudent ruler of any ideas of lasting ambition could think of advancing so far out without setting his flank and rear in safety. For the first ten years Rajaraja I seems to have devoted himself to this work entirely. It is to his twelfth year that we must refer for his first conquest and that is a victory over the Chera fleet in the 'Roads of Kandalur.' In the course of two years he had conquered Gangappadi, Nulambappadi, Tadigaivali, and Vengainadu. Of these the first two constituted the bulk of Mysore which, for the next century and more, was

40. *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 422-4.

the bone of contention between the Cholas and the Chalukyas. The last was the territory of the Eastern Chalukyas and the interregnum was taken advantage of by the Chola to impose his dominion on them. This seems to have been successfully done by Rajaraja, who gave the second ruler after the interregnum by name Vimaladitya his daughter Kundavvai in marriage. The Eastern Chalukyas for the rest of the period of the Chola ascendency were loyal to the supremacy of the Cholas. Tadigai-vali was between the two former. He had also put down the rebel Pandyas by the fourteenth year. By the sixteenth year Rajaraja had added to his conquests Kollam (Quilon in Travancore) and Kalingam (Orissa). By the twentieth year he had asserted his authority over Ilam (or Ceylon). The conquest of Ganga and Nolamba territories were not acquiesced in by the Chalukyas as was already pointed out; and now began that duel which lasted on to the year A.D. 1117. It was between the years twenty and twenty-four of Rajaraja that he is said to have invaded Rattappadi seven and a half lac country; and he claims having defeated the Chalukya Satyasraya. This twenty-sixth year is the year in which Rajaraja got the bulk of his inscriptions incised in the Tanjore Temple, a record of gifts and offerings made by himself, his queens, his sister the Pallava lady Kundavvaiyar, and others. His list of conquests comes to an end with the mention of his acquisition of 'the twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea' in his twenty-ninth year. This year appears to have been his last* and would take us on to the year A.D. 1012. Rajaraja's conquests came to a close practi-

* He seems to have lived actually five years longer.

cally in A.D. 1005. He had settled the boundary of the Chola empire on the northern and north-western side. A somewhat irregular line drawn from Yedatore Nad 2,000 to the Tungabhadra along the line of separation between the Malnad and Maidan districts of Mysore, and then continued along the river to where it meets the Krishna, and then on to the sea, this line would mark off the Chola country proper. Along the coast, however, the Chola power extended through the districts of the Madras Presidency to Vizagapatam, although Kalingam farther north is also among the conquests of Rajaraja. His son Rajendra was evidently crowned while yet the father was alive in A.D. 1011-2. Rajaraja was known as Arumoli Deva when heir-apparent under Madhurantaka. He assumed in the third year of his reign the title Mummudichola and towards the close of his reign, the title Jayamgonda. He is also known as Rajasraya. He was, all things considered, the greatest of these great Cholas, not only because of his great conquests, but also in the more humane field of constructive administration.

Rajendra, the Gangaigondachola, otherwise Mudigonda, Nigarili and Uttamachola, was quite a worthy son of a great father. As a prince he seconded with energy the efforts of his father, and that this was so is borne out by his early records, which state that he 'conquered with his great and warlike army Idaitturainadu, Vanavasi whose warriors (were protected by) walls of continuous forests, Kollippakkai, whose walls were surrounded by *śuḷḷi* (trees), Mannaikkadagam (a town in the Nelamangala Taluk, of the Bangalore District, perhaps represented by *Būdihāḷu*), of unapproachable strength.' All these are places along the frontier between the Cholas and the Chalukyas and are situated

along the boundary marked out above. His next exploit was the conquest of Ilam. He took from the king of this island 'the crown of the king, the exceedingly beautiful crown of the queen, the crown of Sundara and the pearl necklace of Indra, which the king of the south (the Pandya) had previously given up to that (king of Ilam); the whole of Ilamandalam.' This, together with the crown, 'the garland of the sun,' and the family treasures of the king of Kerala entitled him to the surname Mudigondachola which he assumed before the sixth year of his reign. These records lay claim to the conquest of many ancient islands. This is probably a mere echo of his father's achievements. By his ninth year he added the 'impregnable' *Sāndimattīvu* where Parasurama had lodged a gold crown worthy of Lakshmi the goddess; defeated the Chalukya Jayasimha at Muyangi and conquered Rattappadi seven and a half lac country; and the principal great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kubera).' Records of his twentieth year claim for him the following additions to his list of conquests: 'Sakkarakottam (Chakrakota) belonging to Vikramavira; Madura-mandalam with the fort of Mudiripada; Namanaikkonam; Panchappalli of Venjilaivira; Masuni-desam; the family and other treasures of Dhiraratha of the race of the Moon, after defeating him in the hall of Adinagar; Oddavishaya whose waters are hard to approach; Kosalai-nadu where Brahmans assemble; Dandabutti (Dandabhukti) after having destroyed Dharmapala in hot battle; Dakkana Latam after having forcibly attacked Ranasura; Vangaladesam from which Govindachandra fled, having lost his fortune; elephants of rare strength after a hot battle with Mahipala of Sangukkottam which touches the sea; and Ganga whose water

sprinkle *tirthas* on the burning sand.' Many of the details in this long list have to be left unexplained in our present state of historical knowledge; but it would be rash to dismiss these as mere figments of the writers' imagination in the face of the recently discovered Tiruvalangadu plates which apparently confirm several of these details. These plates were composed in the sixteenth year of Rajendra, and contain what looks like a quite unvarnished tale of the contemporary political condition of India, although Rajendra may not be given credit for all that the record may claim as his conquest. According to this record Rajendra first conquered the Pandya country and appointed his son Chola-Pandya as viceroy; he then turned upon Kerala and added it on to his son's charge. He then started upon his more distant expeditions overcoming the Chalukya Jayasimha. After this he sent his general to the banks of the Ganges. Indraratha of the lunar race was overcome, the wealth of Ranasura was seized, and the country of Dharamapala was subdued. The Chola general got the vanquished kings—among whom was Mahipala (of Bengal)—to carry the water of the Ganges for his master. This is plainly an imitation of the supposed achievement of Senguttuvan Sera of the Silappadhikaram; but none the less does it seem to be true that he brought the Ganges water to purify the great tank which he constructed at Gangaikondasolapuram, and which he named with pardonable egotism *Chola Gangam* 'the pillar of Victory'. This again is an imitation of the deed ascribed to an ancient Chola who let the water of the Ganges into that of the Kaveri. The Chola general then captured the king of Orissa with his younger brother, before Rajendra returned to his capital. On a

subsequent occasion he crossed the sea and captured Kadaram, having taken on the way the Nicobars and other places. This oversea achievement of Rajendra is found graphically described in inscriptions of his nineteenth year, and is believed to be the source of the Kanarese drama *Rajasēkheravilāsa.* This nineteenth year is probably the last of his conquering years. Allowing the fullest for the possible exaggeration of the panegyrist, there is still enough left to regard Rajendra as one of the greatest of Indian conquerors. The remaining twelve years of his reign he must have devoted to improving the efficiency of the administration which had been laid out and handed on by a line of rulers, who take high rank among the world's rulers. Devotee of the war-god as he seems to have been, he could not have neglected the arts of peace, if he applied the great accumulation of wealth, not only to outdo his father's magnificence in the building of a capital and temple at Gangaikondasolapuram; but also in the building of a magnificient tank, the bund on one side of which ran sixteen miles in length, and which was intended to irrigate a half from each of two districts. It was an act of modern and civilized vandalism that pulled down the bund and temple walls to build the lower anicut on the Koleroon. Perhaps it was already falling, or had fallen into disrepair very badly; all the same there is not much left, it is said, of this magnificent piece of work, as Pharaoh's *Gazetter* of the early nineteenth century calls it. Rajendra's last known year is the thirty-first and this would take us to the year A.D. 1042-3. He had, according to the custom of the family, associated with himself one of his sons from the year A.D. 1018. This son was Rajadhiraja though he was not the eldest, for among those honoured

with titles by him on his accession were an uncle (paternal) and an elder brother by name Alavandan.

Rajadhiraja, Jayamgondachola; Rajadhiraja ruled from 1042, the thirty-first year of Rajendra I to the year A.D. 1052, the year of the battle of Koppam where he fell. He and his brother Rajendra are regarded as brothers of Rajendra I by Mr. Rice, who does not assign, however, any reason in support of the view. From the statement made as to the break of succession by the death of Rajendra (by mistake for Rajadhiraja) in the battle of Koppam, it would appear that these two brothers were the sons of their predecessor, for otherwise the succession need not be considered as having ceased in the regular line. The two brothers succeeded Rajendra I one after the other. Rajadhiraja had an uncle (a younger brother of his father), and an elder brother as has been already stated. The fact that he was crowned by Rajendra I in 1018, while yet the latter was alive, would confirm the view that he was the son of his predecessor. Of this ruler a western Calukya inscription of A.D. 1071, at Annigere[41] in the Darwar district states that 'the wicked Chola who had abandoned the religious observances of his family, penetrated into the Beluvola country and burnt the Jain temples which Ganga Perumanadi, the lord of Gangamandala, while governing Beluvola, had built in Annigerenad; and that ' the Chola eventually yielded his head to Somesvara in battle, and thus losing his life broke the succession of his family.' This quotation shows that the Chola conquest of Gangavadi was no mere idle boast; that the Gangas who had become the feudatories of the western Chalukyas did not

41. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 441.

acquiesce in the conquest; and that, at one time, at least, the Cholas carried fire and sword through the southern part of the Ratta country. Rajadhiraja wherever he was engaged before, had to concentrate all his energies in keeping the frontiers quite as soon as he became independent ruler after A.D. 1042. There seems to have been a tendency to throw off the yoke on the part of all the subordinate allies of the Chola. He began by conferring upon his uncle, elder brother and four of this younger brothers the dignities of rulers over the Cheras, the Chalukyas, the Pallavas, the Gangas, the Pandyas and the people of Lanka. There were so many provinces which carried along with them the responsibilities of Lords or Wardens of the Marches. As to the 'Lord of Kanouj' it is only a title, probably taken from the victory over a king of Ceylon who was reputed to have come from Kanouj. This done, he marched upon his enemies in succession taking the easiest first and meeting out exemplary punishment to the traitors. He attacked the three allied Pandyas. The first of them, Manabharana, was decapitated; the second, Vira-Kerala, was trampled by an elephant; and the third, Sundara Pandya, was expelled to Mullaiyur. He destroyed one of the kings of Venad (Travancore), and wearing the garland of *vanji* (symbolical of going to war with a play upon the word, the name of the old capital) put to fight a Chera king and won a naval victory in the 'Roads of Kandalur.'

He next turned his attention to the Chalukya frontier and this time acted through his general Kevudan. The Chalukyas had to retreat under the princes Vikramaditya, Vijayaditya and Jayasimha, leaving two generals Gandappaiyan and Gangadharan dead. The victorious Cholas took advantage of this success, pressed

on the retreating force and set fire to Kollippakkai,[42] one of the Chalukya capitals. Having disposed of his other enemies, he could now turn to Ceylon where four successive rulers suffered disgrace and death at his hands. They were Vikramabahu, Vikrama Pandu, Virasalameghan and Srivallabha Madanarajan. Since the *Mahavamsa* concedes these victories over the Ceylon kings, Rajadhiraja may be given credit for these achievements of his. On his return from Ceylon, he defeated in an expedition northward Gandardinakaran, Naranan, Ganapati and Madhusudhanan, before entering the Chalukya dominions and destroying their gardens and palaces at Kampili. Collecting the tributes from one and all of these Powers without remission, and collecting 'his sixth share' of the produce he could well assume the title Jayamgondachola and enjoy a brief respite before he lost his life in the battle of Koppam on the Thungabadra,* which would better suit the circumstances of the case than Koppam on the Palar. This tale of conquests of Rajadhiraja shows that but for his energetic action the empire built by his two predecessors would have gone to pieces. He brought all the revolted provinces back to their allegiance; and handed the empire down to his sucessors intact; but it was even now that we find among the feudatories of the Chalukya Somesvara the name of the Hoysala Vinayaditya, in whose line was to be born Narasimha and his son Vira Somesvara, who were to play the role of protectors of the Cholas when their empire was fast crumbling through

42. Now Kulpak in the Nizam's Dominions: Vide Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1st number.

* It is actually Koppam on the Krishna near Kolhapur.

internecine dissensions and the onsets of the Pandyas. This is yet far ahead.

Rajadhiraja was succeeded by his younger brother Rajendra, who was present at, and played a prominent part in, the battle of Koppam where his brother fell. The earliest of his inscriptions, that of his third year, mentions his achievement at the battle where he was 'crowned', and so his reign could not have begun much earlier. This does not debar his having been associated with his brother in his career of conquest. An inscription at Heggadedevanakote in the Mysore district couples Saka 984 with his twelfth year, and this would give Saka 972 or A. D. 1050 for the commencement of his reign, although the battle of Koppam has been calculated to have taken place on May 23, A. D. 1053.[43] Rajendra then ruled from 1050 to at least A. D. 1062. His chief achievement is the restoration of the fortunes of the Cholas in the battle of Koppam which proves to be the turn in the tide of the Chola conquest. Perhaps already trouble was brewing at home and there might have been others who would have contested the succession. His other achievements are a reconquest of Ceylon but certain discrepancies of the names of the conquered Ceylon rulers would lead one to suppose that the achievements of Rajendra might have been only what he had done on behalf of his brother. That he was in Ceylon is borne out by inscriptions of his reign being found there. Rajendra is credited with having erected a pillar of victory at Kollapuram (Kolhapur). His daughter, Madhurantaki,

43. Rajadhiraja, Vijayendra Deva's inscriptions take us to A.D. 1057-58. See paragraph 56. *Ep. Rep., Ind.,* 1908. Note image at Darasuram from Kalyana brought by him.

was married to the eastern Chalukya Prince Rajendra, the son already of the daughter of the Gangaikonda Chola, by name Ammangadevi. This prince was to become later on the Chola emperor Kulottunga. Rajendra was succeeded by his son Rajamahendra of whom nothing more is known than that he dispensed justice better than Manu the ancient Chola who rode his car over his own son, in justice to a cow which lost its calf through the negligence of the prince. He is said to have made some benefactions to the temple at Srirangam. There is available an inscription of the second year of his reign. It was in succession to this ruler that we have another great Chola, whose connexion with his predecessors is not so clear and whose accession at the time seems to be regarded an act of usurpation. To understand the nature of the complications thus introduced, we have to go back upon a generation or two of South Indian history. Ahavamalla and his immediate predecessors have had one single object before them constantly; namely, the keeping back of the tide of Chola aggression. In this Ahavamalla was in the main successful. The title Ahavamalla, the great in war, was well-deserved by him and he carried on successfully the wars with the Cholas bequeathed to him by his predecessors.[44] It was also he who either founded (or enlarged) the Chalukya capital Kalyani in the Nizam's dominions, and he shifted to it the head-quarters of the empire from Yatagiri also in the Nizam's dominions (thirty miles,

44. Satyasraya and Jayasimha were respectively, rivals of Rajaraja and his son Rajendra. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part 2, 433.

south of Malkhed).[45] In this attempt at holding the southern frontier against the Cholas, he was ably seconded by his sons, Somesvara and Vikramaditya, the viceroys respectively of Banavase and Gangavadi. When Ahavamalla died in A.D. 1068[46] (March 29), he was succeeded naturally enough by his eldest son, Somesvara Bhuvanaikamalla; but unfortunately for the empire, his younger brother Vikramaditya was certainly the more capable of bearing the burdens of empire. The other sons of Ahavamalla, Jayasimha and Vishnuvardhana Vijayaditya, were more inclined to support Vikramaditya rather than Somesvara. During Ahavamalla's lifetime these young princes were already given important viceroyalties and were made to regard themselves 'Pillars of Empire' as their respective titles would show. Somesvara, Vikramaditya and Jayasimha appear to have been sons of the same mother, the Ganga princess[47] as the Vikramankadeva Charitam appears to warrant and as inscriptions[48] of Somesvara II himself would lead us to believe; while Vijayaditya was possibly their half-brother. While investing Lakshmana as governor of Banavase, in return for valuable services rendered to the empire, Somesvara says; 'junior to me is Vikrama, to him is Singhi junior; to me, Vikrama, and to Singhi you are junior and all the rest are junior to you.'

45. Fleet, 450. *Ibid., Epi. Car.*, VII. Sh. 20a. *Jayasimha Devar nija vijaya kaṭaka samanvitam līla vilāsadind Etagiriya Nelevīḍinoḷ*, etc.

46. *Epi. Car.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136, Shimoga, Part 1.

47. Dr. Fleet thinks she was a Pallava Princess, K. D. 440, note 3.

48. Vol. VII, Sk. 136, *Epi. Car.*

But from the titles of each of these princes Mr. Rice would infer that Vikramaditya was the son of a Ganga princess, Jayasimha of a Pallava-Nolamba princess and Vijayaditya of an eastern Chalukya princess. This is not a necessary inference, the titles of these princes being explained by the mere facts of their conferment upon the princes by the ruling emperor. Such investitures have been the fashion among the Chola emperors, their contemporaries. Rajadhiraja, Rajendra and Virarajendra in succession made it a point to hold investitures of the sort and a number of titles importing authority over foreign states has been bestowed on Chola princes of the blood.[49]

Ahavamalla Somesvara left behind him four-sons, the eldest succeeding him, while the second had cherished imperial ambition for sometime at least.

To understand the situation among the Cholas, we have similarly to go back upon the rise of their power. The Chola Power rose from the ashes of the Pallavas the earliest conquests of the Cholas having been the Tondaimandalam, re-named Jayamgonda Cholamandalam and Kongu. One of the mightiest and the most statesman-like exploits of the great Rajaraja I (A.D. 985-1016) was the conquest and the subsequent conciliation of the eastern Chalukya dominions of Vengi, i.e. the Telugu country. To attach this to him permanently he married one of his daughters Kundavvaiyar to the Chalukya Vimaladitya. This was followed in the next reign by a more important marriage—more fruitful of consequences to the Empire. Rajendra, the Gangai-

49. *Vide* the inscriptions of these in Vol. III, Part 1, *South Ind. Ins.*

konda Chola, had a daughter Ammanga Devi, who had been given in marriage to the eastern Chalukya Rajaraja, probably her own cousin. The offspring of this happy union was a Rajendra Chola who was to become famous as Kulottunga, 'the upraiser of the fame of the two families'. This grandson of Gongaikonda Chola had married the daughter of Rajendra, the victor over Ahavamalla at Koppam, and when this Rajendra died, the son-in-law aspired to the Chola empire, although there was a brother and at least a number of sons of Rajadhiraja. This ambition unwarranted though it appears, seems to have had some support among the royal family. This in fact was the discordant element in the Chola Empire. About A. D. 1070, therefore, Somesvara Bhuvanaikamalla was the emperor of the Chalukya dominions, while his younger brother Vikramaditya was an aspirant to the imperial position. In the Chola empire Rajendra was succeeded by his younger brother Virarajendra, while Rajendra Chola of the eastern Chalukya dynasty was equally an aspirant to the empire, which brought him within an ace of losing his own patrimony of the Chalukya kingdom. These transactions, we shall now take up in some detail.

The Chola emperor Virarajendra had the following among his titles, which he probably assumed as a result of his achievements against the western Chalukyas, namely, Sakalabhuvanasraya, Srimedhinivallabha, and Maharajadhiraja. He assumed also another Rajasraya, which before him had been borne by Rajaraja, the Great. Two others, by the former of which alone he was spoken of by the western Chalukyas,[50] were Vira

50. *Epi. Car.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136.

Chola and Karikala. In one of Rajendra's inscriptions we find a brother of his, by name Vira Chola, on whom he conferred the title Karikala, and if these two persons, Virarajendra the emperor and Vira Chola the prince, could be identified as the Mysore inscription would justify, Virarajendra was a brother of the two brothers Rajadhiraja and Rajendra the heroes of Koppam. This along with 'the twenty-third year of (my) father (ஐயர்), who was pleased to conquer the eastern country, the Ganga and Kadaram' of the Gangaikondasolapuram inscription of the fifth year of Virarajendra, would solve another puzzle of Chola genealogy. This quotation refers to the great conqueror Gangaikonda Chola, Rajendra the son and successor of Rajaraja the Great. His conquests of territories on the banks of the Ganges and the Irawaddy have now happily been placed beyond a doubt, thanks to the researches of Messrs. Venkayya and Kanakasabhai Pillai[51] by the identification of Naccāvaram with the Nicobars and Pappalam which according to the *Mahāvamśa* of Ceylon is a port of Ramanna, i.e. the Talaing country portion of Burma. Thus then the known facts so far clearly point to Virarajendra as the younger brother succeeding the elder, although according to the Kalingattuparani and a few inscription[52] we have to accommodate a Rajamahendra between the victor at Koppam and his successor brother Virarajendra. Either it is that Rajamahendra died a *Yuvaraja* without independently reigning or he was set aside; but the latter conclusion does not appear to be warranted, as this Vira-

51. Article in the *Madras Review,* November, 1903.
52. *Alangudi Ins. of Rajaraja II,* page 191; *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, Part 2.

rajendra had an elder brother in the person of Alavandan *alias* Rajaraja, and, as will appear, Virarajendra himself was associated with his brother Rajendra in his expeditions into the Chalukya territory. Rajamahendra, the son of Rajendra, then died soon after his father and Virarajendra ascended the throne.

For three generations the Cholas and the Chalukyas were contending for mastery in Peninsular India. The Rashtrakuta Krishna III ably seconded by his feudatories the Gangas had brought the rising Chola power low indeed. As these Rashtrakutas themselves were subverted, the opportunity for the Cholas arrived and the father and son, Rajaraja and Rajendra, took the tide at the flood. While the father conquered and organized, the younger, the son went on advancing the Chola arms into the Mysore country, took possession of eastern and southern Mysore and advanced the Chola frontier to Yedatorenad 2,000 in the west and Kollippakkai on the Banavase frontier in the northwest. Lattalur, Kollippakkai and Henjeru (Penjeru)* were the gates of the Chalukya empire from the south. This was regarded as of so much importance that the warden of this frontier was a marked official, often a relative of the Chalukya emperors. In A.D. 1060 a Ratta, named Singana Deva, was ruler of this part of the country. He has been described as 'a dweller at his lotus feet (of Trailokyamalla), entitled to the five big drums,* Mahamandalesvara (lord of) Lattalur, ornament of the Yaduvamsa, chief of Kollippakkai, determined champion over the chief of Penjeru

* It is better to translate the term "five great sounds," (*panchamahāśabda*), a band of five kinds of sound-emitting instruments.

(Henjeru,) an elephant to the lotus-garden of the Chola and Lala feudatories, the door of the southern region,[53] the Kalakutas poison to hostile kings, his father-in-law's lion, the Meru of the Rattas—with these and all titles the Mahamandalesvara Singana Deva, was ruling the kingdom (composed of) the Uchchangi thirty, the Sulengal seventy, the Mandali thousand, the four Chola villages, with the stones and treasures, the thousand force and others, putting down the evil and upholding all.'

Having done this great work Rajendra laid down this earthly authority and position, and then the troubles rose all over again, as a succession is the occasion for enemies. The rulers who followed next had to fight the wars over again; but then these were only in the farthest frontiers. Ceylon, Madura and Malabar were easily brought back to a sense of allegiance, but not so this Tungabhadra frontier, where it was not a question of allegiance but of mastery. The wars were, therefore, prolonged and continued almost from year to year. Invasions and counter invasions were the order of the day. The Cholas had taken occasion once to plant a pillar of Victory at Kollapuram (Kolhapur).

The great battle at Koppam in 1053 did not settle the matter finally. Each party claimed the victory though the advantage certainly lay with the Cholas. The Chalukyas continued to appoint governors of Gangavadi (with head-quarters first at Balgamve and then at Halebidu), although the Cholas had the territory certainly under them. When, therefore, Virarajendra came to the throne about A.D. 1062-3 he had to be very active on this side.

53. See Shikarpur 323, *Epi. Car.* VII, Kollipakke, the door of the south.

From his inscriptions it appears that he five times fought the Chalukyas in the region of the Tungabhadra. In three of these he fought against Somesvara Ahavamalla (A.D. 1044-68). Rajendra was crowned on the battle-field of Koppam in A.D. 1053, and an inscription of the twelfth year of his reign is known, although this ought to be, according to Prof. Kielhorn's calculation, the eleventh year. This would take us on to A.D. 1062, but this need not be the case, as with respect to the Cholas there was always an overlapping of reigns owing to the practice of Yuvarajas being associated in the administration by the reigning monarch.[54] The first achievement of Virarajendra was the beating back of prince Vikramaditya from Gangavadi. '(He) drove from the battlefield in Gangappadi into the Tungabhadra the Mahasamantas, whose strong hands wielded cruel bows, along with Vikkalan who fought under a banner that inspired strength.' In A.D. 1056 Vikramaditya was ruler of Gangavadi 96,000, Banavase 12,000 with Harikesarin of the family of the Kadambas of Hangal, as his deputy in charge of the latter district.[55] In A.D. 1058 Kadambalige thousand is placed under Chalukya Ganga Perumanadi. Two years later, Trailokymalla, Chalukya, Ganga Perumanadi Vikramaditya Deva was ruling the Gangavadi 96,000. These inscriptions at Davanigere[56] are borne out by the Shikarpur inscriptions.[57] According to these latter he was viceroy, with head-quarters at Balligave (Balgamve), of

54. In this case, however, the Yuvaraja was Rajamahendra and not Virarajendra.

55. Fleet: *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I, Part 2, p. 440, note 4; also *Ind. Antiquary* (IV. 103).

56. Nos. 153 and 140, *Epi. Car.,* Vol. XI.

57. Nos. 83 and 152, *Epi. Car.,* Vol. VII.

Gangavadi, with Banavase, Santalige and Nolambavadi. During the fifties of the eleventh century A.D. Ahavamalla had one of his sons Somesvara Bhuvanaikamalla, governing in the Bellary District and another governing practically the whole of the Mysore Province, with of course, deputies to help him. Later on Vishnuvardhana Vijayaditya was governor of Nolambavadi 32,000 (eastern Mysore) with the title Vengimandalesvara[58] and headquarters at Kampili (Kampli) and Jayasimha, ruler of Banavase alone. Thus it is clear that in a war with the Chola all these princes would figure, and so it is stated in the Chola inscription. Since the first achievement of Virarajendra is against prince Vikrama, it is clear that after the battle of Koppam the Chalukyas were slowly working their way up to Gangavadi. Virarajendra naturally had to push back Vikramaditya during the years A.D. 1055-1060. This achievement would fall within the period of the reign of Rajendra, as, according to Prof. Keilhorn's astronomical calculations, Virarajendra ascended the throne in A.D. 1062-3. This, together with Rajamahendra's[59] (son of Rajendra) having fought against the Chalukya Ahavamalla, would indicate that Virarajendra did not come to the throne by any act of usurpation on his part.

Virarajendra apparently had two objects in view now: (1) the keeping back of this Chalukya aggression which was always possible, and which was quite a real

58. Not because he was son of an eastern Chalukya Princess but he had charge of the Vengi frontier; and wars with Vengi were his province.

59. *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, Part 2, p. 191, *Epi. Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 20-4.

danger at the time; and, (2) his active interference, with a view to achieve this, in the affairs of the Vengi kingdom of his brother-in-law, who died about this time. The Telugu country safe on his side, the Chalukya advance in the south would be impossible. These objects of the Chola naturally led to great activity on these very frontiers. Hence the appointment of a frontier warden, a royal prince, with his head-quarters at Kampli at the salient angle between the Chola and the Vengi country. The second exploit of Virarajendra, therefore is a successful invasion of the Circars to prevent Vikramaditya gaining a hold upon the country. How Vikramaditya's intervention was brought about is not detailed in any of the inscriptions which state that: 'He (the Chola Emperor) attacked and destroyed the irresistible, great and powerful army which he (Vikkalan) had again dispatched into Vengainadu'. 'This must have been brought about somewhat in this wise. The eastern Chalukya Rajaraja, the son-in-law of the Gangaikonda Chola, died and had at least a son Rajendra better known as Kulottunga and a daughter Kundavvai; but we see that, the Vengi country passes into the possession of Vijayaditya, an uncle of Kulottunga, through the good offices of Virarajendra. This disputed succession ought to have brought Vikramaditya upon the scene. But Virarajendra was nevertheless victorious at last, and placed his nominee Vijayaditya of the eastern Chalukya family, (not of the western Chalukya family as was hitherto supposed), upon the throne, after a battle at Vijayavadi (Bezwada).

The next great achievement was his great victory at Kudal Sangamam over the entire body of the Chalukya forces. This place is at the junction of the Krishna and

the Tungabhadra, just the region wherefrom the Chalukyas would hope to bar the northward and north-eastward progress of the Chola. 'The enemy full of hatred, met and fought against (him) a third time, hoping that his (former) defeats would be revenged. (The King) defeated countless Samantas, together with these (two) sons of Ahavamalla, who were called Vikkalan and Singanan at Kudal Sangamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave vanguard in advance, and having himself remained close behind with the kings allied to him, (he) agitated by means of a single *must* elephant that army (of the enemy), which was arrayed (for battle), (and which) resembled the northern ocean. In front of the banner-top he cut to pieces Singanan, the King of warlike Kosalai, along with the furious elephants of (his) vanguard. While Kasavadanda-nayaka, Ketarasan, Marayan of great strength, the strong Pottarayan (and) Irachchayan were fighting (he) started, saying: "Follow Muvendi, (who wears) a garland of gold!" and cut to pieces many Samantas, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Maduvanan who was in command fled; Vikkalan fled with dishevelled hair; Singanan fled, his pride and courage forsaking (him). Annalan and all others descended from the male elephants on which they were fighting in battle, and fled; Ahavamalla too, to whom they were allied, fled before them. The king stopped his fast furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, seized his wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, white chamaras, the boar banner, the ornamental arch, the female elephant (called Pushpaka) and a herd of war-elephants along with a troop of prancing horses, and amidst (general) applause put on the crown of victory (set with) jewels

of red splendour.'[60] This was the battle of Kudal Sangamam and I have quoted the inscription in full to give an idea of how battles were fought in those times. While the Chalukya records mention in general the prowess of the Chalukyas, they do not give us circumstantial details of any particular battle against Virarajendra in person. Bilhana's *Vikramānkadeva Charitam* no doubt depicts prince Vikramaditya as conducing expeditions towards the south and credits him with the occupation both of Kanchi and of Gangaikondasolapuram. This is not during the reign of Virarajendra but after his death, as we shall have to relate. That he invaded Vengi is no doubt likely, but even here the result is entirely different from what the panegyrist would have us believe. Before the close of his fourth year, *i.e.*, prior to the death of Somesvara I, Virarajendra had conquered other chiefs.[61]

But inscriptions of his fifth year, the year of the death of Somesvara Ahavamalla, state that the Chola emperor, having defeated the Keralas at Ulagai and defeated and imprisoned the Pandyas (*Kanniyas*) and Chalukyas, the king overthrew several chiefs among whom figure the Ganga and Nolamba chiefs. When he retired to Gangaikondasolapuram he received an autograph letter from the Chalukya Somesvara challenging the Chola king to meet him once more at Kudal Sangamam. Virarajendra accepted this and marched to the appointed place Kandai. Not finding the Chalukya Somesvara there, he waited a month and then putting to fight such of the Chalukya army, as had been there to watch him

60. No. 20, *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, Part 1.

61. The chiefs of Pottappi (Kalahasti); Varan of Kerala, the younger brother of 'Jananatha of Dhara and the Pandya Prince probably one Virakesarin, son of Srivallabha.

and, having erected a pillar of victory on the Tungabhadra, inscribed upon it an account of his conquest of Rattappadi seven and a half lac country.

Then he 'appointed the liar, who came on a subsequent day, as Vallabha (Chalukya king) and tied (round his neck) a beautiful necklace.' These transactions have to be accounted for in this wise: the fifth year of Virarajendra was the year of the death of Somesvara Ahavamalla, who passed away by drowning himself in the Tungabhadra, owing to attack of a malignant fever. This would account for his absence from Kudal Sangamam. His death brought matters to an issue between the two brothers Somesvara II and his younger brother Vikramaditya, of whom the latter was the more distinguished in the recent transactions. It was then that he appeared somewhat belated at the Chola camp, and negotiated successfully for Chola help in the event of his attempt to gain the throne as against Somesvara. The treaty was sealed, of course, by the marriage of the Chalukya prince with the daughter of the reigning Chola. Though some of the Chola inscriptions give a ludicrous character to this particular transaction, that this was the real import is amply clear from these inscriptions themselves, while the *Vikramānkadēva Charitam* gives naturally enough a glossed version of it in favour of the hero prince Vikrama. This done Virarajendra marched into the Vengi country. Having moved (this camp) he declared: '(We) shall not return without regaining the country of Vengai, which (we had formerly, subdued. You (who are) strong, come and defend (it) if (you) are able!' That army which was chosen for this expedition drove into the jungle that big army, which resisted its enemy on the great river close to Visayavadi (Bezwada), and which

had for its chiefs, Jananathan, the Dandanayaka Rajamayyan, whose must elephants trumpted in herds and Mupparasan. 'His elephants drank the water of the Godaveri. He crossed over Kalingam and beyond it dispatched for battle his invincible army as far as the further end of Sakkaragottom (Chakra-kotta). He re-conquered the good country of Vengai and bestowed it on Vijayadittyan, whose broad hand held weapons of war and who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet.'

This last affair, as has been explained already, is the outcome of a disputed succession in the Vengai country. After the death of the eastern Chalukya Rajaraja (A.D. 1060-1), Kulottunga (Rajendra) ought to have succeeded, but this succession appears to have been disputed. The *Kalingattuparani* records that the wife of Gangaikonda Chola took up the dear child when it was born, and from the signs upon its feet predicted his uplifting both the families in fame. This was nothing more, probably, than the pious grandmotherly wish for the advancement of her grandson. It is very probable that the child was brought up in the grandfather's house, with all the paraphernalia of empire surrounding the young prince. Thus it was made possible for his uncle Vijayaditya to make a successful attempt to place himself on the throne of Vengai, as we find inscriptions of Kulottunga's early years only in the southern end of his paternal dominions, i.e., the territory round about Madras. In his difficulty Vijayaditya probably sought the strong arm of Virarajendra, to whom a friendly Vengi was of paramount importance. This would, *inter se*, be detrimental to the interests of the Chalukyas of Kalyani. Hence all the warlike transactions between the rival powers, in regard to Vengi in which neither was directly interested.

Returning from this victorious expedition to Gangaikondasolapuram, Virarajendra assumed the paramount title of Rajadhiraja or, as other inscriptions say, Rajadhirajan Rajaraja, 'as was the custom of the family.'

Inscriptions of the sixth year of Virarajendra and also those of his seventh year, add another engagement between the contending powers at Kudal Sangamam, for the third time, when Virarajendra 'burnt Kampili before Somesvara could untie the necklace which he had put on, and set up a pillar of victory at Karadikkal.' This Somesvara is correctly identified by Dr. Hultzsch with Somesvara Bhuvanaikamalla, the son of Ahavamalla and the elder brother of Vikramaditya and Jayasimha, who was, according to Dr. Fleet, sometime governor of the Beluvola, Purigere, etc., country earlier. On a third occasion, Virarajendra burnt the city of Kampili, before 'Somesvara could untie the necklace which he had put on and set up a pillar of victory at Karadikkal'.[62] The untying of the necklace refers to the untying of the necklace of Yuvaraja to assume the higher one of the reigning sovereign, rather than, as Dr. Hultzsch considers, to the incident having taken place in the lifetime of Somesvara I. In an inscription at Shikarpur,[63] Somesvara II assumed the royal insignia on the fourteenth day after the death of his father, as is the Hindu custom even now; and the inscription 83 of vol. III of *South Indian Inscriptions* implies that Virarajendra acted promptly after the death of Ahavamalla, for the Shikarpur inscription says that the Chola king thought of taking advantage of the change of rulers

62. This refers to the promptness with which the victory was gained.

63. Sk. 136, *Epi. Car.*, Vol. VII.

and exclaiming! 'A new reign; a kingdom fit only for a hero; now is the time to invade it; I will surround Gutti and besiege it.' The inscription states further down that Vira Chola turned his back after a cavalry skirmish between the vanguards. If this interpretation is correct these events must have taken place in A.D. 1068. Before the next year, Virarajendra added to his laurels by the over-sea conquest of Kadaram* in the Talaing country of Burmah.

All this time of active warfare, we have evidence of Virarajendra's transacting business of a civil character. Whenever he was at Gangaikondasolapuram, his capital, his secretaries were busy bringing papers and dispatches which he disposed of promptly. It is a pity that there are no inscriptions to give us a hint as to how he arranged for this civil business while he was engaged in war. From the few inscriptions of his time, which we have, he shows himself to have been an active monarch, who acted up to his responsibilities, and when he passed away about the year A.D. 1070, he left behind him a compact kingdom to his son Adhirajaraja; but the opportunity for Kulottunga now arrived after having waited for over eight years.

One more point deserves mention here before we close the account of Virarajendra. There is a Tamil grammar, by name *Vīrasōḻiyam,* written by Buddhamitra, with a commentary by the author's disciple Perundevanar. It is called *Virasōḻiyam* from the patron of the author who was born at Ponparri in Malaikurram. This Mr. Venkayya would identify with Ponpetti in the Pattukottai Taluka, as this would bring him near Tondi,

*Now identified with Kedah in Malaya Peninsula.

of which Buddamitra is said by his pupil, the commentator, to have been lord. That the patron, whose name has been associated with the grammar, is none other than Virarajendra is borne out by references to and quotations of inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I and those referring to the battles of Koppam and Kudal Sangamam. No inscription of a later time is mentioned, and the name of Virarajendra as the author's patron is found in the text of the grammar itself. This makes another landmark in Tamil literary history and gives the clue to many a knotty point in the literary chronology of Tamil.

The death of Virarajendra in A.D. 1070, marks another stage in the struggle between the Chola and Chalukya Powers. It has already been pointed out that prince Vikramaditya had entered into an agreement with Virarajendra on the Tungabhadra; but the death of his powerful ally and father-in-law made him halt in his course towards achieving the usurpation that he must now have planned already. We have noticed before that the disputed succession at Vengi brought both the Chalukya and the Chola upon the scene, but the Chola had the best of it in the fight and Vengi was yet faithful to the Cholas under Vijayaditya. Kulottunga all this period had been governing, either in his own name or as it appears more likely, as a viceroy of the emperor, the territory in the middle, including in it the region embracing Tiruvorriyur, Tiruvalangadu in the Karvetinagar Zemindari and Kolar.[64] Vikramaditya took the measure of the situation at a glance, and set about putting his neigh-

64. This I infer from the fact that the earliest inscriptions of Kulottunga are found in this region; but this may not have been the case.

bourhood in good attitude for his crowning act. Prince Rajendra Chola was likely to strike in for the Chola empire, and it was of immense importance to secure the Chola succession to his brother-in-law, who had already been associated with his father Virarajendra. This he did, and we have the ruler Adhirajarajendra in succession to his father. We have inscriptions of his third year, while Virarajendra's dates run into the year, A.D. 1070. So Adhirajaraja would have ruled independently for only part of a year. According to the *Vikramānka Deva Charitam*, Vikramaditya installed his brother-in-law, and the *Kalingattupparani* and *Vikkirama Śoḻanulā* mention a king between Virarajendra and Kulottunga. This apart, an inscription of the third year of Virarajendra mentions that the magistrate Rajarajamuvendavelan and the Senapathi Rajaraja Paranriparakshasan *alias* Virasola Ilango, met at Kanchipuram and held an inquiry into the administration of a grant made in the eighth year of Virarajendradeva. This same Senapathi Rajaraja Paranriparakshasan *alias* Virasola Ilango figures in the same capacity under Kulottunga in an inscription of his second year (i.e., 1072) at Tiruvorriyur. Thus then it is clear that Adhirajaraja succeeded his father but had only a short reign, for in the same year Rajendra Chola *alias* Kulottunga also ascended the throne of the Chola empire. This unsettled the arrangements of Vikramaditya, who had to bide his time, and it is probable, as the *Vikramānkadeva Charitam* states, that he was on the best of terms, in the meanwhile, with his brother Somesvara.

Leaving Vikramaditya aside, we have to consider the position of the other young prince whose name bulks out so largely in the South Indian politics of the time,

namely, Rajakesarivarman Rajendra Chola *alias* Kulottunga Chola. It has already been pointed out that he was the grandson of the Gangaikonda Chola, and that it was probable that he was brought up in his grandfather's house, whether he was actually adopted by him or not. There was, in fact, no reason for the adoption as the grandfather appears to have had a number of sons, who were (at least one of them was) associated as lieutenants of the great conquering Chola. One would naturally expect this Rajendra to succeed his father, when he died in 1061-2 or the next year. In all the transactions about the appointment of Vijayaditya VII as viceroy of Vengi, we do not hear of the name of Kulottunga, and this would suggest that this young ambitious prince did not regard it as a matter of much moment to him whether he was viceroy of Vengi or not. His ambition was imperial and not viceregal, in this resembling his great contemporary Vikramaditya, who for many years had practically the whole of the southern half of his father's and brother's empire under his control. There is yet another reason for this indifference, but this seems to be the main reason, though it appears to have escaped the notice of the expert editors of these inscriptions, Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkayya. The earlier inscriptions of Kulottunga state that, as Yuvaraja, he accomplished two great feats: (1) the capture of elephants at Vairagaram and (2) the capture of the fortress of Chakrakottam. His inscriptions take us on to his forty-ninth year as emperor, and so he must have ascended the throne, a comparatively young man. Then he may have been Yuvaraja to his father, the eastern Chalukya Rajaraja I, or his grandfather and uncles. If he had been at Vengi all the while, Vijayaditya's succession could not

have been possible, altogether setting aside his nephew; but granting that he was at Vengi, where was this Vairagaram and what is the achievement of catching elephants? If again he was even ousted by Vijayaditya his uncle, the fact of his accession to the eastern Chalukya dominions, specifically stated by the Pitapuram pillar inscriptions and the copper-plate grants, is not borne out by any of his inscriptions, all of which are dated as from A.D. 1070, the year of his accession to the Chola throne. There appears to be only one explanation for all this. Vairagaram is Wairagarh in the Central Provinces,[65] northeast of Ajanta, and it is here that as the Chola Yuvaraja, on the occasion of the invasion of Virarajendra, or his grandfather, Rajendra I, he distinguished himself. His early inscriptions affirm that '(He) gently raised without wearying (her) in the least the lotus-like goddess of the earth residing in the region of the rising sun.' (அருக்கனுதையத் தாசையிலிருக்கும் கமலமனைய நிலமகள் தன்னை முன்னீர்க்குளித்தவன்றுள், திருமாலாதிக் கேழலாகி எடுத்தன்ன யாதும் சலியாவகையினி தெடுத்து தன் குடைநிழல் இன்புற இருத்தி).[66] This land of the rising sun cannot well be the country of Vengi, and if the conquest of part of Burmah by Rajendra I is accepted, as it must now be, this would only mean that Rajendra Kulottunga distinguished him-

65. I am glad to find Pundit Hira Lal support me in this suggestion to which I was led by Mr. Venkayya's objection to my previous identification of Vairagaram with a place of similar name in Burmah *vide Epigraphia Indica*, X, 26-7.

66. Note also:
வார்கடற்றிவரந்தரத்துப் பூபாலர் திறைவிடுதந்த கலஞ்சொரிகளிறு முறைநிற்ப.
South Ind. Ins., No. 76, Vol. III, Part 2, p. 169, 1-4.

self as a prince in the eastern exploits of his grandfather, either during, Rajendra Chola's, or under Virarajendra when he reconquered Kadaram. This would also satisfactorily account for the idea of the Pandita Chola (Rajendra, the Gangaikonda Chola) having been his father according to the *Kalingattupparani* (XIII. 62).

There is still the mention of his rule over Vengi to be explained. This is easily done by the mere fact that he was the legitimate heir whoever else had been viceroy (and Vijayaditya claimed to be nothing else), and when Kulottunga became emperor he did not wish to assert his claims to, or make a boast of what was certainly a much inferior position.

If this view of Kulottunga's earlier position be correct, then his achievement against Chakrakottam, against the ruler of Dhara might have been accomplished, when Virarajendra dispatched an army into Kalingam and across into Dhara after his last expedition into Vengi. The Kalinga ruler at the time was Rajaraja whose wife Rajyasundari, daughter of the Dramila (Dravida) King Rajendra Chola, was the mother of the Kalinga ruler Anantavarman Choda Ganga.[67] This Rajendra Chola, Dr. Hultzsch suspects, is identical with Virarajendra. Be this as it may, it is probably in this invasion that Kulottunga found occasion to distinguish himself against Chakrakottam.

This view of the early life of Kulottunga differs from that of Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkayya, who infer it was only a question of usurpation on the part of

67. It is quite possible that this Rajendra Chola was the Gangaikonda Chola, or Rajendra Kulottunga as Mr. Venkayya infers in his Report for 1905.

Vijayaditya, assisted by Virarajendra. This would accord very ill with Kulottunga's position in the interim. If he had remained anywhere in the Chola empire, Virarajendra would have taken steps to keep him out of ever-aspiring to the throne. Nor does he figure among the western Chalukya relations with Virarajendra. It appears, therefore, that he was biding his time as did Vikramaditya for nine years to work his way up to the empire.

Inscriptions of the second year of Kulottunga lend support to this view, as No. 64, vol. III of the *South Indian Inscriptions* implies 'that he felt himself already at that time as a member of the Chola family to which his mother and grandmother belonged, and not as an eastern Chalukya, because it mentions as his crest the tiger and not the boar.' In inscriptions of his first four years he styles himself Rajakesarivarman Rajendra Chola Deva, while that in his fifth year ascribes to him the title Kulottunga. In addition to the achievements already referred to while yet a prince only, the inscriptions of his fifth year add that he vanquished the king of Kuntala, that he crowned himself as king of the country on the banks of the Kaveri, and that he decapitated an unnamed Pandya king. 'Having made the wheel of his (authority) go as far as the Golden Circle (*i.e.*, Mount Meru) on the earth, which was surrounded by the moat of the sea, that was (again) surrounded by (his) fame, (the king) newly wedded, in the time when (he was still) heir-apparent (*iḷangō*), the brillant goddess of victory at Sakkarakkottam by deeds of valour, and seized a herd of elephants at Vayiragaram. (He) unsheathed (his) sword, showed the strength of (his) arm and spurred (his) war-steed, so that the King of

Kondala (Kuntala), whose spear had a sharp point, lost his wealth. Having established his fame, having put on (a garland of victory over) the northern region, and having stopped the prostitution of the goddess with the sweet and excellent lotus-flower (i.e., Lakshmi), of the southern region, and the loneliness of the goddess of the good country whose garment is the Ponni (Kaveri), (he) put on by right (of inheritance) the pure royal crown of jewels, while the kings of the old earth[68] bore his two feet (on their heads) as a large crown.' This would be the year A.D. 1075 and the Kuntalas here referred to must be the generals of Somesvara II, particularly his brothers, Vikramaditya and Jayasimha, the latter having been at the time viceroy of Banavase. This merely refers to an attempt at intervention on the part of Vikramaditya, as a result of the misfortune to his brother-in-law and the consequent change of rule. But before the eleventh year of Kulottunga's reign, he had to intervene with greater vigour in the affairs of the Mysore country. But how this was called for has to be explained before proceeding further.

Somesvara Bhuvanaikamalla ruled over the Chalukya empire from A.D. 1038 to A.D. 1076 when his reign came to an end. The only epigraphical information available is that Somesvara, having got intoxicated with pride after a few years of rule, neglected the government badly, and his virtuous brother Vikramaditya overthrew him in the interest of good government and established himself instead. Turning to the *Vikramankadeva Charitam* again for details, we have the following which I extract from Dr. Fleet.[69]

68. *South Ind. Ins.*, p. 142, Vol. III, part 2.
69. *Bombay Gazetteer*, part 2, Vol. I, pp. 444-5.

'Bilhana tells us, that, for a time, the two brothers lived in friendly fashion at Kalyana; the younger duly honouring the elder as the chief of his house and his king. Somesvara, however, fell into evil courses, and even tried to do harm to his brother. Thereupon Vikramaditya left Kalyana taking with him all his followers and also his younger brother, Jayasimha III, who, he considered, could not be safely left with the king. Somesvara sent forces in pursuit, to bring the brothers back. But he was unsuccessful and at last desisted from the attempt. Vikramaditya went on to the Tungabhadra on the bank of which river he rested his army for sometime, with the intention of fighting the Chola king. It appears, however, that, for some unexplained reason, he deferred this project in favour of making a triumphal progress through the southern and western parts of the kingdom; for, the narrative goes on to say, that having spent sometime in the Banavase province, he marched through the Malaya country, that Jayakesin the lord of Konkan, i.e., the first Jayakesin in the family of the Kadambas of Goa, came to him and brought presents, and that the lord of Alupa made submission and received favours in return. It also implies that he visited Kerala, and inflicted some reverses on the king of that country. He then seems to have taken some definte action against the Cholas. But it was stopped by the Chola king, Rajakesarivarman otherwise called Virarajendra Deva I, making overtures of friendship, and offering him a daughter in marriage, on the condition that he retired to the Tungabhadra. Vikramaditya accepted the proposals and the marriage was duly celebrated. Shortly afterwards, however, the news reached him that his father-in-law was dead, and that the Chola

kingdom was in a state of anarchy. He then proceeded at once to Kanchi the Chola capital; put down the rebellion there, and going to Gangakunda, secured the throne for his brother-in-law, probably Parakesarivarman otherwise called Adhirajarajendra. He then marched back to the Tungabhadra. But he heard, almost immediately, that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion, and that Rajiga the lord of Vengi,—i.e., the eastern Chalukya king Kulottunga Chola Deva I, whose original appellation was Rajendra Chola—had seized the throne of Kanchi. He at once prepared to march against Rajiga. The latter induced Somesvara II to enter into an alliance against their mutual enemy. When Vikramaditya at length reached Rajiga's forces, Somesvara's army was encamped, with hostile intentions, not far off in his rear. And in the battle which ensued, and in which Vikramaditya was victorious, Rajiga fled and Somesvara was taken prisoner. The narrative says that Vikramaditya at first intended to restore his brother to liberty and to the throne. But eventually he decided otherwise. He had himself proclaimed king, and then appointing Jayasimha III, viceroy at Banavase, proceeded to Kalayna and established himself there.'

The above is the account of Vikramaditya's Vidyapati (poet-laureate); and, apart from a little glozing in favour of his patron and a certain want of chronological sequence, the narration of events is in the main true. A part of this story has already been dealt with before —Vikramaditya's actual motive and how he entered into treaty with Virarajendra, what he did to his brother-in-law and how the affair ended. What has to be specially noted here is the last transaction of the

narration: how Somesvara was actually overthrown. It is very likely this achievement of Kulottunga, that is detailed in inscriptions of his fifth and sixth years, i.e., A.D. 1075-6. It is very probable that Vikrama's elder brother was an incapable ruler or even worse. There is no doubt that Vikramaditya had distinguished himself even during his father's lifetime. Nevertheless, he had carefully prepared his scheme and put it into effect at the psychological moment, and thus showed clearly to the world that in diplomacy, he was not behind any body at the time. It was, however, not a cold-blooded deed of unscrupulous usurpation, for it is quite possible that Somesvara's regime might have brought the empire to the verge of ruin, seeing they had to reckon with a neighbour like Kulottunga. In this enterprise, Vikramaditya had the support of the viceroys of first rank among his brother's officers, and this could not have been obtained if there had been no counterbalancing virtues in him. Seuna Chandra II of the Yadava family, the premier viceroy of the north-west, Jayakesin Kadamba of Goa; Achugi II of the Sinda family of Yelburga; Ereyanga Hoysala of Gangavadi, the son of Vinayaditya the right trusty lieutenant of Somesvara Ahavamalla; and Irukkapala, the brother of the governor of Nolambavadi; all these heartily helped Vikramaditya and were the main pillars of his empire for the following half century and more. Thus then Vikramaditya allowed Kulottunga to boast of a victory while he had to be busy at head-quarters to complete his usurpation. This done, there began the battle royal between the contending nations or rather rulers.

The next war, undertaken against the Chola, also appears to have gone against the Chalukyas. Inscrip-

tions of the fourteenth and fifteenth years of Kulottunga lay claim to having turned back an invasion of Vikramaditya from Nangali (about six miles east of Mulbagal) via Manalur (other inscriptions have it Alatti) to the Tungabhadra; and to having captured Gangamandalam and Singanam. Having secured his frontier in the north he turned his attention to the south against the Pandyas, and subdued the south-western portion of the Peninsula including in his conquests the Gulf of Mannar, the Podiyil mountain (in the Tinnevelly district) Cape Comorin, Kottaru, the Sahya (the western ghats) and Kudamalainadu (i.e., Malabar). About this time he appears to have effected conquests in the Malabar country, Vilinam and Salai having been occupied according to the *Kalingattuparani* and the *Vikkirama Śoḻanulā*. That this is not a mere high-falutin assertion of a triumph without success is amply borne out by the utter absence of purely Chalukya inscriptions beyond the Shimoga and the Chitaldroog districts, the capitals of the so-called viceroys of Gangavadi having been beyond the Gangavadi itself (namely, Balagamve first and Belur next); and the appointment of particular governors to hold the southern frontier against the Chola in northern Mysore.

'Lakshmana becoming lord of the Great Banavasenad, Vikramanolamba becoming the lord of Nolamba-Sindavadi, Gangamandalika (probably Udayaditya) becoming lord of the territory from Alampara, Bhuvanaikamalla, in view of their being as a long bar to the south, gave them these countries.'[70] Although this arrangement was actually made in the reign of

70. *Epi. Car.*, Vol. VII, p. 202 of the translation.

Somesvara II, there was no material alteration of frontier till about the early decades of the following century. These achievements of Kulottunga must have taken place about A.D. 1085.

If Vikramaditya moved south, about A.D. 1080, then the opportunity would have been taken advantage of by the Pandyas of the south, and Kulottunga had not only taken steps 'to fix the limits of the southern country,' but also had settled some of his officers on the roads through Kottaru to hold the country in check, 'while all the heroes in the western hill country (Kudamalai-nadu) ascended voluntarily to heaven, (he) was pleased to bestow on the chiefs of his army, who were mounted on horses, *settlements on every road*, including (that which passed) through Kottaru, in order that the enemies might be scattered, and took his seat on the throne acquired in warfare.'[71]

This war must have taken place soon after Vikramaditya ascended the throne in A.D. 1076 and both the emperors had learnt by A.D. 1080 (or thereabouts) that it was impossible to decide once for all on this frontier, and matters were left to settle themselves by efflux of time. During the rest of his reign the Chalukya emperor devoted himself to peace. His reign had a span of half a century and, during this long period, Bilhana notices an invasion and even occupation of Kanchi and two invasions across the Narbudha. The occupation of Kanchi was nothing more than the attempted invasion of the Chola empire which ended in failure. The other two invasions were active interventions in the affairs of

71. *Vide* No. 73, *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, part II; the officer in charge of Kottaru was a man of the Chola country.

Malva and Chedi or Dhara and Dahala, as, after the death of Bhoja of Dhara and Karna of Dahala, there was constant war. His invasion of Bengal and Kamarupa (or Assam) are not likely with the Cholas constantly on the alert, unless these happen to be mere contingents of armies sent to help a friendly Power.

Jayasimha, who had acted with him and had been rewarded with the viceroyalty of Banavase, a position which Vikrama himself occupied under his father, revolted and evidently the revolt had been put down; but nothing further was heard either of Jayasimha or of his other brother Vishnuvardhana Vijayaditya. With this change Vikramaditya effected an important modification of domestic policy, which produced consequences that could hardly have been foreseen by him. He gave important viceroyalties to chieftains with great local influence,[72] sometimes scions of old families, and these became founders of the great feudatory dynasties which played such important parts later on. We see this change taking place during the peaceful regime of the great Chalukya Vikramaditya. His empire extended from the Narbudda southwards to the Tungabhadra; and from the junction of the latter with the Krishna, if a line be drawn northwards more or less in a straight line to where the Wardha meets the Godavari and continued up this affluent, we shall have marked the eastern boundary of the Chalukya Empire. All the east of this from the southern portion of Ganjam was the Chola empire under his great contemporary Kulottunga,

72. His sons were given only viceroyalties, etc., near headquarters, e.g. Jayakarna, *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 455, Vol. I, part 2.

whose southern limit was Cape Comorin itself except for a small part—the Madura district—which was under the Pandya. The country beyond the western ghats to the sea was under the Chera or Kerala ruler in the same subordinate position as that of the Pandya, though unwilling.

This extensive empire of the Chalukyas was divided into Rashtra, Vishaya and Grama, answering exactly to the Mandalam (province) Nadu (division) and Ur (township). Hitherto viceroys were appointed over the larger divisions, sometimes over more divisions than one; but hereafter it is generally the rule that there is a viceroy over each of these larger divisions. Over the Vishaya, or the district, there was a governor who happened to be a local chief. We hear of Ganga chiefs with head-quarters at Yedehalli and at Asandi in Kadur district. Each village or township constituted the unit of administration, and had its own assembly or governor according to its history. Besides the viceroys of provinces there were great generals, ministers for peace and war, commissioners of finance, and great noblemen in Mahasenapatis or Dandanayakas, Sandhivigrahins (often there is a higher officer the Heri Karnata-Lata-Sandhivigrahin, great minister for peace and war of the Karnataka and the Lata territories), controllers of the *pannāya, pērjjunka* and other taxes and lastly the Mahasamantadhipatis—these last being kept at court, perhaps because they were dangerous elsewhere. The emperor had his capital at Kalyana; but he had also half a dozen other places in important positions, often referred to as *Rājadhānis,* or alternative capitals which, to judge from their location, would be for administrative convenience, more than to satisfy the vanity of the

ruler for the time being. These cities were Kalyana, the capital; Banavase and Balagamve, the head-quarters of the southern viceroyalty; Nadaviyappaiyanabidu, in the north-east of Bijapur on the frontier of the Nizam's Dominions; Etagiri, the modern Yetagiri, thirty miles south of Malkhed; Vijayapura, the modern Bijapur; Manneyakere, also in the Nizam's Dominions, and Vikramapura or Arasiabidu. Most of these were head-quarters of viceroyalties, while Etagiri was the old capital of the dynasty. Even Tiruvikramapura (named after either the emperor or Vishnu Kamalavilaṡin) was a capital under Somesvara, with the name Arasiabidu (the palace of the queen), because one of a number of the lady viceroys,[73] during the rule of the Chalukyas, had her head-quarters there.

Among the viceroys of Vikramaditya we find the names of a number of chiefs, who became later on the founders of the great feudatory families, though for the while their charges often changed. This has been stated already. Without following the details of the change of viceroys, the provinces were : (1) the Yadava territory of Devagiri or as it was known before this, Seuna Desa

73. Akkadevi, the aunt of Somesvara I, was governing Kisukad seventy in A.D., 1088.

The queens of Somesvara I, and some of his successors had small territories to administer, sometimes directly, often by Deputy.

Vikramaditya had six queens. Of whom we have records of four at least, in government of small districts or administration of revenues. One of them was governing the capital Kalyana and another had a district allotted to her for pin-money. (*angabhogha*).

Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part 2

ı capitals at Sinnar and then at Devagiri, including it all the territory in the north-west of the ›ire ; (2) the Silaharas of northern and southern ꞑkan, the country along the coast below Bombay; (3) the Silaharas of Kolhapur; (4) next come the Kadambas of Goa; (5) to the east of these their cousins the Kadambas of Hangal in Dharwar; (6) east of these come the Sindas of Yelburga; (7) then the Guttas of Guttal in Dharwar; (8) next the Rattas of Saundatti; (9) Banavase, often under the Kadambas of Hangal, after Jayasimha's rebellion; (10) Nolambavadi, under the Pandya chiefs of Uchchangidurg; (11) Gangavadi under the Hoysala Ereyanga and his sons Bellala and Vishnuvardhana; (12) Tardavadi round Bijapur. Besides these, there were the viceroyalties in the head-quarters territory, namely, round, Gobbur, Kammaravadi and Sitabaldi in the Nizam's Dominions and the neighbouring parts of the Central Provinces; these three having been under Rashtrakuta (the first two) and the Haihaya chiefs, respectively.

Except for the rebellion of prince Jayasimha, viceroy of Banavase and the two invasions across the Narbadha before the years A.D. 1088-9, and between that year and A.D. 1098, there was peace throughout the empire. But the monotony of it was broken by an invasion, probably of the eastern Chalukya dominions. There are inscriptions referring themselves to Vikramaditya's reign at Draksharama and at other places beyond his dominions, although Bilhana says that he was for sometime in occupation of Kanchi. But towards the end of his reign, the danger to the empire already showed itself in the advancing power of a Mysore chief. It has more than once been noticed before that the southern provin-

ces of the empire constituted the premier viceroyalty, and it is here that the greatest generalship was called forth. The Hoysalas were making themselves masters in reality of the Gangavadi 96,000, of which they had been nominal viceroys for two generations. Vinayaditya first, then Ereyanga his son, and then the latter's son Vishnuvardhana, through the loyal exertions of Ganga Raja, a dispossessed scion apparently of the Ganga family now turned out the Cholas and took Talkad, the headquarters of the Chola viceroyalty on or before A. D. 1117. This enhanced the reputation, and not less the resources of the Hoysala, who was advancing his power northwards by attacking Nolambavadi and Banavase. This movement appears to have been synchronous with that of the Kadambas of Goa and the Silaharas of Konkan. The empire was saved from the dismemberment by the watchful activity and energy of the Sinda chieftain, Achugi II, who defeated the Hoysala forces under Ganga Raja, which had marched up to the Krishnaveni (the Krishna river), in a night attack at Kannegala and chased them to Bellur. He then turned in the other direction and chased the others across the western ghats and took Goa.

Notwithstanding this, Vikramaditya continued to rule till the year A.D. 1126, or possibly A.D. 1127. He appears to have been a liberal patron of letters and religion. In his court flourished the Kashmirian poet Bilhana, who evidently wandered through the country in search of a patron, as did Vijnansevara the author of the *Mitākshara* system of Hindu Law. In religion he displayed the usual liberalism of Indian monarchs. From inscriptions 124 of Shikarpur, we find that as viceroy he got a Jinalaya constructed at Balligave. His father,

be it remembered, died a Saiva. From the founding of Tiruvikramapura and the construction of palaces, temples, etc., near the temple of Vishnu Kamalavilasin, as Bilhana records, he probably was a Vaishnava. Nevertheless a Dombal inscription of A.D. 1095, records grants made to the Viharas of Buddha and Arya Taradevi at that town. That Buddhism had its following is borne out by inscription 170 of Shikarpur,[74] that the great minister, the Dandanayaka Rupabhattayya, who was in charge of the (*Vaḍḍarāvuḷa*) principal taxes and the eighteen Agraharas, established the Jayanti Buddha Vihara in Balligave and made grants to it and for the worship of Tara Bhagavati, and of the gods Kesava, Lokesvara and Buddha with all their attendant gods, etc., in A.D. 1063. Vikramaditya had at least six wives, all of whom probably were not alive at once; but of his children we know of only three; Jayakarna, viceroy of some territory in the Bijapur division which he ruled by deputy; Somesvara III Bhulokamalla, who succeeded him; and a daughter Mailala Devi, who married the Kadamba Jayakesin II of Goa. He started an era from A.D. 1076 known as the Chalukya Vikrama, which did not get into such general vogue as to supersede the Saka era. It went out of use in the course of a century. Usurping the empire, Vikramaditya perhaps rendered a service to it by preserving it from dismemberment for another half a century, and we might say that he added to it southern and eastern Mysore. It was this same addition which carried with it unmistakable germs of dismemberment, and, as will be seen later on, the Hoysala

74. *Epi. Car.*, Vol. VII.

benefactors of the empire were the chief instruments, which caused it to break up.

Turning now from the Chalukya to the Chola empire, Kulottunga had by his fifteenth year introduced order into the revolted provinces, in the most persistent of which he even went the length of planting military colonies not in the Roman fashion, but by allotting territory to his officers, who would occupy the settlement at the head of the forces at their command.[75] The next year A.D. 1086, a year before the domesday survey, he seems to have undertaken a re-survey of some parts, at least, of his dominions. This fact is referred to in two inscriptions in the Tanjore district, and the unit of measure was the *Śrīpāda* (the royal foot) of Kulottunga. But that such surveys used to be, and had been, accurately carried out much earlier is attested by the references to the book (புத்தகம்) in the Tamil and *Kaḍitha* in the Kanarese countries.[76]

One achievement of Kulottunga which deserved a whole work to celebrate it in the estimation of his contemporaries, and perhaps himself, is the conquest of Kalingam for him by his general Karunakara Tondaman of Vandai, or Vandalur. The work referred to is the Tamil poem known as the *Kalingattupparani* of Jayamkondan, who was the Kavichakravarti at the court of Kulottunga as Bilhana was the Vidyapati at Kalyana. This conquest of Kalingam is also among the achieve-

75. This is borne out by his inscriptions being found at Maramangalam and Akkasalai on the site of the ancient Korkai, thus supporting Kulottunga's claim to have shut in the Pandya on the side of the Gulf of Mannar. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1904, p. 12.

76. See Govt. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1900, Sec. 25, p. 11.

ments of Vikrama Chola. So far as Kulottunga is concerned there are clearly two invasions of Kalingam referred to. The Tiruvidamarudur inscription of his twenty-sixth year refers to an invasion of Kalingam, but strangely enough his later inscriptions, which narrate accurately his other achievements, omit it. This would warrant the inference that it was not the achievement which invited the classic of Jayamkondan. The next reference to a conquest of Kalingam is in the inscriptions of his forty-second and forty-fifth years. This great conquest therefore ought to have taken place in or before A.D. 1112, while the first one was before A.D. 1095-6. Kalingam figures among places conquered by Rajaraja the Great and his son Rajendra. After the death in A.D. 1078 of Rajaraja of Trikalinga, his son Anantavarman Choda Ganga was on the throne till A.D. 1146. According to the Teki plates[77] of Rajaraja Chola Ganga, viceroy of Vengi and the eldest son of Kulottunga, issued in A.D. 1084, the boundary of the Vengi was Manneru in the Nellore district in the south and Mahendragiri in Ganjam in the north. This would show that south Kalingam was already under the Cholas. While therefore the first invasion might possibly have been to drive out some intruder into this remote frontier which was easy of accomplishment, the next one must have been of a formidable character. This probably was the occasion when Vikramaditya penetrated into Vengi (which would account for inscriptions of his reign at Draksharama), according to Bilhana, after long years of peace. He must have been compelled to retire. We have seen already that Virarajendra marched into Kalingam, and if

77. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 834, et seq.

Mr. Venkayya's identification of the Rajendra Chola the father of Rajyasundari, wife of the Kalinga Rajaraja and mother of Anantavarman Choda Ganga, with Rajendra Chola II be correct. then it is possible that Kulottunga undertook the grand invasion of northern Kalingam or Sapta Kalingam, the king of which according to the *Kalingattupparani* failed to appear with his tribute. This appears to receive support from the fact that the Kalinga Choda Ganga's increase of power took place during the years A.D. 1087 to A.D. 1118-19. In the Vizagapatam plates of the latter year he assumes titles and a magnificent genealogy, which are not found in the plates of the earlier year. He further boasts in the latter of having restored 'the fallen lord of Utkala (Orissa) in the eastern region,' and the 'waning lord of Vengi' in the western.[78]

If this be the correct view of the event, then the composition of the *Kalingattupparaṇi* will have to be brought down to somewhere near A.D. 1112, rather than to a period of about fifteen years earlier, a date hitherto fixed for it. The credit of this expedition, according to this work, is entirely due to Karunakara Tondaman of Vandai (Vandalur), but the inscriptions of Vikrama Chola lay claim to some very creditable performance on the part of the prince. It is very probable that the prince did bear his share in the glorious achievement of the conquest of northern Kalingam.

78. *Vide* Govt. *Epigraphist's Report for* 1905, p. 53. It may be noticed here that there was some relation of a friendly character between the Cholas and the rulers at Kanouj at the time, Madanapala and his son Govindachandra. *Vide Epigraphist's Report for* 1908, Sec. 58, at Gangaikonda Solapuram, containing the Gahadwal genealogy.

Before bringing the reign of Kulottunga to a close, there is one more event of importance to be discussed which took place during the last year of his reign. It is the conquest of Gangappadi, for the Chalukyas ostensibly, by the Hoysala chief, Bitti Deva, helped by his general Ganga Raja. This is recorded in detail only in inscriptions of A.D. 1116 and A.D. 1117, and the conquest could not have taken place very much earlier. Ganga Raja claims to have driven the Chola army across the Kaveri, and having ousted Adiyaman and Narasimha Brahma. The general then occupied Talakad, the Chola capital on the Kaveri. This was the crowning achievement of a series of enterprises by the Mysore chiefs to shake off the yoke of the Cholas imposed upon them over a century since, by another Rajendra Chola. Thenceforward, the Chalukya boundary nominally at least extended to Kongu, Nangali and Koyatur in the south. So far as we know at present, Kulottunga's forty-ninth year is the latest, and this would bring his reign to an end in A.D. 1118, just six years before that of his rival contemporary which took place in A.D. 1126.

This half century was a period of consolidation for the Chola empire, as it also was for the Chalukya. The administration was carried on on the lines laid down, as in fact must have been the case even before, to a great extent, by Rajaraja the Great. It is the idea of permanent peace which led to Kulottunga's military outsettlements in the Pandya, and Kerala frontier, for we find a Tanjore general endowing a temple, with the emperor's sanction, at Solapuram near Kottaru which was not far from Cape Comorin, which is now in the Travancore country. Except the loss of southern and eastern Mysore the

empire remained intact. When he died, it was at peace, surrounded by friendly powers all round, except on the Mysore frontier, where further aggression was very carefully checked. The danger when it befell the empire came from all quarters, but in the meanwhile, that the empire held together was due to the far-seeing arrangements of the great Chola monarchs of whom, we may say, this was the last. Kulottunga had three queens, namely, *Dina Chintāmani* (probably Madurantaki, daughter of Rajendra), *Ēḻiśaivallabhi* and *Tyāgavalli.* This last was the queen entitled, according to the *Kalingattuparaṇi,* to issue orders along with *Śenni* (Kulottunga I). She became chief queen only in A.D. 1095. Hence the latter work must have been composed between A.D. 1095 and A.D. 1118.

I shall show a little later on what the rural government was, and describe in some detail the actual machinery of the Chola administration. That these were not the invention even of the great Rajaraja is borne out by the inscription at Tirupparkadal, near Kaverippak (then known Kavidippākkam), of dates between Parantaka I and Rajaraja. We find mention here of a number of village committees in addition to those detailed in the following part:—

The tank committee, the garden-supervision committee and the general committee of management. The new ones are:—(1) the great men for the supervision of wards (Kudumbu) ; (2) the great men for the supervision of the fields; (3) the great men numbering two hundred; (4) the great men for the supervision of the village; (5) the great men for supervising Udasinas (ascetics). These committees, together with the learned Brahmans (Bhattar) and other distinguished men of

the village, constituted the village assembly. We sometimes come across the Grama Kon (chief of the village). There appear to have been individuals in charge of particular wards of the village. The following is an extract from an inscription at Perumber near Madurantakam of A.D. 1081. "The above (grant) was ordered by Sattai Govindbhattar of Irayur (in charge of) Srimadhurantakacheri, Kunrakuli Somayajiar of Uruppattur (in charge of), Sri Parantakachcheri; Kattugai Narayana-kramavittar of Nambur (in charge of) Sri Irumudisolachcheri; Sri Krishnabhattar of Aranipuram (in charge of) Sri Simhlantakachcheri; Narayanabhattar-Sarvakratuvajapeyayajiar of Pippirai (in charge of) Srivirasolachcheri, etc.

With reference to the re-survey undertaken in A.D. 1086, I have had to differ from the late Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar as to the interpretation of 'calculated' and 'settled produce' (காணிக்கடன்) & இறைகட்டினது.[79] That these meant the tax as assessed and that as settled after experience, if not experiment, and that such revisions and reductions of land revenue were known in those days are in evidence in the following extract. 'To (the god) Mahadeva of (the temple of) Rajendra Solisvara, which Araiyan Madhurantakan *alias* Kulottunga-Sola Keralarajan, the lord of Mulanjur in Manninadu, a district of Solamandalam had caused to be built at Kottaru *alias* Mummudi Solanallur, in Nanjinādu (a sub-division)

79. These were interpreted as gross produce and the government demand by the accomplished author of *The Forty years' Progress,* but he was so good as to admit in a kind letter that it was possible 'he was all wrong,' as he took the information from Dr. Burnell's *Palaeography* and did not consult the inscriptions first hand.

of Uttama Solavalanadu, a district of Rajaraja Pandinadu, shall be paid, for the expenses required by this god, from the thirtieth year (of my reign) forty-five and a half, three-twentieths, and one-fortieth, Madai, by the village of Andaykkudi in the same Nadu. According to (the settlement of) payments (that had taken place in the seventh year after the accession of Rajendra Sola Deva), (this) tax was paid instead of the (original) land tax of seventy-nine *Kasu* and three-hundred and twenty-four *kalam* of paddy. The previous name of this village having been cancelled and the name of Rajendra Sola-nallur (having been substituted), let it be entered in the revenue register (*vari*) as a tax free *Dēvadāna* from the thirtieth year (of my reign) including rents, internal revenue, and small right such as *Ūrkkaḷanju, Kumāra-kachāṇam,* the fishing rent, the tax on looms, the rent on the goldsmiths, *Māḍaikūli, Daśavandam,* and *Kālaḷavu-kūli.*'[80] The government shewed itself otherwise interested in rural prosperity by the establishment of an agricultural settlement of twenty-four families at Tiru-valangadu.[81] The Tiruvanaikkaval inscription of the year A.D. 1117 states that 'as these four and three-quarters (veli) of land had been lying full of holes and sand as uncultivated dry land, until the forty-seventh year of this king, we (the assembly) agreed to sell the land to Munaiyan Arumolidevan *alias* Villavaraiyan for purchase money of 4, $\frac{1}{20}$, $\frac{1}{80}$ good *kāśū* current at the time.' About this time land was selling in the Udaiyarpaliam Taluka, not very far off, at twenty *kāśu* per veli.[82] 'Having

80. *South Ind. Ins.,* Vol. III, part 2, p. 162.
81. No. 65, Vol. III, part 2, *South Ind. Ins.*
82. *South Ind. Ins.,* Vol. III, part 2, p. 152.

dug and reclaimed the four and three quarter (veli) of land, he has to supply for these four and three-quarters (veli) of land to the temple treasury twenty-three *kalam*, two *tūṇi* and one *kuṛuṇi* of paddy by the *marakkal* called after Rajakesari; viz., five kalam for each veli at the rate of dry land. etc.'[83]....Such are the few glimpses we get into the revenue arrangements of those days. The standard coin now appears to be the *māḍai*, sometimes called *Madhurāntakan māḍai*. This was equal to two kasu and to five and a half kalams of paddy, the price of which varied sharply according to locality and to time. The tax *māḍaikkūli*, as a minor tax, perhaps refers to the seigniorage upon coining. The standard dry measure was the *marakkāl*, either *rajakēsari* as above or *arumoḻi-dēvan*, both of the days of Rajaraja; and the Ekanath measure for ghee or *arumoḻidēvanuḻakku*. There is mention also of canals and roads, as in other Chola inscriptions, and of the use of the rod of sixteen spans for measuring land. More than all, this Kulottunga's fame stood high as the 'Sungandavirta Chola' (the Chola who abolished tolls). That he was regarded with so much gratitude for this act shews that the tax was oppressive, and that the ruler wise and statesman-like. This one act gave him a place in the popular esteem along with the 'good Cholas of yore'.

Kulottunga's age was also one of great religious and literary revival. In his reign flourished the Vaishnava teacher Ramanuja, who had to betake himself to Mysore to avoid the displeasure of Kulottunga. Jayamkondan was his Kavichakravarti and possibly the commentator of the *Śilappadhikāram*, Adiyarkkunallar did

83. *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, part 2, p. 171.

not live much later, as he quotes twice from Jayamkondan, once acknowledging the authority by name and another time by the simple mention Kavichakravarti. This would have been far from clear, if made much after Jayamkondan's time as there were other Kavichakravartis in the interim. The Saiva writer Sekkilar, author of the *Periyapuranam*, also flourished in his court. While dealing with the literary activity of Kulottunga's reign, we might mention that an inscription of his eighteenth year (A.D. 1088), at Srirangam settles a point or two much animadverted upon recently, consequent on the idea of Caldwell, who thought that before the twelfth or the thirteenth century A.D. there was not much Tamil literature worth the name, and that the Vaishnava Alvars lived about the same time. This inscription refers to the text '*Tēṭṭarundiraḷ*' of Kulasekaralvar, one of the later Alvars. If his text began to be chanted in presence of god Ranganatha on a festival day, he must have lived sometime before at least; but prince Sola Kerala a little earlier than Kulottunga made provision for the recital of this and another set of Tirumangaialvar's verses also. All this was before Ramanuja had made himself the chief of the Vaishnavas at Srirangam. In spite of this, Mr. Gopinatha Rao[84] would have us believe that these were contemporaries of Alavandar, the great grandfather of Ramanuja, who died when Ramanuja had grown up to be a promising young man. It would appear too much of an idiosyncrasy on the part of the Srivaishnavas to regard Alavandar only as an Acharya and his Tamilian contemporaries Alvars.

84. *Vide* articles in the *Madras Review*, for 1905, February and May.

The second point raised by this inscription is about Nammalvar, the author of the *Tiruvoymōḻi*. Three Srivaishnava Brahmans are named, Shatagopadasar, Tiruvaludinadudasar and Kurugaikkavalan, all names and surnames of Nammalvar. An inscription at Ukkal of the time of Rajaraja I names the god himself Tiruvoymoḻideva. These lead us to believe, with Dr. Hultzsch, that Nammalvar lived much anterior to the eleventh century A.D.

We now come to the decline of the Chola Power. With the death of Kulottunga the period of the great Cholas comes practically to a close. As already stated, he himself had to acquiesce in the loss of the Gangavadi country. His successors, even the most capable of them, could barely maintain their position intact for just a century and no more. All the time the Chalukya empire was as much on the decline; and it is only when the new powers which rose out of the ashes of this empire, began their aggressions that the position of the Cholas became seriously endangered.

Vikramachola, Akalanka, Tyagasamudra: Kulottunga was succeeded by his fourth son Vikrama, who was viceroy at Vengi on behalf of his father. He seems to have been a warlike prince, and engaged early in the wars of his father. He distinguished himself first against 'Telunga Bhima' of Kolanu (Bhima Nayaka of Ellore). He is also said to have burnt the country of Kalinga and this must have reference to some achievement of his during his father's invasions of Kalingam.[85] He was then appointed viceroy of Vengi in succession to his two elder brothers who preceded him in the viceroyalty. It

85. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1906, Sec. 18.

was from this high position that he proceeded to the empire almost at the end of his father's reign, in A.D. 1118. The latest known date of his reign so far is his seventeenth year. His reign seems to have been otherwise uneventful. He continued the policy of his father and maintained court on the same enlightened lines. He is credited with having accepted the dedication of the *Kalingattuparaṇi*[86] by the author Jayamgondan, who in the work celebrated the exploits of Karunakara Tondaman on the one side, and the greatness of his master on the other. He is believed to have been a Vaishnava, and it seems to be this monarch who is mentioned by Kamban as 'Tyagamavinodan.'[87] It was perhaps in his reign that Ramanuja, the Vaishnava apostle, returned to his native country, after having gone into a long period of exile.

Kulottunga II Rajakesarivarman, Tribhavanachakravartin: Vikrama's son Kulottunga I succeeded his father. His initial date has not yet been ascertained with certainty, though his latest regnal year is the fourteenth year. He is the Kumara Kulottunga of literature. He has been celebrated by his tutor and court poet, Ottakkutan, in more than one poem of his. It is in this author's *Kulōttungachōḻan Ulā* and *Takkayāgapparaṇi* that the fact is mentioned, with some little elation, that the Vishnu shrine at Chidambaram was removed and the image thrown into the sea. It was this image which was taken over by Ramanuja and established at Tirupati. After a reign of fourteen years he was succeeded

86. *Kulottunga Cholanula.*
87. *Kamba Ramayanam, Yuddhakhandam, Maruthuppadalam,* 58.

by his son Rajaraja II. The latest known regnal year of his is fifteen. He was succeeded by Rajadhiraja II. Year thirteen is his latest known year. The period between A.D. 1118 and 1178 is occupied by the reigns of these four rulers. Their period was one of considerable literary activity. Sekkilar, Kamban, Ottakkuttan, Pugalendi and possibly Adiyarkkunallar are names that any age might well be proud of. It was in the reign of the last of these that a civil war began in the Pandya dominions and involved in it the Cholas and the Ceylonese. There were two rivals for the crown of the Pandyas at Madura. Parakramabahu the Great, king of Ceylon, espoused the cause of Parakrama Pandya; while his rival Kulasekhara had the sympathy of the Chola for the time being. Some, at least, of the Chola feudatories regarded the presence of the Ceylonese as a menace to be got rid of at any cost, and one of them, Pallavaraiyar son of Edirili Sola Sambhuvarayar, distinguished himself in this affair. Lankhapura Dandanatha, the Ceylonese general, captured and plundered Ramesvaram, and took Tondi and Pasa and marched upon Madura. Meanwhile their protege Parakrama Pandya was murdered by his rival, who drove his son a fugitive for shelter. The approach of the Ceylonese was opposed by Kulasekhara, who was defeated and driven into the Chola country for protection. The Ceylon general having fetched Vira Pandya, the son of their ally, placed him on the throne, and advanced upon the Chola country itself. It was then that the Chola general, by a supreme effort, managed to compel the Ceylon army to retreat. This war was continued later on in the reign in behalf of Vikrama Pandya, the son of the former Chola ally Kulasekhara. The Chola army advanced this time right up to Madura,

put Vira Pandya and his children to death, and took possession of Madura. Having erected a pillar of victory there, they gave the kingdom over to their ally and returned. It is this achievement which was the cause of the assumption of the title 'the conqueror of Madura and Ilam' by Rajadhiraja II and his son Kulottunga III later on.[88]

Kulottungachola III, Parakesari, Tribhuvanachola Virarajendra, and Koenerinmaikondan, A.D. 1178 to 1216: Kulottunga III already distinguished himself in the war of the Pandya succession in the reign of his father; but he had again to intervene in the affairs of the Pandya kingdom. Before the nineteenth year of his reign he had to overthrow the son of Vira Pandya who was able to restore himself by ousting the Chola protege Vikrama Pandya. This time the Chola not only defeated him at Nettur, but also put to death the former's son and placed Vikrama Pandya on the throne. He then pardoned Vira Pandya and his ally Vira Kerala. He had, about the same time to march upon Kanchi and beat off an enemy, who may have been a Telugu Chola chief of the family that came to prominence in the next reign. Kulottunga III was a great builder and renovator of temples, particularly those of Siva. He appears to have been the original of the stories regarding some of the great Siva shrines in the Tanjore district.[89]

It was in this reign that some of those feudatory families began to appear, who contributed eventually their share to the general break up of the Chola empire. We have already referred to the family of the Sambu-

88. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1899, Secs. 23-39.
89. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1908, Secs. 63-8.

varayan near Kanchi. Another family that of the Adigaimans, descendants of Elini (Yavanika) appear at and about Tagadur (Dharmapuri). A third family of importance was that of the Telugu Cholas of Nellore (Trivikramapura). These were beginning to grow in influence and importance, perhaps owing to the fluctuating wars of the Pandya succession in which many of these had each its share. Kulottunga, however, enjoyed peace during his reign, except for the disturbances in the southern frontier and in the north, already adverted to, which lasted for thirty-seven years. During this long period great changes had taken place in the politics of the Dakhan. The great Hoysala chieftains, who were such stout pillars of the empire under the Chalukya Vikramaditya, began their movements towards independence even while that emperor was alive. Their northern neighbours, the Yadavas, had similarly laid their plans to detach the north-western parts of the empire. The Kakatiya chiefs in the eastern parts had their own ambitions as well. It is these three who stand out among a host of the feudatories of all degrees of Vikramaditya. What was wanted for the actual dismemberment of the empire was a civil war, or internal dissentions ending in a usurpation. This was just the course that events took in this part of India at the time. Muhammad of Ghazni had come and gone, and the Rajputs were giving the fullest play to their petty jealousies. Similar feelings actuated the principal Sirdars of the empire in the Dakhan, except for a family or two of loyalists. The weakness and ineptitude of the successors of Vikramaditya led to the Kalachurya usurpation, and the contest later on between this dynasty and the loyalist general Bamma (Brahma). These changes reliev-

ed the Yadavas and Hoysalas of their feelings of loyalty, and they began to settle their frontiers by war. As the Hoysalas, under one of their great rulers, were thus fully occupied in carving out for themselves an empire of their own, the Chola frontier on its most vulnerable side was safe from aggressive movements till late in the reign of Kulottunga III. The death of Vira Bellala II took place just a few years earlier than that of his Chola contemporary. His successor Narasimha II felt his Krishna frontier so safe that he could turn his attention to the south where matters were developing fast for his intervention. It was in the reign of Kulottunga III that the Tamil Grammar *Nannūl* was written by its Jain author Bhava Nandin.[90]

Tribhuvanachchakravartin Rajaraja III, Rajakesari-varman, succeeded to the throne of the Cholas in the year A.D. 1216. His latest known year is the twenty-eighth year and in all probability his reign came to an end in A.D. 1243-4. At the outset of his reign there seems to have been a contest, although there is nothing known as to its particular character. The fact, however, that Narasimha Hoysala felt it necessary to advance as far as Trichinopoly, and even further, and that he felt justified in assuming the title of benefactor of the Chola would warrant the inference that there was a civil disturbance of some sort. It would seem as though the Pandyas were moving into the Chola kingdom in revenge for the humiliation to which they had been subjected so lately by Kulottunga III. Narasimha II promptly marched forth in support of his ally, the more readily as

90. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 281. *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, No. 62.

the Pandyas, at least the section hostile to the Cholas, found ready support among the Kongus. He reached the heart of the Chola empire, compelled the Pandyas to retreat and even cowed the recalcitrant barons of the empire into submission, and then returned to his dominions. These transactions have to be ascribed to a period before A.D. 1223-4. The next time he intervened was about the year A.D. 1232. This time he came having heard that Rajaraja was a prisoner in the hands of the Kadava chief Kopperunjingadeva, as he styled himself later on. This Pallava chief came into prominence during the Pandya invasion and, as was only too probable, as a consequence thereof. His head-quarters were at Sendamangalam in the South Arcot district.[91] Narasimha moved down as quickly as before and restored the Chola to his own. Two of his generals were ordered to continue operations till the disturbances in the country should be put an end to, and as was to be expected they carried out his orders so well that the restored Chola continued to rule undisturbed till about the year A.D. 1242-3. But the storm was gathering all the same. The Telugu Chola Tikka, otherwise Gandagopala, was inclined to move down from his capital at Nellore. Maravarman Sundara Pandya was advancing from the south, and Kopperunjinga was ready to take advantage of it all in the interior. The confusion was worse confounded by a rival in the person of Rajendra Choladeva III. Kopperunjinga assumes royal titles, Sundara Pandya crowns himself at Mudikondasolapuram, and Vira Somesvara of Mysore prides himself upon having restored the Chola. The last of these, for sometime had a

91. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 163.

capital at Kannanur near Srirangam, and the Pandyas and the Hoysalas fight in this vicinity. The feudatory Kopperunjinga beats back the northern invader, and establishes himself independently in the northern parts of the Chola empire. 'It were long to tell, and sad to trace each step from ruin to disgrace.' The empire which the great Cholas built at so great an expense of labour and skill thus passed ingloriously out of existence through the ineptitude of a ruler or perhaps two, who while occupying the position could not command the resources, either of ability in themselves or the sagacity to find and use it in others. This is quite the way with earthly empires and the Chola empire could not be an exception; but this must be said to the credit of its founders and maintainers that they did their work well and wisely so far as they could—nay so far as man could.

PART II—THE CHOLA ADMINISTRATION (A. D. 900 to 1300)

Having attempted, in the previous part to give a connected account of the Chola empire, let me now proceed to bring together what little is known of their system of administration.

To follow in the wake of Sir William Lee Warner, I shall begin with the unit of administration of the Cholas, which was the village-community, composed either of a single village, or oftener of a group of villages. This union was called in Tamil *'kūṟṟam'* (or sub-division). Each one of these sub-divisions had an assembly of its own called the *mahāsabha*. This assembly, though subject to supervision by the divisional officers or intendants (*Adhikaris*), exercised an almost

sovereign authority in all the departments of rural administration. To illustrate this rural administration, I shall take as a specimen the village of Ukkal near Mamandur on the road between Conjiveram and Wandiwash. The fourteen published inscriptions from this place give us a better insight into the rural administration than any other equal number I could choose. I extract therefore, from the records the following account of the powers and duties of the assembly:—

Ukkal[92] was in Pagur *nādu* sub-division of the Kaliyur *koṭṭam* in the Tonda—or the Jayamkonda Chola—*maṇḍalam.* According to other records Ukkal belonged to its own sub-division of the same *koṭṭam* (Sans. *koshṭaka*) .

No. 1. The assembly received 200 *kaḻanju* of gold from Tiruvikrama Bhatta *alias* Brahmadhirajar, one among the commissioners of Uttarameruchaturvedi-mangalam (Uttarmallur) 'for feeding twelve Brahmans before the god of Puvanimanikkavinnagar received his noon-day offerings.'

No. 2. States that the assembly received 550 *kuḻi* of land measured by 'the graduated rod,' made over to them by Narayana Rajasimha, a native of the Chola country, to supply the god with four *nāḻi* of rice daily. 'Having received the revenue of this land and having exempted it from taxes for as long as the moon and sun exist, we, the assembly, engraved this on stone.'

No. 3. Records that a certain Perran Adittan of the Chola country purchased two pieces of land, the first from a private person and the second from the village assembly, and made over both pieces to the villagers for

92. *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, Part 1.

maintaining a flower-garden. 'The same person had purchased from us, the assembly, for a flower-garden 501 *kuḻi* of land measured by the graduated rod to the west of the irrigation channel, etc.' 'Having received in full the purchase-money and the revenue of the land ....and having exempted the flower-garden and (the land assigned) for the maintenance of the garden from taxes for as long as the moon and the sun exist, we, the assembly, engraved this on stone.' 'Having been present in the assembly and having heard this order, I, the arbitrator, Ayirattunurruvan *alias* Brahmagunakara Vidhyasthana Mangaladitya Samanjasapriyan, the son of Nalayiravan wrote this.'

No. 4. Kannan Aruran of the Chola country and a servant of Rajaraja, who got a well sunk and a cistern constructed by the roadside in the name of his royal master, made assignments of paddy for the upkeep of this charity. In order to supply this paddy, we, the assembly, of this village having received from him the revenue and the purchase-money, and having exempted the land from taxes, etc.......

No. 5. We have received, 1,000 *kadi* of paddy from Sadaiyan. We, the assembly, shall close (the sluice of) the tank (to collect water for irrigation) and shall cause 500 *kadi* of paddy to be supplied every year as interest on those 1,000 kadi of paddy. The great men elected for the year (the *Perumakkaḷ*) shall cause the paddy to be supplied.

No. 6. We, the great assembly of Sivachulamani-chaturvedimangalam, including the great men elected for (the management of) charities during this year.... in our village and the commissioners (in charge of the temple) of *Sāttan* in our village.' They make a grant to

the temple of *Mahāśāsta.* 'The commissioners of the temple of Sattan shall protect this charity.' The great men elected for the supervision of the tanks shall be entitled to levy a fine of one *kaḻanju* of gold in favour of the tank-fund, from those betel-leaf sellers in this village, who sell (betel-leaf) elsewhere but at the temple of *Piḍāri.*'

No. 7. The inhabitants of our village....the lands, everything else that is not the object of deeds of gift, in the environs of the village, the common property (*madhyama*) of the assembly. We shall sell this land which has thus become common property (of the assembly) to those inhabitants who promise to pay taxes on each *kuḻi.* No person shall be allowed to produce deeds of gift or deeds of sale (*āvaṇam*) in order to show that the land thus sold belongs to himself. We, the assembly, shall levy a fine. 'Those inhabitants who do not submit to this, shall be liable to pay into Court (*Dharmāsana*) a fine of 108 *kāṇam* . . . per day. If through indifference though....was thus given to those who pay the fine, and they themselves have fined them, they are not able to remove the obstacles to the possession, the great men elected for the year shall be liable to pay an additional fine of twenty-four *kāṇam.*'

No. 8. The assembly received 400 *kadi* of paddy from Sadaiyan to feed two Brahmans from its interest of 100 *kadi.*

No. 9. The lord Sri Rajarajadeva, being graciously seated in the college (*kallūri*), on the south or the painted hall (*chitrakūṭa*) at the great hippodrome gate in Tanjore was pleased to order as follows:—

'(The land of) those landholders in villages of Brahmans, in villages of *Vaikānasas* (a section of

Vaishnavas), in villages of *Sramaṇas* (Jains), in Sonadu, in Tondanadu, and in Pandinadu *alias* Rajarajavalanadu, who have not paid on the land owned by them, the taxes due from villages, along with the other inhabitants of those villages, for three years of which two are completed between the sixteenth and the twenty-third year of my reign, shall become the property of the villages and shall be liable to be sold by the inhabitants of those villages to the exclusion of the (defaulting) landholders. Also (the land of) those who have not paid the taxes due from villages for three years (of which), two are completed, from the twenty-fourth year of my reign shall be liable to be sold by the inhabitants of those villages to the exclusion of the (defaulting) landholders.' 'Accordingly, having been written by the royal secretary, Rajakesarinallur Kilavan, and having been approved of by the chief secretary Mummudichola Brahmamarayan, and Mummudichola Posan (Bhoja), this order was engrossed from dictation on the 143rd day of the twenty-fourth (year of my reign).'

No. 10. We have sold and executed a deed of sale for (i) 3,000 *kuḻi* measured by the rod of sixteen spans beginning (to measure) from the west of the land which was the common property of the assembly.... (ii) five levers to the east of this land, etc. Having received in full the purchase-money and the revenue of the land, we, the great assembly, sold it free of taxes and executed a deed of sale. Having been present in the assembly and having heard the order, I, the accountant and arbitrator of this village, Porrikuli Kalidevan *alias* Irandayirattunurruvan wrote this.'

No. 11. We, the great assembly, including the men elected for the year, and the great men elected for the

supervision of the tanks, assigned at the request of Chakrapani Nambi.....'Half a measure of land in the fresh clearing (Puduttiruttam) on the west of the village of Sodiambakkam.'

No. 12. We, the assembly of Sivachulamanichaturvedimangalam, (ordered as follows):—'To the god of *Puvanimāṇikkavishṇugriham* in our village shall belong as a divine gift (*devabhoga*), the village called Sodiambakkam, etc. We shall not be entitled to levy any kind of tax from this village. We, (the great men) elected for the year, we, (the great men) elected for the supervision of the tanks, and we, (the great men) elected for the supervision of the gardens, shall not be entitled to claim at the order of the assembly, forced labour (*veṭṭi*), *vediḷi*, *vālakkāṇam*, from the inhabitants of this village. If a crime or sin becomes public, the god (temple authorities) alone shall punish this village.'

No. 13. A cultivator named Senai granted one *paṭṭi* (Sans. *nivartana* 40,000 sq. *hastas* or hands) from the proceeds of which water and fire-pans had to be supplied to a *manṭapa* frequented by Brahmans. The great men who manage the affairs of this village in each year shall supervise this charity.

This series of extracts, from inscriptions ranging in time through three centuries, say from A.D. 800 to 1100, shows clearly how rural tracts were governed during those centuries. The village assembly were the sole government of the village (or village-unions) in all its departments. They were the absolute proprietors of the village lands. When fresh clearings were made the assembly became proprietor of the newly acquired lands. When lands were thrown out of cultivation, the Sabha took over the lands to give them to others, who would

pay the stipulated taxes per *kuḻi*. It was the business of the assembly to see that the actual cultivator was not molested in the possession of his holding. Failing in their duty, 'the great men of the year' laid themselves open to be fined by the general assembly. The assembly received deposits of money and grants of land for charitable purposes, and administered the trusts by a board of commissioners, specially appointed for the purpose from year to year. They often sold common village lands for these purposes, and received in return the purchase-money and an additional sum, from the interest of which the assembly had to pay the state dues upon the alienated lands, made tax-free by themselves. They received all the taxes, and made independent grants of villages tax-free for purposes of charity, and could waive all customary claims on land-holders. They could take over the lands of villagers for default of payment of taxes, the collection of which, however, appears to have been made with great elasticity. This is not all; they could even transfer jurisdiction over villages to other corporations, such as temple-authorities. Where they did not feel themselves competent to interfere they sought instruction from head-quarters, as in No. 9 quoted above, where the lands concerned were those made over to other proprietors. This record is a copy of a circular order issued by Rajaraja, the Great. It was drafted by the royal secretary on the verbal instruction of the emperor himself, and approved of by the chief secretary (*Ōlaināyakam*), Srikishnarama *alias* Mummudichola Brahmamarayan, and Perundaram Irayiravan Pallavaiyan *alias* Mummudicohla Posan (Bhoja), and then despatched to the *mahāsabhas*. These sabhas had

treasuries of their own, as would appear from the inscriptions of Rajaraja at Tanjore which refer to up-country treasuries.

The great assembly of the village, or *kūṟṟam* was divided into several committees. There were certainly three—the great men elected for the year (a committee of the assembly for general management), the great men elected for the supervision of the tanks (another committee to administer the tank-fund and see them in good condition), and those elected for the supervision of gardens. There were besides the great men in charge of the temples, charities, etc. The work of this assembly was subject to supervision by the imperial divisional officers (*adhikāris*), often associated with the divisional commanders of the forces (*śēnāpatis*). These officers moved through their divisions, asked for the accounts, examined them and made allotments out of the royal revenues, which had, however, to be appropriated for the special purposes by the assemblies themselves.

No. 49, at Triuvallam[93] records that a certain Madhurantakan Kandaradittan, Kandaradittan, son of Madhurantaka, 'while he stood in the temple observed that the offerings presented to the Alvar (god) were reduced to two *nāḻi* of rice; the offerings of vegetables, ghee and curds had ceased and the perpetual lamps had been neglected.' He called the Śaiva Brahmans of the temple and the assembly of Tikkalivallam and said: 'State the revenue and expenditure of the temple in accordance with the royal order and the royal letter.' The rest of the inscription is unfortunately built in.

93. *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, Part 1.

Supervision

No. 57 at Tiruvallam[94] records that two royal officers, the magistrate (*adhikāri*) Puran A'dittadevanar *alias* Rajarajendra Muvendavelan, and the Senapati, Rajaraja, Paranriparakshasan *alias* Vira Sola Ilango (probably a prince of the blood) met at Gangaikondan Solan mantapa to the east of the temple of Tirumayanamudaiyar (the lord of the crematorium, another name of god Siva) at Kanchipuram in Eyil nadu sub-division of Eyil kottam and called for the accounts of the villages which were the *dēvadānas* (gifts to gods) of the temple of the lord of Tiruvallam (Tiruvallamudaiyar).

'The magistrate Rajarajendra Muvendavelan ordered as follows: — (The incomes) from the villages which are the 'devadanas' of this temple, viz. *ūrkaḻanju*, *kumāra-kachchāṇam*, the fishing rent, the rent of goldsmiths and other minor taxes and rents, the cloth on the loom, *vēlikkāśu*, the tax on collecting rents (*tanḍal*), the sonship of the right-hand and the left-hand and the other internal revenue, which was being collected at the rate of twenty-five *kāśu* per 1,000 *kalam* (of paddy) had been entered in the register, and made over to this temple exclusively from the year which was opposite to (i.e. followed after) the seventh year of the reign of the Emperor Sri Virarajendradeva. Accordingly Kukkanur a 'devadana, of this god in Tuynadu, sub-division of Perumbanappadi has to pay thirty-eight and a quarter *kāśu* or at the rate of four *kalam* of paddy by the Standard measure (Rajakesari) per *kāśu*, 153 *kalams* of paddy; and Mandiram in the same nadu has to pay twenty-six and a quarter kasu or 153 kalams of paddy;

94. *Ibid*, Vol. III, Part 1.

altogether sixty-five kasu or 260 kalams of paddy were allotted to this temple for expenses not previously provided for and should be given from the third year (of the king's reign). A large committee then assembled and made allotments from this revenue for various heads of temple expenditure. This is the kind of supervision to which the assembly of a subdivision was subject. Otherwise in all matters of fiscal administration the village assemblies were practically supreme.

In a record of the time of Aditya II Karikala, it is stated that the village of Sirriyarrur had been granted as a *dēvadāna* and as a *brahmadēya* in the twenty-first year of Tondamanarrur-Tunjina-Udaiyar to the Sabha of Puduppakkam in the same nadu and kottam, on condition that the donee made over a certain quantity of the produce of the village and a fixed sum of money in gold every year to the temple of Mahadeva at Tirumalperu. The next year the boundaries of the village were fixed and a document was drawn up. But the village was not entered in the accounts as a *dēvadāna* and *brahmadēya*. The mistake was rectified in the fourth year of Parantaka the next ruler and the sabha were making over the stipulated prόduce and gold to the temple. In the thirty-sixth year of the same ruler an additional item was made payable from the village to the temple and entered in the accounts. The village assembly were misappropriating this item and the temple authorities made a complaint to the king while he was at Conjivaram. The king sent for the parties and satisfying himself after inquiry, fined the assembly and restored the grant to the temple.

Justice.

In the administration of justice the village assembly exercised equal power, if not even more. We

have a few inscriptions in which such exercise of power is clearly on record. The normal punishment for causing death was, of course, death, as shown by some of the Chola inscriptions in Mysore territory;[95] but the punishment depended usually upon the merits of the case. In three instances on record, death was caused without intention on the part of the culprit and owing to pure accident. The Governor and the assembly which he convened for the purpose, in one instance, and the latter alone in the others sat in judgement and passed sentence that as death was caused unintentionally, the extreme penalty of the law should not be meted out to the culprit; all the same the accused should not go scot-free. He was, therefore, ordered to burn a perpetual lamp in the village temple for which he made over to the village assembly sixteen cows. This fine of sixteen cows, which would have been of the value of a quarter of a year's maintenance of an ordinary family, must have been rather heavy but would certainly have acted as a powerful deterrent against crimes caused by negligence. In all three cases on record death was due to shooting accidents.[96] A merchant had a concubine on whom another attempted an outrage. The latter was stabbed to death by the merchant. He could not be prosecuted for murder and paid a fine like the others against whom the charge was neglect.[97] It is not out of place here to remark that the jury system which is believed to be the special birthright of Englishmen and spoken of generally as

95. *Haggadedēvanakōte* 18, *Epigraphica Carnāṭaka*, Vol. IV.

96. Sec. 26, Govt. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1900.

97. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1907, Sec. 42, this also contains seven other instances of accidents.

unknown in India, is found to have been in full swing. In the first instance above given, the governor, it was, that took cognizance of the case first; but he did not find himself competent to proceed without the assembly; whereas in the latter cases the assembly proceeded without even a reference to the governor.

Such were the powers of the village assemblies in those days. Considering the extent of the country and the want of rapid communication, and considering that the assemblies took great interest in the discharge of their manifold functions (as the many references to the assembly having 'met without a vacancy' would show), there is no gainsaying the fact that the administration was efficient and well-suited to the times. The Assembly for each rural unit was constituted as follows:—

The Constitution of the Assembly.

From certain inscriptions of the time of the Chola King Parantaka[98] we are enabled to form an idea of the rural administration in those days not only, but even of earlier times. The particular records referred to are of the nature of instructions laid down by Parantaka and explain how the system that had come down from ancient times was worked. The object of these regulations being that the 'wicked men might perish, while good men might prosper', we have to take it that they are of the nature of supplementary regulations.

Every unit, sometimes a single village, oftener a union had a general assembly to look after the affairs of the village or the union as the case may be. Under this general body whose number varied, perhaps, even up to

98. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1899, Secs. 68-73.

five hundred, there were smaller bodies whose business it was to look after particular sections of the administration. These were the committees for tanks, for gardens, for justice, for general supervision, for the wards (*kuḍumbu*), for the fields, for supervising *Udāsīnas*, etc. There are two others which are mentioned sometimes: (1) for gold supervision, and (2) *pancha-vara-variyam.* The latter probably refers to the committee of general management corresponding to the *pancha pradhānas* or *aimberungulu.* The former, of course, would refer to a currency committee.

Election Rule

Each union was divided into hamlets and wards, the former appears to have been geographical and the latter political. Uttaramallur the particular union under consideration, had twelve hamlets and thirty wards. First of all the names of men eligible in each ward were written on tickets and sent to the assembly with a covering ticket stating the number recommended. Secondly, these tickets were to be thrown into a pot and one chosen by lot. The following were eligible for the pot ticket:—

1. One with ¼ veli of tax-paying land.
2. One with a house built on his own site.
3. Those who were below seventy-five and above thirty-five.
4. Those who knew Mantrabrahmana and were able to teach it.
5. 'Even if one owns only one-eighth veli of land, he shall have his name written on a pot-ticket and put into the pot in case he has learnt one Veda and one of the four *Bhashyas* and can explain it.'

6. Among those possessing the foregoing qualifications:—

(1) Only such are conversant with business and conduct themselves according to sacred rules shall be chosen;

(2) Those who have acquired their wealth by honest means, whose minds are pure and who have not been on any of these committees for the last three years shall also be chosen.

Disqualifications

1. Those who have been on any of these committees but have not submitted their accounts and their relations specified below.

(1) The sons of the elder and younger sisters of mothers.
(2) The sons of their paternal aunts and maternal uncles.
(3) The brothers of their mothers.
(4) The brothers of their fathers.
(5) Their brothers.
(6) Their fathers-in-law.
(7) The brothers of their wives.
(8) The husbands of their sisters.
(9) The sons of their sisters.
(10) The sons-in-law.
(11) Their fathers.
(12) Their sons.

2. Those against whom illicit sexual intercourse or the first four of the five great sins are recorded, namely, killing a Brahman, drinking intoxication liquors, theft,

committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher, and associating with any one guilty of those crimes.

All the various relations of these as specified in section 1.

3. Those who were excluded, perhaps personally :—

   (1) Those who have been outcast for association (with low people) till they should have performed the expiatory ceremonies.
   (2) Those who are foolhardy.
   (3) Those who had stolen or plundered the property of others.

4. Those who were excluded for life:—

   (1) Those who had taken forbidden dishes and become pure by expiation.
   (2) Those who had committed . . . sins and have become pure by expiation.
   (3) Those that had become village pests and similarly purified.
   (4) Those guilty of sexual intercourse and purified likewise.

All these were excluded in the election, and the other qualified candidates had their names entered in the pot-tickets sent with a covering ticket stating the actual number from each ward. A full meeting of the village assembly, including the young and old, was then called for the purpose. All the temple priests, in the village on the day, were to attend without exception and be seated along with the assembly, in the village hall. In the midst of the temple priests one of them, the oldest, stood up and lifted an empty pot to be seen by all those present. Any young boy who knows nothing about the

matter hands over one of the packets received from the wards. The contents of the packet are thrown into the empty pot and well shaken. From this packet one ticket is taken by the boy and handed over to the standing priest, the arbitrator. The latter receives it on the palm of his hand with his five fingers open. He then reads out the name on the ticket. This ticket is read again by all the priests in the hall. The name thus read is then put down and accepted. Similarly, one man was chosen for each of the wards.

'Of the thirty persons thus chosen, those who had previously been on the garden supervision (committee), and those who are advanced in learning and those who are advanced in age shall be chosen for the committee of annual supervision. Of the rest twelve shall be taken for the garden supervision and the remaining six shall form the tank supervision (committee). The last two committees shall be chosen after an oral expression of opinion. The great men who are members of these three committees shall hold office for full three hundred and sixty days and then retire. If any one who is on the committees is found guilty of any offence, he shall be removed (at once). For appointing the committees after these have retired, the members of the committee for the "supervision of justice" in the twelve hamlets (of Uttaramallur) shall convene a meeting with the help of the arbitrator. The selection shall be by drawing pot-tickets according to this order which lays down the rules (thereof).'

'For the *pancha-vāra-vāriyam* and the (committee) for the "supervision of gold", names shall be written for the pot-tickets in the thirty wards, and thirty men shall be chosen as above. From these thirty tickets twelve

men shall be chosen. Six out of these twelve (men) shall form the gold supervision (committee) and the remaining six constitute the *pancha-vāra-vāriyam.* When drawing pot-tickets for the appointment of these two committees next year, the wards that had already been represented (during the year in question) or the committees shall be excluded and the appointments made from the remaining wards by *an oral expression of opinion.* Those "who have ridden on asses" and those who have committed forgery shall not have (their names) written on the pot-tickets and put in the pot.'

'Arbitrators and those who have earned their wealth by honest means shall write the accounts (of the village). One who was writing the accounts shall not be appointed to that office again until he submits his accounts (for the period during which he was in office) to the great men of the big committee (in charge) of the accounts, and is declared to have been honest. The accounts which one has been writing, he shall submit himself and other accountants shall not be brought to close his accounts.'

These were the rules promulgated by Parantaka I to make rural administration more efficient. The rules show considerable anxiety to keep the wicked ones among the villagers out; but who the wicked ones were we are not informed. Failure to render accounts of the year appears to have been the chief trouble. It is not clear whether the accountants were honorary or paid and how they were elected. Offices seem to have been strictly annual, though this strictness itself would imply that the tendencies were the other way at the time, perhaps abnormally so. Both election and lot were, on

the Athenian model, made use of for appointing the officials of the year. This strict rotation of offices would give every one of the villagers the chance of acquainting himself with the work of administration of the affairs of his village, and make the general committee of supervision very efficient in its control of the small committees. This and the committee for the supervision of justice appear to have been constituted in a way to command respect, but how they were constituted and in what manner they differed from the others we are not informed. In this fashion was the machinery provided for carrying on the various functions which fell to the lot of a rural unit.

That these rules were acted upon and enforced severely is in evidence in No. 583 of 1904 of date A.D. 1234-5 which records the dismissal of a village accountant and the debarring of his relations from holding the appointment for cheating.

Divisions of the Empire

A number of these rural units constituted a district (or *nāḍu*) and a number of these again formed a *koṭṭam* (Sans. *koshṭaka*) elsewhere but a *vaḻanāḍu* (fertile country) in the Chola country proper which, as far as could be made out, was divided into eight such divisions, namely (1) Arumolideva valanadu, (2) Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu, (3) Uyyakondan valanadu, (4) Rajendrasimha valanadu, (5) Keralantaka valanadu, (6) Rajasraya valanadu, (7) Pandyakulasani valanadu, (8) Nittavinoda valanadu. A number of these divisions went to make a province (*manḍalam*) which had originally been an independent kingdom gradually absorbed into the rising Empire of

the Cholas. Each province was under a viceroy, who was either a scion of the dispossessed royal families of a prince of the blood. At any rate from the days of Rajadhiraja it became the fashion to confer vice-royalties upon near kinsmen such as uncles, brothers, sons, etc. This may have been on account of the general revolt of the frontier provinces. We find, however, several Pallavas in positions of influence and trust. The whole empire of the Cholas (except the Vengi country which occupied all along the position of a dependent ally) was divided into six provinces, each of which had, at least, two alternative names: (1) its original name as an independent kingdom and (2) a new name derived generally from the titles of the emperor who conquered or from those of the viceroy whose rule over the province was specially distinguished. These provinces were: (1) the Tondamandalam or Jayamgondacholamandalam (the Pallava country, embracing the coast districts between the rivers, the Southern Pennar and the North Pennar, if not the Krishna, (2) the Cholamandalam itself (the Districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly). (3) Rajarajamandalam comprising a part at least of the Pandya and the Kerala country, (Parts of Madura and the Travancore country). (4) The Kongu country or Adhirajarajamandalam, earlier Sola-Keralamandalam (districts of Salem and Coimbatore). (5) Gangaikondacholamandalam (Districts of Mysore and Bangalore),—the western part of the Ganga country of Mysore. (6) The Nikharilicholamandalam embracing the eastern part of the Ganga country of Mysore, the Bana kingdom to the south-east and the Vaitumba country to the north-east (District of Kolar in Mysore, a part of North Arcot and Salem and the Maharajavadi part of the Cuddapah district).

Character of the Administration

That the administration of the Cholas was highly systematized early is amply proved by the fragments of their records which have come down to us on stones and copper. But the wonder is what could have happened to the records in the archives of the Government. Much earlier than the days of Rajaraja[99] or even Parantaka, the Chola administration had been reduced to some sort of system and the title of the Chief Secretary 'Olainayakam', shows that there were royal records on palmyra leaves (of which the epigraphical records were mere copies) kept at headquarters. Besides these, as the inscriptions at Karuvur and other places show, there were registers kept of the royal orders by each of the Mahasabhas. Regret as we may the disappearance of these records, we have, thanks to the untiring industry of the epigraphical department, enough of material before us to gain an idea of the general character of the Chola administration.

We learn that the lands under cultivation were carefully surveyed and holdings registered at least a century before the famous Domesday record of William the Conqueror. The inscriptions of Rajaraja referring occasionally to 'the book' show that the survey was correct to $\frac{1}{52,428,800,000}$ of a *vēḷi* of land which would approximately be equivalent to $\frac{1}{50,000}$ of a square inch (a *vēḷi* being six and two-third acres). The unit of linear measure

99. The machinery of the administration was the same even before. An inscription of the eighth year of Uttama Chola gives details which would make it clear that the administrative machinery was as complete before Rājarāja, as after. Vide *Epigraphist's Report* for 1910, sec. 18.

was the 'royal foot' (*Śrīpāda* of Kulottunga), during the later period, from which was derived the unit measure of area. We find also graduated rods of sixteen and eighteen spans used in land measure earlier. Measured lands were entered either in *kuḻi* or in *vēli* in the Chola country proper; while the standard measure of other portions of the empire varied a little from that of this part. The royal dues, were taken either in kind or in gold or in both. These were fixed per *kuḻi* and the expressions 'calculated' (*kāṇikkaḍan*) and 'settled' (*nichaiyitta*) produce occur in some records which probably meant the revenue as entered against the particular holding by previous survey calculation and that founded on actual yield (during revision).[100]

100. Here I beg leave most respectfully to differ from Dewan Bahadur Srinivasaragava Aiyangar, who surmises that these terms meant respectively the gross outturn and the Government share. He refers to an inscription of Kulōttunga, and finds that in some cases the revenue exceeds the outturn and in others it comes up to near two-thirds of the outturn. The former he explains away as due to errors of writing. A glance down the list given on the next page of his work shows, as do a number of Rajaraja's inscriptions in the Tanjore temple, that the Government demand came up to 100 kalams of paddy a vēli. Kulōttunga made a re-survey of the lands in A.D. 1086 (*Epigraphist's Report* for 1900, section 25, page 10) and the record quoted is only a readjustment. Kulōttunga had the reputation of having abolished the tolls (Sungandavirtachola). Many of the figures quoted in the passage, as calculated produce, work up to a hundred kalams a vēli and in several there had been brought about a reduction. In others there was an enhancement, which would naturally follow a re-survey which was, as seems probable, undertaken to bring about an adjustment, as some lands might possibly have been over-assessed in consequence of the village assemblies receiving often

This latter must have been quite feasible as the revenues were collected by the village assemblies which could find out the actual yield to a nicety. If the Government dues were not paid the penalty was, of course, the taking over of the land by village assembly to be disposed of otherwise; and the liability of the landholder ceased there. The person and the personalities of the man were not touched, as they are in our more civilized times. A record of the time of Vikrama Chola shows that the land revenue was not paid owing to floods and the villagers put the land up to sale by public auction and sold 2,000 kuli of wet land for twenty-five kasu and another bit of 4,250 kuli of dry land for twenty kasu. The same power was given to the sabhas over lands transferred to other proprietors by the circular order of Rajaraja above quoted.

The Emperors and their Work

The emperors whether they were in their capitals or out in their progress through their dominions did transact office business. In a number of inscriptions we find it stated that the emperor was seated in a particular part of the palace and issued orders which were committed to writing by the Royal Secretary (corresponding to the Private Secreta-

the cost as well as the capitalized value of the revenue of lands made tax-free by themselves. One result of this might have been to enhance unduly the revenue payable by the tax-paying lands as the assemblies would have had to pay the same amount to Government, as would appear from the large number of extracts quoted above (vide *Progress of Madras Presidency*, appendix, sec. I. D. and E., pp. 17 to 20) vide *ante part of this* I Chapter.

ries of our days).[101] Whatever was the order it had to be approved of by the Chief Secretary (*Ōlaināyakam*) and by another high dignitary (*Perundaram*) Irāyiravan Pallavaiyan, in the days of Rajaraja and his son. Finally it was transmitted to the party concerned by the dispatching clerk (*Viḍaiyadhikāri*) which again meeting with the approval of the viceroy or governor and the assemblies concerned was registered and sent into the record office. In illustration of how this was done I quote the following from an inscription of Virarajendra: 'Being graciously seated in the royal bathing hall within the palace at Gangaikonda Solapuram (the King) granted with libation of water, the village of Pakkur in Vengala nadu (a district) of Adhirajaraja mandalam, (and) was pleased to order that this village, excluding the tax-paying lands in the possession of the ryots, should become tax-free temple land from (the year) which was opposite to the third year (of his reign) including revenue, taxes, small tolls, *eḻuvai, ugavai,* the three fines called *maṅṟupāḍu, ḍanḍam, kuṟṟam,* everywhere where the iguana runs, the tortoise crawls, an ant-hill rises and sprouts grow, the grass for the calves and the lands enjoyed in full by the great village; that (this village) should pay to (the God) Mahadeva of Tiruvanilai (temple) at Karuvur in the same nadu, the revenue hitherto paid by this village, namely 303½ *kaḻanju* and one and one-twentieths *manjāḍi* of gold; and 3,531 *kalam,* 1 *tūṇi* of paddy and that this village should be entered in the revenue register (*vari*) as tax-free temple land from this year forward.'

101. *Vikrama Chōlan Ulā,* verse 50. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXII, p. 145.

'Accordingly the Royal Secretary Vanavan Pallavaraiyan, the lord of Tali Tiruppanangadu and the lord of Nerivayil in Paniyur nadu, a district of Kshatriya Sikhamani valanadu, having written that the king had been pleased to order (thus), and the Chief Secretary Achchudan Rajarajan *alias* Tondaman, the citizen Uttamacholan alias Rajaraja Brahmadhirajan, Araiyan Rajarajan *alias* Virarajendra Jayamurinadalvan, and Virarajendra Mangalapperaraiyan having unanimously approved (of this document), Virabhadran Tillaividangan *alias* Villavan Rajarajan ordered: "Let it be entered in our register in accordance with intimation received." In accordance with this order there was a meeting of a number of members, but here the record of their deliberations is unfortunately obliterated. 'Our revenue officers having entered (this) in the revenue register in accordance with the royal order, let it be engraved upon copper and on stone (that this village was given) as tax-free temple land to the God Mahadeva of Tiruvanilai temple for the expenses of burnt-offerings, oblations and worship.'

Resources of the Empire

This extract will give a far better idea of the administrative machinery of the Cholas than pages of description. I shall now proceed to a consideration of the resources of the empire and how they were spent. Quoted under is a part of an inscription of Tribhuvanachakravartin Konērinmaikondan, which enumerates in the fullest available detail the numerous fiscal items of Chola rule. What detracts, however, from the full interest of the inscription is that at this distance of time we cannot understand the exact nature of any; nor even the general character of a few of

these. The record is a gift of land free of taxes:[102] "These seventy-seven, six-twentieths, and one hundred and sixtieths (veli) of land, which may be more or less, we gave: including the trees over ground, the wells under ground, in the land and all other benefits (*prāptis*) of whatever kind, having first excluded the farmer owners and the hereditary proprietors, and having purchased (it) as tax-free property (*kāṇi*) for the 106 Bhattas of this village and for the two shares (of the image) of Samantanarayanavinnagar Emberuman, from the rainy season of the thirty-fifth (year of our reign) as a meritorious gift (*dharmadāna*) with libations of water, with the right to bestow mortgage or sell (it) as a tax-free grant of land to last as long as the moon and the sun.

(This grant) includes all kinds (*vargas*) of taxes, (*kaḍamai*) and rights (*kuḍimai*), namely, the right to cultivate *kār* (a kind of paddy), *maruvu* (a fragrant plant, (*origanum majoranum*), single flowers (*orupū*)' flowers for the market (*kaḍaippū*), lime trees, dry crops, red water-lilies, areca-palms, betel-vines, saffron, ginger, plantains, and all other crops (*payir*); all kinds of revenue (*āya*) including tax in money (*kāśukkaḍamai*), *oḍukkupaḍi, urainā̤li,* the share of the village watchman who is placed over the *veṭṭis* (paths), the share of the *karṇam* who measures (paddy, etc.), the unripe fruit in *kārtigai* (month), the tax on looms (*tari iṟai*), the tax on oil-mills (*śekkiṟai*), the tax on trade (*śeṭṭirai*), [103] *taṭṭoli,* the tax on goldsmiths (*taṭṭārpāṭṭam*), the dues on animals and tanks, the tax on water-courses (*o̤lukkunir pāṭṭam*), tolls (*vaḷi āyam*), *inavari* (appears to be a tax

102. No. 22, Vol. II, Part 1, *South Ind. Inscriptions.*
103. Rather on profits.

on caste); the tax on weights (*idaivari*), the fine for rotten drugs (*alugalśarakku*), the tax on bazaars (*angādipāttam*) and the salt tax (*uppāyam*); [what follows is different from either of the above groups; and the bearing of the items is not known; I set them down here in the hope that some one who has the means may explain the terms correctly: *panjupili* (பஞ்சுபிலி), *Sandhivigrahappēṛu* (ஸந்திவிக்கிரகப்பேறு), *ilānjinaipēṛu* (இலாஞ்சினைப்பேறு), *vāśalvinyōgam* (வாசல்வினியோகம்), *padaiyilārmuṛaimai* (படையிலார்முறைமை), *kūṛṛilakkai* (கூற்றிலக்கை), *kadaikkūṭṭilakkai* (கடைக்கூட்டிலக்கை), *tandalilakkai* (தண்டலிலக்கை) *vidaipper* (விடைப்பேர்), *mādhappadi* (மாதப்படி), *araikkālvāśi* (அரைக்கால்வாசி), *uśivāśi* (ஊசிவாசி), *vilaittundam* (விலைத்துண்டம்), *nirāṇi* (நீராணி),[104] *kavirikkulai* (காவிரிக்குலை), *dēvakudimai* (தேவகுடிமை), *nāṭṭuppādi* (நாட்டுப்பாடி), *ānaikkūdam* (ஆனைக்கூடம்), *kudiraippandi* (குதிரைப்பந்தி)]. Thus in accordance with this order (olai) it shall be engraved on stone and copper.'

This is a long list of taxes and would stand comparison with the list of seigniorial dues of Europe before the French Revolution; but we are dealing with times about a thousand years ago. That there were so many imposts, and of such variety, points to the conclusion that these were so many devices for increasing the income of the Government. The chief source of this income was the land revenue; and if this were capable

104. Probably corresponding to the Nirganti, the official who controls tank sluices for irrigation.

of direct increase, the state revenue could be easily raised by taking a greater proportion of the gross outturn of produce, without having recourse to the vexatious and roundabout way of gaining the same end. If the customary proportion could not be altered, the only other course would be to devise a number of petty imposts which, though not the most economical, is still an indirect way of increasing the revenue and, as such, less seen or understood. We may then take what is actually stated in one of the inscriptions of Rajadhiraja as true: that the portion of the produce demanded and taken by the Government was one-sixth of the gross outturn. He is said to have taken the sixth and assumed the title Jayamgondachola as though the sixth were the most usual proportion. The additional taxes (*āyamṣ*) were divided into two classes: the internal (*antarāya*) and external (other *āyas*). The latter must have been of the character of tolls and octroi generally. The incidence of the former was chiefly on land as even handicraftsmen were paid often in land for their customary work. This, we find, was commuted into one-tenth,[105] in the inscription of Virarajendra at Tiruvallam quoted above. The total demand upon land, therefore, would have come up to four-fifteenths of the gross outturn. From a number of inscriptions we find that the total revenue, on an average, from lands in the most fertile portions of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts was 100 *kalams* per *vēli* by the *Āḍavallan* measure (equal to the *Rājakēsari* or *Arumoḻidēvan*, the standard measure of the days of Rajaraja) kept in possession of the

105. Twenty-five Kāśu it is; but commuted into 100 Kalams at four Kalams per *Kāśu*. In the days of Rājarāja a *Kāsu*=two Kalams.

temple authorities for safe custody. The Adavallan measure of paddy is found by the late Mr. Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar to have weighed 192 tolas while its modern counterpart weighs 240 tolas. This would give the revenue per veli of six acres and two-thirds (2,000 *kuḷi*) at eighty modern kalams of paddy (a kalam is about three maunds) and the gross outturn at 300 kalams, a very high yield, perhaps not impossible as the lands in question are those that pay the highest revenue situate in the most fertile parts of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. All lands had not to pay the same revenue which varied from fifty to eighty modern kalams of paddy, or from four to nine *kaḷanju* of gold. The village assemblies[106] must have collected the royal dues with some elasticity as the order of Rajaraja quoted above would show.

The unspent part of this revenue was kept in up-country treasuries against demands from head-quarters. At a certain stage these revenue demands might have become so heavy that it must have been deemed necessary to abolish some at least of these dues.

One such act of clear-sighted statesmanship, it is, that got Kulottunga, the first, the popular sobriquet of *Śungandavirtachola* (the Chola who abolished the tolls),

106. The village assemblies often remitted taxes on certain pieces of land receiving its cost and the capitalized value of the revenues due. How they spent this money is not on record so far; but that the revenues might have been spread over the other lands is probable. Perhaps they applied the money for general improvements and making fresh clearings. In the latter case they began with a nominal revenue upon the lands in question gradually raising it through a term of years to the normal proportion. *South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I, 65.

which is handed down to us in a suburb of that name in Tanjore town. In case of floods and other calamities remisions of taxes would appear to have been expected; but in one instance on record in Vikrama Chola's reign remissions were not granted in case of floods, and some of the village lands had to be put up to public sale by the villagers, a fact referred to above. This would not seem to be enough to warrant the inference that 'remissions were unknown' in those days.

Standards of Measures, etc.

It has been already stated that the royal dues were paid either in kind or in gold, or partly in the one and partly in the other. Some of the minor taxes were paid in *kāśu.* The unit of land was a *vēli* of 2,000 *kuḻis* (six and two-thirds acres) ; of grain a *kalam* (about three maunds) ; of gold a *kaḻanju* (about one-sixth ounce Troy). The unit of currency was the gold *kāśu* (seven-twentieths of a kalanju or about twenty-eight grs. Troy). This coin appears to have passed for its metallic value, because the great Rajaraja got all gifts to the temple carefully weighed and appraised. All gold ornaments among these are entered with their weights alone but no value is given, while jewels set with brilliants, etc., are entered with their weights (by the standard *Ādvallān kāśukkallu*) and their value in *kāśu.* We can safely infer that the kasu passed for its weight in gold, although its value in grain and cattle might vary. Each kasu was equivalent to two kalams of paddy in the days of Rajaraja and his son, though it exchanged for as much as four kalams about fifty years after; One buffalo, two cows, and six sheep exchanged for two kasu in the former period. The total amount of revenue realized by

the temple authorities was probably turned into cash, although it is possible that they kept a portion in grain alone. Much of the cash in the treasury, however, was lent out to village assemblies or even to individuals on the guarantee of the assemblies. Occasionally when they lent out to townsfolk, the loan was given on the joint responsibility of the relatives of the person or even the whole trade concerned. An interest of twelve and a half per cent was uniformly charged whether in grain or in kasu. Several of these loans were given for providing the temple with the daily and periodical requirements; but often loans were made for purely agricultural purposes. In the former case the debtors had to pay interest in ghee, oil, camphor, or any other commodity agreed upon beforehand, while in the latter the interest was paid either in cash or in kind.

Expenditure

The main heads of expenditure of the royal revenues were the civil administration, the maintenance of armies, the building and beautifying of temples and cities, and the carrying out of useful public works on a scale beyond the capabilities of local revenues and administrations. The cost of civil administration was met from the rural revenues, the higher officers as well as the lower ones being rewarded by gifts of land or by assignments of revenue. Deducting this cost from the total revenue, the residue reached the royal treasury, to be spent on the other items.

Military

The Cholas appear to have had a regular army, divided into sections according to the kind of arms they

carried, and according as they were mounted or otherwise. We find reference to the 'chosen body of archers,' the 'chosen foot-soldiers of the body-guard,' the 'chosen,' horsemen and the 'chosen' infantry of the 'right hand.'[107] I have not come across any reference to the infantry of the 'left hand.'[108] Some of the princes are referred to as '*ānaichēvagan*' (perhaps commander of an elephant crops); 'Malaiyānai *Oṟṟaichchēvagan*' (the unequalled elephant man). That they maintained an efficient fleet is borne out by references to the destruction of the Chera fleet at Kandalur, placed on the west coast by Dr. Hultzsch; the capture of Kadaram by Rajendra after a sea-fight, and several invasions of Ceylon and Burmah. Besides this epigraphical evidence, ancient Tamil literature is full of details and descriptions of the sailing craft of those days. They also show abundant evidence of nautical experience by the figures and tropes made use of in the works. To give only one example in illustration; the author of the *Śilāppadhikaram* refers to beacon lights being placed on the tops of palmyra trunks in lamps made of fresh clay at Puhar or Kaverippumbattinam on dark nights when the sea was rough. No clear reference is available as to the administration of the army.

Public Works

The Cholas were great builders; builders not only of cities and temples (sometimes for strategic purposes, sometimes in obedience to the dictates of their vanity),

107. Infantry recruited from other than the artisan etc., class.
108. The agricultural class is excluded from military service in the codes of law.

but also of useful irrigation works. These may be divided into major works and minor works. These latter were probably constructed, and certainly looked after by the Public Works committee of the sabhas. The former were made and perhaps maintained by the Government. Passing over the ancient Chola Karikala,[109] and his more modern namesake, reputed by tradition to have built the embankments on the Kaveri, and to have cut the main channels for irrigation respectively, we find works of the kind undertaken by later rulers. The names[110] of most of the main channels of irrigation at present watering the Kaveri Delta occur in the inscriptions of this dynasty of rulers. The following two instances should suffice to give us an idea of the importance attached to artificial irrigation works in those days. Driving across the town of Tanjore along the road to Trivadi, the first river we pass over is now known as Vadavaru (northern river). This river is called in the inscriptions Virachola Vadavaru. (There is another

109. Vide No. 113, Vol. III, Part 3. 'Madras can claim to have introduced, if not originated, a style of construction, which has been widely adopted within and without the empire, and to have established a plan of dealing with deltaic lands which has not been improved upon. A portion of the credit for these achievements belongs to the native engineers of the days preceding the British advent. They had conceived the idea of controlling a river at the head of its delta, and thus securing the regular watering of their lands.'—*Irrigated India by Hon. Alfred Deakin.*

110. The Peruvaḷavōy Channel, in the district of Trichinopoly, The Arasalār, The Nāṭṭār, The Kaḍuvāyāru and the Pāndavāyaru should suffice. Of the last two, the first is a branch of the Veṭṭār and the next from the Veṇṇar (*vide* any irrigation map of the Kavery Delta).

Viracholan river branching from the Kaveri a few miles below the bridge at Kumbhakonam.) This was evidently cut out from the Vennar by Virachola to feed a big irrigation tank in the now postal town of Vaduvur in the Mannargudi taluq, which has no other feeder channel and which waters a large area, else unfit for cultivation. The other instance is the large artificial reservoir at Gangaikondasolapuram in the Wodiarpalaiyam taluq of the Trichinopoly district. I take the following from Pharaoh's *Gazetter of South India*[111]: 'It may also be mentioned that in Wodiarpalliam taluq there is an embankment sixteen miles long running north and south provided with several substantial sluices and of great strength, which in former times must have formed one of the largest reservoirs in India....The tank has been ruined and useless for many years and its bed is now almost wholly overgrown with high and thick jungle. It is said traditionally that its ruin was wilful and the act of an invading army. Near the northern extremity of the bund there is a village now surrounded by a jungle, called Gangaikondapuram; immediately in its vicinity is a pagoda of a very large size, and costly workmanship; and close by surrounded and overgrown with jungle are some remains of ancient buildings now resembling the mounds or "heaps" which indicated the site of ancient Babylon, but in which the village elders point out the various parts of an extensive and magnificent palace. When this palace was in existence Gangaikondapuram was the wealthy and flourishing capital of a small

111. Pp. 338-9 of Mr. Kanakasabbai Pillai's '*The Conquest of Bengal and Burma by the Tamils*' *Madras Review* for August 1902, pp. 247, *et seq.*

monarchy,[112] and the great tank spread fertility and industry over miles and miles of what is now trackless forest....Speaking of the noble temple of Gangaikondapuram it must not be omitted that when the lower Coleroon Anicut was built, the structure was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain material for the work.' This magnificent relic of lost greatness and a forgotten empire was the work of the great son of a still greater father who built the temple at, and fortified the city of, Tanjore. The temple at Gangaikondapuram measures 372 feet by 584 feet. The lingam made of a single block of polished granite is thirty feet now unfortunately split in twain by a stroke of lightning. The main tower of the Tanjore temple is about 200 feet high and the single block of granite which forms the minaret is twenty-five and a half feet square,[113] calculated to weigh about eighty tons. It was raised to its present position by an incline, which rested on the ground four miles away from the temple. These structures are believed to be the outcome of absolute power commanding unlimited labour.[114] There is a tradition current, however, of Karikalachola (it may be either the first or the second of the name, it does not matter for our purpose) that he paid the labourers on the Kaveri embankment in depreciated coin (coins of leather it is said), in consequ-

112. Yes! Small indeed as it did embrace what is now the Madras Presidency and a part of Mysore. (For the extent of the Chola empire, see *ante* p. 608.

113. Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 227.

114. *Progress of Madras Presidency*, pp. 14 and 15.

ence of which there was a dust-storm which overwhelmed the capital and made him flee for his life. This story has its value alongside of the inference that, as these temples were years in building and of very great cost, they must have been the result of forced unpaid labour. The labour might have been forced or not, provided it had been paid. The builders of these structures ruled over what is now the Madras Presidency and half of Mysore. Their administration was not very expensive, and as great conquerors they must have brought from their wars much of the accumulated treasure of other powerful and prosperous kingdoms.[115]

Whether the labour was paid for or not (there are instances of slavery in the thirteenth century when five men and women were sold for 100 Kasu[116]), we owe to these Cholas not only the grand structures, the temples, and palaces (indirectly useful, at least, as providing material for anicuts), but also the great part of the network of irrigation channels in the Tanjore district and a part of Trichinopoly.

We have ample evidence of the country having been traversed by grand trunk roads. That armies could march to Kottaru near Cape Comorin at the one end, and the banks of the Mahanadi, if not the Ganges, at the other of the peninsula, and that trade was carried on largely by means of 'vessels' and 'vehicles'[117] are enough to prove their existence. If more proof be

115. Rājarāja's inscriptions of gifts to the Tanjore temple refer to the captured Chera Treasure.

116. *Epigraphist's Report* for 1905, sec. 20; date of record, A.D. 1239-40.

117. *Śilappadhikaram* and *Paṭṭinappalai.*

needed we have it in the fact that Kulottunga planted agricultural colonies 'along the road to Kottaru'; and in the references in some of the inscriptions to roads of sixty-four spans, etc. There is besides mention of Vadugavali, road going to the Telugu country, Tadigavali, road leading through Tadigainadu, and what is more *kīḻavāḻi* eastern road in inscriptions. There appears to have been a regular service of ferries across rivers maintained either at public expense or by private charity.

Standard of Life.

We can form an idea of the standard of life in those days from the following few facts gleaned from a number of inscriptions. Rajaraja made allotments from the temple revenue for the several officials in temple service and their annual salaries were fixed as follows. The officer in charge of the temple treasury is mentioned, but the figure opposite his name is obliterated. An accountant got 200 kalams of paddy by the Adavallan measure every year; and an under accountant seventy-five kalams. Bachelor Brahman servants of the temple got each sixty-one kalams and four kasu, sixty-one kalams and five kasu, and ninety-one kalams and four kasu according to their work. These latter officials drew their pay at the city-treasury and the other officials above mentioned at up-country treasuries. Each temple watchman was paid 100 kalams a year, and each temple woman 100 kalams. An allowance of 120 kalams was made for the annual enacting of the *Rājakēsari-nāṭakam.* The offerings to a particular image, regulated probably by the requirements of a temple priest, are put down at 130 kalams a year. These allowances were

probably fixed with reference to the requirements of the family of the class from which the official came. If this were really the case, we may take the 200 kalams of the Brahman accountant as representing the requirements of an average Brahman family (a temple priest has several perquisites over and above his salary); and the 100 kalams of the watchman, those of the Sudra family. If, with Adam Smith, we can believe that over a long period of time the value of corn does not vary however much its price may, and assume that these represent the value of an equal quantity of grain today, the average income of a family per month would have been sixteen rupees and two-thirds, and eight rupees and one-third for a Brahman and a Sudra, respectively, on[118] the supposition of the average price of paddy at one rupee four annas per modern kalam. We cannot form any definite conclusion on the slender evidence we have; but if this represents at all the standard of life of those days we have all that is possible for us to know at present.

Religion.

The Cholas were Saivas by religion; but there is no evidence of the Vaishnavas or of the Jains[119] having been persecuted as such, before the days of Kulottunga, who appears to have driven out Ramanuja from Sri-

118. Mr. Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar's figures per head are Rs. 3-12-0 and Rs. 1-12-0 per month. The Government of India's Rs. 20 a year per head.

119. The Jains had to pay a tax but the other Hindus also had to pay, such as the right-hand and left-hand castes. There is an 'inavari' which, if it means anything, ought to have been a tax on caste.

rangam. Rajaraja and his son patronised the Saivite devotional works by providing for their recital in temples on stated occasions. We find references to gifts to Vaishnava temples, and to provision made for the recital of portions of the *Nālāyiraprabhandam*. The great temple builder, Kochchengan, appears to have been a builder of both classes of temples.[120] Appar, Sundarar, and Sambandar are referred to in some of the inscriptions of Rajaraja, and somewhat later we find reference to the works of Kulasekhara and Tirumangaialvar, two of the twelve Vaishnava Alvars. The god at the temple of Ukkal is referred to by the name Tiruvoymolideva. Dr. Hultzsch is of opinion that Nammalvar, the author of the *Tiruvōymoḻi,* must have lived 'centuries before A.D. 1000.' There is an inscription of Rajendra, of the battle of Koppam fame, which makes provision for the enacting of the *Rājakēsarināṭakam* every year. Popular tradition makes Kulottunga and some at least of his successors great patrons of literature. This dynasty of the Cholas encouraged Tamil literature, but for the date of composition of the great body of extant works we have to look much earlier.

Presidential Address to the Association, 1908.

[Reprint from the Journal of the South Indian Association.]

120. Mr. Fergusson writes of the Tanjore temple: One of the peculiarities of the Tanjore temple is that all the sculptures in the gopuras belong to the religion of Vishṇu, while everything in the courtyard belongs to that of Śiva, an instance of the extreme tolerance that prevailed in the age at which it was erected before these religions became antagonistic.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CHOLA RAJARAJA I AND THE EASTERN CHALUKYA ALLIANCE

The tenth century is the period of formation of the Chola empire of South India which, in its best days, extended its authority not merely over the whole of the Madras Presidency and a considerable part of Ceylon, but also exercised a considerable amount of influence upon the East Indian Archipelago, particularly the kingdom of Sri Vijaya in Sumatra and the territories next adjoining thereto. In the course of this history and, while the Chola kingdom was still struggling to find a permanent footing in the south, it had to deal with two large states across her northern border, of which the one was the Rashtrakuta empire in the north-west. The other kingdom was the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas along the coast, which had already reached a stage of decline. The Chola Chalukya relations, which we propose discussing in the note, is an incident in this inter-relation among the three states mentioned.

The Chola kingdom was a new foundation at the commencement of the tenth century. It had been brought to a stage of formation as a block of territory taking within it the ancient Chola kingdom proper, the Tondamandalam, which was the Pallava territory proper, and Kongu, thus bringing the northern frontier of this new foundation into touch with the Rashtrakuta empire on the one side through the Gangas, with the territory of the Banas

and the Telugu Cholas next adjoining towards the east of the Gangas, with the Nolamba and the Vaidumba kingdoms, and the Rashtrakutas behind them along the north-west. The kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas lay along the coast across the territory under the authority of the Telugu Cholas nearer the coast region. The Vaidumbas occupied the territory round the Cuddapah District in the immediate interior. The kingdom of the Pandyas lay to the south, and it had suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Cholas recently, and was distracted by a civil war within, coupled with invasions from Ceylon. In the course of the struggle which lasted almost a whole generation, the Pandya kingdom had been badly weakened, and even Ceylon had become disorganised and distracted by a civil war more or less consequent on these frequent wars. Having been subjected to frequent Pandyan invasions from the south, the Cholas had now the opportunity to retaliate upon them provided only they were in a position to do so. The opportunity was there and advantage could be taken of it by any Chola ruler who had the confidence and the means to prosecute an enterprise of that kind with success. The real danger in the enterprise of course is effective interference from Ceylon, and whoever took it upon himself to invade the Pandya kingdom among the Chola rulers must *ipso facto* be prepared to meet the possibility of Ceylon invasions as well. In the first years of the tenth century, the Chola throne happened to be occupied by a capable ruler Parantaka who inherited from his father, a kingdom compacted and brought into order by his own efforts through a comparatively long reign. He could with confidence proceed against the Pandyas. His reign began in A. D. 907, and documents

of his third and fourth years claim conquest of the Pandya country and sometimes couple Ceylon with it in a title which he assumed namely, the "Conqueror of Madura and Ceylon." In the course of his long reign which extended to 46 years at least, Parantaka had to carry on at least two wars against the Pandyas and at least three against Ceylon. He succeeded ultimately in bringing the Pandya kingdom under his control, and could lay claim to having achieved considerable success against Ceylon, and make it no longer a profitable venture for the Ceylonese to come to the assistance of the Pandyas and interfere in the political affairs of South India.

The contemporary of Parantaka on the Rashtrakuta throne was an equally capable ruler, but his attention had been drawn to the north. He was engaged more or less in a war with the rising power of the Gurjaras in which ultimately the Rashtrakuta ruler Indra III achieved considerable success. But there followed soon afterwards a succession of weak rulers, who not merely neglected the northern frontier, but let matters take their own course in the southern frontier as well, till we come to almost about A.D. 940, when the far longer part of Parantaka's reign was over. This hapened to be also a period when the Eastern Chalukyas had become a decaying power. Civil wars and disputed succession, the inevitable concomitants of dynastic decline, were much in evidence. Up to A.D. 940 therefore the Chola power was able to consolidate itself by not merely extending its power substantially through the Pandya country but even getting into an alliance with the Cheras and beating back the Ceylonese into their own island on the southern side. By a policy of judicious

alliances and wars, even the northern frontier had been brought into quiet. Parantaka managed to get into an alliance with the Gangas, reduced the Banas to submission and kept even the Telugu Cholas and the Vaidumbas there for the moment, clear of habitual rivalry between the Gangas and Nolambas on the one side, the Vaidumbas and the Telugu Cholas on the other. Just the year before A. D. 940 there came to the throne of the Rashtrakutas a capable and powerful ruler in the person of Krishna III, and his accession marks a turn in the affairs of these kingdoms. As a prince, Krishna is found to have been active in the north, and, although he got into a marriage alliance with the rulers of Chedi and Bundelkhand, he asserted the authority of the Rashtrakutas to the extent of fixing his hold upon the fortress of Kalanjar and Chitrakuta belonging to the Chandelas, thus making the newly rising power of the Chedis and the Chandelas, towards the south of the Gurjaras, more or less dependent upon him. But these powers managed between themselves to reduce the Gurjara activity on the southern frontier and make that frontier safe for these states which lay farther south of them. In the territory of Malva, which for some time since, had already been reduced to a position of a feudatory state to the Rastrakutas, there was rising a new dynasty which did not quite show its hand as yet and continued to be loyal. So with the Paramaras in Malva, the Chedis and Chandelas further north, the Gurjaras were held under control. Krishna could therefore turn his attention to affairs nearer home almost immediately after his accession to the throne. The first power to draw his attention would naturally be the power adjoining, which had been generally in alliance with the

Rashtrakutas, and were of sufficient importance to have entered into direct marriage alliance with the imperial Rashtrakutas. Krishna followed the traditional policy of alliance with the Gangas, and even before he came to the throne, his elder sister had been married to a Ganga prince by name Butuga. In consequence of this marriage, Butuga's territory was considerably added to so that he became the forerunner of the southern viceroys of the later Chalukyas who ruled over the vast block of territory consisting of the whole tableland of Mysore and the districts adjoining on the northern side considerably into the Southern Mahratta country. Butuga was erected into this important position of ruler of the great viceroyalty as the son-in-law of the reigning Rashtrakuta. The Ganga alliance was therefore cemented very strongly, and that was the first nail driven into the security of the Cholas on their north, particularly as the Ganga ally of the Cholas Prithvipati II died and, his territory was annexed by Butuga. That done, Krishna could look forward to gradually extending his power towards the south either by conquest, or by conciliation. The stimulus to this was provided by the fugitive Bana rulers recently dispossessed of their possessions by the Chola conquest of the Bana kingdom. He combined the two; conciliated the nearer powers and carried on war against the more distant ones. Comparatively early in his reign, he seems to have formed the project of driving a wedge into the newly compacted Chola kingdom by acquiring the territory of the Banas, Perumbanapadi, which stretched across the basin of the Palar and occupied the block of territory between the Chola country and Tondamandalam. This would be the most effective way of breaking the rising Chola power

in the south. The alliance between the Gangas and the Rashtrakutas was a great step in this direction, and its importance showed itself when the Gangas were able quietly to conquer the Nolambas and annex their territory to their own. So the Rashtrakuta territory came into contact with that of the Cholas all along the Chola north-western frontier, and, if only Krishna succeeded in gaining the Bana territory, either by conquest or by effective alliance, the Chola power would be in great danger. Krishna III came to the throne in A.D. 939. With his accession and immediate action, the kingdom that was compacted at so much pains, and, after three or four great wars by Parantaka, was in imminent danger on the northern side, and even inscriptions of the third year of Krishna claim conquest of "Kanchi and Tanjai", Conjivaram and Tanjore. This would be about the year A.D. 941-42, and, for this year, the actual conquest of these two capitals of the Cholas could only be regarded as mere rhetoric. But there could be no doubt that Krishna achieved some successes in this reign in the course of his efforts to restore the Banas under his influence, and these certainly justify the boast to some extent. Parantaka was for the moment occupied in his southern wars, and that was what actually gave the opportunity to the Rashtrakutas to make this advance. It did not seem likely that he would cease in his activities. War broke out consequently on the northern frontier sometime during A.D. 941-45, and the Rāshtrakuta was able to achieve a number of small successes in the northernmost part of the Chola territory, which enabled him to push forward towards the south in a steady invasion. The crucial battle between the Chola and the Rashtrakuta took place at Takkolam, very near Conji-

varam, where the Chola heir-apparent Rajaditya opposed the Rashtrakuta invasion, and lost his life in the effort in A.D. 949. It is this battle which gave the Rashtrakuta Krishna the title to conquest of Kanchi. Thereafter gradually he was able to take advantage of the defeat, and push southwards. During the period of the decade following we find a number of epigraphical records referring themselves to Krishna III, the Rashtrakuta, in the northern districts[1] of the Chola kingdom going down to the southern borders of South Arcot, thus giving us clear indication of the Rashtrakuta hold in the northern part of the Chola kingdom, the Tondamandalam part of it. The Karhad plates[2] of Krishna III dated A.D. 959 describe, his being in Melpadi in the North Arcot District, distributing largesses among those who rendered valuable services to him. This indicates the zenith of Krishna's authority in what was the Chola territory and the next decade marks the reaction of Chola effort to recover from him the positions lost during this period. The last known year of Parantaka is 47, which would correspond to A.D. 953-54. Probably he died soon after. He was succeeded in rapid succession by two of his sons, who were probably already assisting in the administration. His second son Gandaraditya, who probably was installed immediately after the death of Rajaditya at Takkolam, could not have had more than two or three years of reign at the outside, and that would mean perhaps a year or two after the death of Parantaka. He was followed by a younger brother, who probably had charge of this northern frontier and the

1. *Ep. Colln.*, 235, 267, 268, of 1902, and 16; 743 of 1905.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 278.

conduct of the wars against the Rashtrakutas. A later inscription from the self-same Melpadi[3] refers to the construction of a memorial to this ruler Arinjaya at a place called Attur most probably in the immediate vicinity.

Arinjaya's son, Sundarachola, must have come to the throne about the year A.D. 956. Whether he succeeded during the lifetime of the father, or whether he came to the throne only after his death, we cannot be quite certain about. But in either case, what Arinjaya was able to do, to dislodge the enemy from his hold of the Bana territory, did not attain to complete success. All the time the Pandya trouble remained, and constituted the pre-occupation of the Cholas. This made it necessary for the Cholas to be Janus-faced, operating both on the northern and on the southern frontier, the sixteen or seventeen years of Sundarachola's reign being occupied with this work. They were not without other trouble at home. There was a rival claimant to the throne in the son of Gandaraditya who was an elder brother of Arinjaya. Sundarachola got over the difficulty by assuming authority himself, and satisfied the ambitions of his cousin by making him Yuvaraja and allaying, for the time being, the fears of the aspirant. They seem otherwise also to have taken steps for effective action on the northern frontier. This very Arinjaya married three wives, whose names are mentioned in the epigraphical records. Two of them are named Viman Kundavvai, Kundavvai,[4] the daughter of Bhima, and Kodai-Pirattiyar,[5] probably a Chera princess from the

3. *S.I.I.* III, 17.
4. *A.R.E.*, 1921, I, 26.
5. K. A. N. Sastri's *Colas*, pp. 183—185.

first part of the name. He also married a Vaidumba princess by name Kalyani, and his son who succeeded him on the throne, Parantaka-Sundarachola was her son. Bhima, the father of Kundavvai, is taken to be the Chalukya Bhima of the Eastern Chalukyas. If that was so, it was likely he would be named. Probably this was another ruler in the immediate north of the Chola kingdom, particularly, as records of an Araiyan Adittan Bhiman, that is, Araiyan Bhiman, son of Aditya. Araiyan being a mere title. We shall revert to this Bhima later. It is sufficient to remark here that he was probably a Telugu Chola ruler who was brought into the Chola alliance, the political alliance being cemented by a marriage. Sundarachola's first war was against the Pandyas, assisted by the Ceylonese. Sundarachola succeeded and carried the war into Ceylon, as the general who led the expedition, Siriya Velan by name, fell fighting in Ceylon[6] in the third year of Sundarachola, that is, A.D. 959. This pre-occupation it is which made the Chola effort at regaining the northern districts from the Rashtrakutas a slow and protracted affair, as they were not able to throw the whole of their resources against the powerful Rashtrakutas. This was probably not the last time that he had to fight against the Pandyas. His eldest son Aditya, otherwise called Karikala, had charge of the Pandya war, and claimed to have achieved distinction against the Pandyas, and even met with his death in his effort, although foul play seems to have had its own part in bringing about this catastrophe.[7] This was about the end of the reign of Sundarachola. Butuga, the

6. 106 of 1896. *S.I.I.* V, 980.
7. 577 of 1920.

stout-hearted Ganga ally of Krishna died soon after Parantaka; but was succeeded by his son Marasimha, who remained as stoutly loyal to his uncle Krishna as his father did. So the Rashtrakuta hold on the northern frontier of the Cholas remained firm notwithstanding their efforts till Krishna died in A.D. 968, and was succeeded by two brothers in rapid succession till at last a nephew came to the throne in A.D. 972. The death of Krishna removed the strong hand, and opened the way for the Cholas achieving success in their efforts to regain lost territory. This was a great deal assisted by the calamities which befell the Rashtrakutas in their own territory.

Rashtrakuta foreign policy in the north, and Krishna's pre-occupation with the wars in the south, gradually made the feudatory Paramaras of Malva to attain to a position of importance. For some reason or other, they invaded the very capital of the Rashtrakutas and sacked the town. Apparently the Rashtrakutas were unequal to prevent this under the last ruler Karka II, a nephew of Krishna. This destructive attack opened the way for a revolution which was brought about by a Chalukya feudatory, claiming to be a scion of the old Chalukya family who overthrew the Rashtrakutas and set himself up in their stead. This removed the Rashtrakuta trouble so far as the Chola northern frontier was concerned.

A knowledge of this course of Rashtrakuta history and Krishna's advance into the south is necessary to understand the development of a Chola policy which ultimately brought the Eastern Chalukya dominions within the Chola system. We have seen that, in the early years of the tenth century, Rashtrakuta attention

was drawn towards the north. Indra's successful campaigns perhaps drew away his attention from the Eastern Chalukyas. The Eastern Chalukyas, it must be remembered, ever since Rashtrakuta usurpation in the middle of the eighth century, pursued a policy of their own which, in periods proved to be one of definite hostility to the Rashtrakutas. The Eastern Chalukya accounts have it that, in a period of twelve years, their hero Narendra Mrigaraja Vijayaditya fought as many as 108 battles.[8] Allowing for great exaggeration in the statements, it indicates a determination to fight to the death as it were, and, in the effort, they have achieved considerable successes as they claim to have destroyed the very capital of the Rashtrakutas, which had subsequently to be restored. A policy of hostility therefore seems quite clear, and does not require much further demonstration. In the period following, the relation between the one state and the other seems to have depended a good deal upon the pre-occupations of the really more powerful Rashtrakutas. At the time, Rashtrakuta embroilments with the Gurjaras of the north were the probable cause of the division. Indra's campaign therefore left the Eastern Chalukyas free. A somewhat prolonged peace had the natural, but unfortunate, effect of making the Chalukyas lose their vigour, and even to indulge in wars and disputed successions. With A. D. 925 and the accession of a ruler by name Tadana or Talapa I, affairs in the Eastern Chalukya territory were going from bad to worse from rapid change of successions and even civil wars among the different claimants to the

8. *S.I.I.*, I, E. *Châlukya* references thereunder. *Ind. Ant.* XIV, 197ff, *E.I.*, IX, p. 24.

throne. In this condition of affairs of the Eastern Chalukyas, the accession of a powerful ruler like Krishna III, with a clearcut policy before him of extending the Rashtrakuta empire in the south, must have had its influence upon the Eastern Chalukyas as well. However much the separate incidents may seem more or less the outcome of the circumstances of the moment, a historical study, in the proper perspective, cannot altogether obscure the view that a policy, a definite policy, had been shaping itself in the mind of Krishna who carried it out in the course of the next quarter of a century to a high degree of accomplishment. Two kingdoms were rising into importance in the north, those of the Chedis and the Chandelas. While yet his father was on the throne, Krishna apparently interested himself in the rivalry between the two. He was able to capture the strong Chandela fortresses of Kalanjar and Chitrakuta.[9] we shall have to presume with the contenance, if not the alliance, of the rulers of Chedi, as both Krishna and his father had married Chedi princesses. The Paramaras of Malva were kept in hand, and therefore at the time of the accession of Krishna, the northern frontier was on a footing of peace to cause him no anxiety whatever. By a judicious kind of a marriage alliance he secured the safety of the southern frontier as well both for defence, and even for the great offensive he had probably already contemplated against the Cholas. The marriage of the Rashtrakuta princess with Butuga, who had just murdered his predecessor and had succeeded to the throne of

9. *E.I.*, V. 190. *E.I.*, XIX, 287. Also Altekar; Rashtrakutas, pp. 113ff.

the Gangas, and the additions made to his government so as to provide him with a government in the south of great resources for war, is a clear indication that he was preparing for his southern adventure. He could not march south into the Chola territory leaving the flank of the Rashtrakuta kingdom exposed to possible attacks from the east. These attacks from the Chalukyas, from the previous history of the relations between the two, were certainly not a remote contingency. Just as the fugitive Bana rulers, fleeing from the successful operations of the powerful Chola Parantaka, found shelter under the Rashtrakutas, so there were fugitives from the court of the strong ruler Amma II, when he had established himself in full authority in the Chalukya kingdom. That happened to be just about the time when Krishna had managed to launch himself into his southern campaign in full vigour. The son of a predecessor of Amma probably made an effort to forward his claims, as in fact he did clearly, and, being baulked in his efforts found shelter under the great Rashtrakuta who would certainly help him when a suitable opportunity offered. The opportunity did offer itself in the course of years, and we have a record of the eleventh year[10] of Amma when, through the operations of his rival supported by Krishna III, he had to evacuate the capital and flee for shelter into the distant Kalinga, part of which Amma had brought under his authority.[11] This statement in the Chalukya inscription is a clear indication that the Chalukya territory was far more safe on the northern

10. *E.I.*, XIX, 137ff.

11. *Opus cit.* This is the passage: ll. 22-23 "*Sunus-tasya-Ammarâjas-surapati-vibhava......baddhô dharitrîm rakshan-êkâdaśàbdâm jitaripum-agamat Krishna-kôpat-Kaslingam.*"

frontier, and this clear fact that comes to our notice is but an indication of the many others that have not. Badapa the rival seems to have certainly had very considerable support which would show itself openly only when a certain amount of success had been achieved. But since A.D. 956 when the Rashtrakuta adventure into the south had attained to great success, and Krishna was actually in the northern part of the Chola territory, and he could equally be active in the east, and send Amma into temporary exile, gives again a clear indication of the importance that Krishna attached to this section of work. Probably the return of Amma II to power resulted in an understanding between the two rulers. That would have made the whole northern frontier of the Cholas open to Rashtrakuta attack in perfect safety. Taking the period soon after the battle of Takkolam, say A.D. 950, the position would be somewhat like this. The Ganga chieftain, Butuga was just in an intoxication of power after the victory against the Chola heir-apparent, and, in the full enjoyment of a block of territory which constituted the southern, and even the palatine, viceroyalty of the Karnataka empires, Rashtrakuta as well as Chalukya. By his recent conquest which followed the battle of Takkolam, the bulk of the territory of Perumbanapadi had been annexed to it. A little before this time, Nolambavadi had been conquered and annexed to the Ganga territory. Thus the territory and the power of the Gangas were extensive and great respectively. The death of Parantaka just a few years after this left the Chola empire without a powerful enough guardian. So all the south appeared to lie at the feet of Krishna. Only he should be up and doing to take advantage of the situation thus created. Of course the

Cholas would not surrounder without a fight, and the feeble struggle that the immediate successors of Parantaka put up, could but have comparatively little success. What is our point, however, is how the Cholas actually persisted in their efforts against the powerful enemy who had riveted his hold upon the Chola kingdom in such strength. The Pandya campaigns, Ceylon looming in the distance all the time, had not been brought to a definite end as yet, and was not to be till much later. The possibility of having to fight in the south was the first demand upon the Chola policy; but they could not carry on that fight safely and efficiently, unless they could make adequate provision, at least to maintain their reduced northern frontier such as it happened to be. After the conquest of the Bana territory at least a very considerable part of it, the only states with which the Cholas could come to an agreement and make their support available to them—at least for defensive purposes—were at the time three. The Telugu Cholas of whose history we know comparatively little for this period, and the Vaidumbas who occupied the gap between this Chola territory and the Rashtrakuta frontier. If that could be secured, then it would leave only the Bana frontier open in the north, and efforts could be made to dislodge the enemy from that region. That this necessity of the position was realised by Parantaka himself is clear from the marriage alliances, of which we have hints in the records of these Cholas. Parantaka's youngest son had married apparently the daughter of a chieftain who goes by the name Araiyan Adittan Bhiman. Another, it might be a Chera princess as already stated, and a third who was a Vaidumba princess, and this prince Arinjaya or Arikula-

kesari, probably had charge of the northern war after the death of Rajaditya at Takkolam. It looks as if the Bhima who is under reference is not the Bhima of the Chalukyas, as Tamil records usually state it clearly that that was the case, Chalukya Bhima or Telinga Bhima being more or less expressions in reference to him. So long as Krishna was alive and the possibility of a Pandyan invasion was not quite remote, the Cholas could do but little except to remain on the defensive, and, when the Rashtrakuta influence was well established in the court of the Eastern Chalukyas they could have done nothing in that direction, except of course to take note of it that, in regard to any future course of action on their part, the establishment of the correct relation between the Eastern Chalukyas and themselves would occupy an important place. When Krishna died and the Rashtrakuta power was reduced to impotency by the Paramara invasion and the sack of the capital, and by the subversion of the dynasty itself by the Chalukyas, the Cholas obtained the respite from the north-western frontier to make an effort to restore themselves to their own position. They would naturally therefore make the first bid to bring the Eastern Chalukyas into the circle of their friends and allies. The last quarter of the tenth century therefore was a period when the Cholas had to be much more active than usual, to bring their relations with the Pandyas to a more settled condition and make their efforts in the central region to destroy the Rashtrakuta hold upon the Bana country, and gain back as much of their possessions in the north as they possibly could, leaving the Gangas aside for the moment. The Ganga Butuga died just about the time when Parantaka died, and his successor remained loyal to Krishna

during his lifetime. When the Chalukya revolution took place, the Gangas were deprived of the powerful Rashtrakuta support because it was the Chalukya power that was ruling now instead, and their attitude towards the Gangas was doubtful. In this state of affairs, the Cholas were distinctly in a position of advantage to attend to the Eastern Chalukya affairs.

The year A.D. 972-3 marks the Chalukya revolution in the Rashtrakuta empire. It also marks the end of Danarnava's reign, according to Eastern Chalukya records and the commencement of the so-called interregnum. In Chola history also it reaches a critical point; but a revolution similar either to that of the Rashtrakuta, or of the Eastern Chalukya was avoided by the equanimity and statesmanlike attitude of the princely heir-apparent to the throne of the Cholas, Rajaraja. The period from the death of Parantaka in A.D. 953-54 to A.D. 972-3 was a period in which the Chola power could hardly claim to be in as strong a position as it was under the great Parantaka. His immediate successor or two, during the next three or four years following Parantaka's death, were comparatively feeble rulers. It is only when Parantaka's successor, Sundarachola-Parantaka II succeeded to the throne that there came into the Chola administration anything like the old vigour. Even so, Sundarachola's pre-occupations were with the Pandyas, and the northern frontier came in for comparatively less attention than the south. The decisive battle in which a victory against the Pandyas is claimed by Prince Aditya whose death soon followed brought matters to a decisive point on the Pandya side, and more attention could now be given to the northern frontier. At that

time came in a succession dispute following the death of Sundarachola. Of Sundarachola's sons the eldest, the valiant Aditya, surnamed Karikala, achieved distinction in the Pandyan wars of the south and died soon after perhaps by foul means as there is reason to suspect, owing to the machinations of the person who actually succeeded to the throne, Uttamachola, son of Gandaraditya. Personally speaking this prince ought to have succeeded to the throne of his father. But that did not come about. The father was probably followed by his younger brother, and he was followed by his own son Parantaka II, Sundarachola. There is the possibility that, at the time of the accession of this last ruler. Uttamachola did put forward his claims and he was made to stand aside because of the needs of the hour, and give place to a more proved general and administrator in the person of Sundarachola. The prince that stood aside for the father must be old enough, and, perhaps even strong enough, to put forward tenable claims to succeed him, at least, whether there was a previous explicit agreement or no. It seems therefore probable that there was some kind of an understanding. Uttamachola would therefore assert his claims. Aditya's achievement in the Pandya wars on behalf of his father would naturally put him forward as the most suitable successor to Sundarachola, and there is reason to suspect that he was cut out of the way, perhaps by assassination which must have been brought about in the interest of Uttamachola. Whatever his personal responsibilities may be in regard to the matter, the question would therefore naturally arise whether the succession of Uttamachola to the Chola throne would be undisputed. Aditya II, Karikala the

distinguished son of Sundarachola, had a younger brother of sufficient age, and of undoubted capacity to advance his claims immediately on Aditya's death, and, if Sundarachola were yet alive, even on his deathbed, we may well believe it that he would naturally have preferred the son succeeding, although the possibility is not ruled out that he felt bound by the previous agreement to let Uttama succeed him in preference. Whether the agreement was actually due to the intercession of Sundarachola or no, the fact stands out that Rajaraja stood aside, and let Uttama succeed. The family relations seem to have continued friendly as Uttama's mother continued under the protection of Rajaraja, even after he had succeeded to the throne, a respected royal personage who could indulge in making grants, such as royal personages were allowed to. Therefore the succession of Uttamachola was peaceful, not withstanding the discensions and arrangements they may have made. This could be accounted for only on the understanding that prince Rajaraja deliberately decided to stand aside as, under ordinary circumstances, he would have asserted his claims to the throne and was apparently in resources to do it effectively. The fact that he did not do it is the clearest possible indication that he wished deliberately to avoid what had actually taken place at the time in the two distant capitals of the Rashtrakutas and the Eastern Chalukyas, namely that Rajaraja did not like to bring about the dynastic revolution in the Chola empire which had actually taken place in the Rashtrakuta, and even in the Eastern Chalukya, kingdoms. Rajaraja obviously enjoyed a certain amount of power and position, and perhaps was playing an active part

also in the administration of the empire. The revolution that had actually been taking place in the Rashtrakuta empire and in the kingdom of the Chalukyas left the northern frontier quiet. The Gangas were isolated from the Rashtrakutas, the new power of the Western Chalukyas, not having had the time to think out and adopt a southern policy of their own. It is that that saved the Chola empire, and it is that that perhaps saved Uttamachola the ill repute of not having done enough to maintain the Chola kingdom. His actual rule extended over at least twelve years, and during this period the northern frontier of the Chola Kingdom was more or less in peace by diplomatic arrangements with the minor powers, the major powers being out of action by their own respective revolutions. It must have been clear to Uttamachola and the administrators under him, among whom perhaps was Rajaraja, that the most redoubtable enemy to be provided for on the old Rashtrakuta frontier was the Ganga power, and this happened at the time not to be in a position to prosecute, on their own responsibility, the vigorous policy followed by Butuga in the previous generation chiefly through his alliance with Krishna, the Rashtrakuta. The object being the advance along the north-west, the Chola power ought to make provision for the other side remaining quiet. It therefore was the essential need of the situation that the Cholas should get into some kind of alliance with the Eastern Chalukyas, if that were possible, before they got into definite relations with the newly rising power of the Chalukyas of Kalyani, that is, the Western Chalukyas. It does not require much prophetic vision or foresight, putting ourselves in the circumstances of A.D. 973, to see that the most dangerous frontier of the

Cholas on the north-west could be brought under, and the Gangas could be conquered after the Chalukya revolution, if ever there was the possibility for the Cholas to do so. The project must have formed therefore early in the mind, if not of Uttamachola, at least of the coming aspirant, prince Rajaraja. As a matter of fact the moment that Rajaraja felt himself in a position to take vigorous action, the first objective of attack was Gangappadi, if the Cholas were not to be too late and see that the Gangas were again well backed by the power behind them, the newly rising Chalukya.

That questions of policy were not altogether unknown to these Indian rulers is exhibited in the clearest manner possible, by the attitude that the Rashtrakuta Krishna adopted towards the Eastern Chalukyas. The tell-tale fact that, in the eleventh year of Krishna, he countenanced the efforts of Badapa, a collateral aspirant to the Chalukya throne of Vengi, to the extent of actively interfering and dispossessing Amma II, the actual ruler for the time. This took place in the year A.D. 956, when Krishna, after having achieved, even perhaps unlooked for successes in the south, was still occupied in the Chola country and had mastered possession at least of Perambanappadi, and a great deal more of the Chola empire on the northern side. In the midst of these preoccupations that he should have interfered in the affairs of the Eastern Chalukyas, in the manner that he had actually done, would show that he set great value upon his influence prevailing in the Chalukya territory, at least to the extent of not having to provide for the defence of that frontier efficiently, so long as he was occupied in the south. When Krishna passed away and soon after him his empire, it

was open to the Cholas to make an effort to secure the Chalukya alliance if it were possible. But that meant clear vision of the future and capacity to arrange matters satisfactorily to push forward with a policy of that kind. Circumstances were not propitious in the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas for a policy like that, and, perhaps even the administration of Uttama-chola was not even clear-sighted enough to actively carry out the policy of the Eastern Chalukya alliance. The death of the strong ruler Amma II seems to have been the signal for unloosing the disturbing elements which had been worrying him throughout his reign, the more so after the Rashtrakuta interference. There seems to have been a disputed succession. The Eastern Chalukya records are not quite certain about his elder brother succeeding him immediately after his death, although it seems likely that he had ruled for a short period. The disturbances seem to have been not the creation of the brother Danarnava, although that is not altogether impossible, since he was a half-brother, and his relatives figure prominently under the rule of Badapa. It was Badapa, with his friends, who intrigued through the assistance of the Rashtrakutas before that, who perhaps found support elsewhere, and ultimately overturned the rule of Danarnava, and set himself upon the throne. This revolution in the Chalukya capital was not altogether lost upon the Cholas, who apparently were not in a position to take any effective action at the time, and the usurper was allowed to go on, as well he might, as there was no chance of any interference from the Rashtrakuta side owing to the Western Chalukya interference also. Thus the so-called period of interregnum in Eastern Chalukya his-

tory of course is a period of interregnum from the point of view of the legitimate successors of Amma, but there was some kind of an usurper ruler under Badapa and possibly a brother of his by name, Tadapa.

That being the general position, it would be clear that the policy of the Chola administration could have been to so arrange matters on the northern frontier as ultimately to result in a Chalukya alliance, if the Chola empire is not to suffer what it did in the later years of the reign of the great Parantaka himself and his immediate successors, namely, an invasion in strength from the north-west in which the Gangas would play a prominent part leading ultimately even to the dismemberment of the Chola empire. If that was to be avoided, the Ganga territory must be subdued and brought into the Chola system. That could not be done satisfactorily without an understanding with the Eastern Chalukyas. It must however be remembered that there were other minor powers between the Chola frontier proper and the Eastern Chalukya territory, of which at least two kingdoms are heard of about this period. The one is the kingdom of the Telugu Cholas, and the other the Vaidumbas. Simultaneously there came to be at the Chola court the fugitive sons of the late ruler Amma, and their presence must have exerted a considerable amount of influence. We have already noticed that in the days of Parantaka himself he managed to get into marriage alliances with the Vaidumbas for certain, and possibly even with the Telugu Cholas. One of the queens of Arinjaya, Rajaraja's grandfather, having been the daughter of a Bhima, and we have shown reason why he should not be regarded as the ruler of the Chalukyas and that probably he was a

Telugu Chola ruler. Whether this was the Telugu Chola or no, the Vaidumba marriage at any rate, gives clear indication of a desire, to get into positive alliances with these northern powers. The occasion for interfering with the Eastern Chalukyas came along with the fugitives from the Chalukya court when the usurper gained the Chalukya throne with the assistance of the Eastern Gangas of Orissa, in the absence of Rashtrakuta assistance. Having given asylum to prince Saktivarman of the Eastern Chalukyas, it was open to the Cholas to adopt a policy of interference in Eastern Chalukya affairs to assist the legitimate successors of Amma to recover their own, and that would be done only if it was in the interest of the Cholas to do it. It was certainly to the interest of the Cholas that they should have on the Chalukya throne, if possible, one that would be well affected towards the Cholas, so that the Cholas might feel not only their immediate frontier in the north, but even the more powerful kingdom behind it was, if not positively in their interest, at least it was well affected towards them. Therefore an Eastern Chalukya alliance became definitely an object of policy to be pursued by the Chola rulers. We know of nothing that took place in Uttamachola's reign that indicates this policy clearly. As soon as Rajaraja came to the throne, surely in this department as in every other, the vigour of the new ruler became clearly visible, and the pursuit of a clear policy also became apparent. Rajaraja succeeded peacefully apparently, though Uttamachola left behind him a son[12] who occupied an important official position under Rajaraja later. But Rajaraja was allowed to suc-

12. *S. I. I.* III, No. 49 *A. R. E.*, 1904 Set. 20.

ceed quietly and carry into effect the big projects that he had formed in his mind. An extract from the Pabhubarru plates[13] of Saktivarman contains the following passage:—"His youth shone like that of a lion when, in the Tamil battle (*Dramiḷāhavē*) he took the formidable elephants (of the enemy). He performed the wonderful feat when, with his own hands, he killed the sharp and peerless hero sent (against him) by Coda Bhima. He dug up the wide-spread tree of Jata Chola to its very roots the tree which rose aloft in its boughs (with the divisions of its army), which had its base spreading on the top of a mountain (had its feet adorned by the crowns of the heads of kings) and which was strong within." Here we see Saktivarman in the court of the Chola ruler, acting in behalf of the Cholas, against the Telugu-Chola ruler, the Chola-Bhima and rendering distinguished service. That the Bhima referred to is not the Chalukya is quite clear, being called Chola Bhima, and the reference that follows to Jata Chola the founder of the Telugu Chola dynasty makes it certain. Distinguished service like that would have created, in the Chola ruler, interest in the affairs of Saktivarman, if that interest had not already been assured as a result of Chola policy. Examples of foreign princes rendering such distinguished services are not wanting in South Indian History. The verse in the Tiruvalangadu plates[14] corresponding to this namely, verse 82, which apparently refers to events connected with this war of Rajaraja has it "Since Rajaraja, an expert in war, of the same name as myself, has been killed by a power-

13. *Journal of the Tel. Academy*, II, 395ff; K. A. N. Sastri, *Colas*, p. 217.

14. *S.I.I.* II, iii.

ful club, I shall, therefore, kill that Andhra king called Bhima though (he may be) faultless. So saying he (Arunmolivarman) killed him (Bhima) with a mace." This translation is taken exception to by Professor Nilakanta Sastri, who would render the passage "As Rajaraja of my name and skilled in battle has been attacked by Bhima with his army, so I shall attack the flawless Telugu (*arandhram āndhram*) Bhima by name (thinking) this wise, he attacked him with an army." The original verse 82 however reads as follows:—

Daṇḍēṇa Bhīmēna yudhi pravinō yad Rājarāḥ nihito madākhyaḥ
Tad Bhīmanāmānam arandhram āndhram hanmīti dandena jaghāna tam saḥ

Apart from the technicalities of interpretation, the passage makes it absolutely clear that a certain Bhima killed a certain other ruler Rajaraja in whom Chola Rajaraja was interested. In retaliation Rajaraja killed that Bhima in the same way that Bhima killed Rajaraja. The point for the historian here is just this, who is this actual Bhima. Of course, it would be natural to take him to be the Eastern Chalukya as he is called Andhra Bhima in the term *Āndhram arandhram*. Of course the term '*arandhram Āndhram*' means that he was so well provided for defence that it would be difficult to find a point of attack with any possibility of success, the term *arandhram* being used in the Arthasastraic sense of being free from the weaknesses to which states are liable and which provide the opportunity for the enemy to take advantage of. That this is not the Eastern Chalukya Bhima is clear. There was not a Bhima at the time answering to the description in the passage. Then there

must have been another person, his neighbour perhaps, with the name or title Rajaraja, possibly an ally of the Chola, or a person in whom the Cholas were interested. This Bhima must have brought about the death of that ally of Rajaraja, and Rajaraja in retaliation attacked him and got him killed. Reading the other passage from the Pabhubarru plates already quoted, in the light of this the position becomes absolutely clear that the Bhima under reference is the Telugu Chola Bhima, who could certainly be described as Andhra from the point of view of the Tamilian Chola, and it was his attack, it may be on the Vaidumbas, their neighbours, or possibly even a Bana chieftain, which gave the cause of offence to the Chola. Whoever he was, it is clear that he was one dependent upon Rajaraja and possibly even derived authority from him, as it looks as though the title Rajaraja was conferred upon him by the Chola. The transactions must have taken place, from their character, after Rajaraja ascended the throne, that is, after A.D. 985. If Saktivarman rendered yeoman service in this war in the immediate neighbourhood of the Chola kingdom, the Chola monarch in gratitude would help Saktivarman to gain back his throne from those who had usurped it from the point of view of Saktivarman. Therefore then, the historical position becomes clear that Saktivarman as a fugitive in the Chola Court, rendered service which would certainly be highly appreciated by the Chola, and obtained in return for the service, the reward that he sought of the Chola, assistance to gain his patrimony. The Chola must therefore have assisted Saktivarman to carry on his war against Badapa, or, as it is just possible, his brother Talapa. Whether it was the one or the other does not matter to the main question. Saktivarman assisted by the

Chola succeeded and placed himself upon the throne as a result of his campaign with the assistance of the Chola. The actual date of this success of Saktivarman has not yet been determined definitely. There seems a possible difference of two or three years. It is the Chola records of Rajaraja of his fourteenth year that lay distinct claim to the conquest of Vengi, of course, the conquest of Vengi like other conquests. The first achievement that Rajaraja gives himself, is the destruction of a fleet at Kandalur Salai, and then follow his achievements in the nearer frontier, and then comes in this conquest of Vengi. Possibly his operations against Vengi direct and indirect, began somewhat earlier as records of his eleventh year seem to hint at. But by his fourteenth year, it is clear from his records, that his activity in the direction of the Eastern Chalukyas was complete, and his nominee Saktivarman was on the throne of the Eastern Chalukyas, which gives a title to Rajaraja to claim conquest of Vengi. If through his assistance a ruler friendly to him was placed upon the throne of the Vengi kingdom, one could easily concede the claim to conquest, even if it should be that it was not actually a military conquest.

The conquest did not end, and Rajaraja was not apparently satisfied with merely placing Saktivarman on the throne, and being dependent upon his gratitude for continued peace there which he wanted very badly, for the operations against the Western Chalukyas, which must have clearly been formed in his mind. He proceeded further, and got Saktivarman's brother Vimaladitya married to the Chola princess, Kundavvai, the daughter of Rajaraja. The placing of Saktivarman on the throne with military assistance and the bringing about of a marriage alliance with his successor-presumptive, give

certain indication of the pursuit of a policy, if the whole course of the preceeding circumstances beginning with Parantaka did not indicate the policy. One reads therefore with some little surprise the following in Professor Nilakanta Sastri's *Colas*:—"Rajaraja's intercession in Vengi affairs was the direct and natural result of the political development of the early years of his reign, rather than of any diplomatic design to dissociate the Eastern Chalukya from their western cousins". The course of Chola history described above gives perhaps the clearest indication of the pursuit of a policy which resulted in the Eastern Chalukya alliance with a view to preventing the possibility of their joining the Western Chalukyas in alliance in the coming war, which must have already been clearly in the mind of Rajaraja after the conquest of Gangapadi. The frontier could not stop there and must be carried further.

In regard to describing these transactions during the period of Chalukya rule extending from the death of Amma II to that of Saktivarman, certainly before A.D. 999 as an interregnum, Andhra scholars have been somewhat perturbed and seem rather concerned to deny the interregnum as almost apocryphal, or at best a wrong description by other scholars who worked in the field. The term interregnum has not been invented by the scholars. It is the charters of Amma's legitimate successors which give to that period the name; at any rate, it is clearly so describable so long as there has been some irregularity in the succession, and, what is worse, it is an irregularity attended with a civil commotion, if not war, in which the legitimate descendants were turned out of their kingdoms, and scions of the family with no such legitimate claims had succeeded to the throne. If that is not to be

described as an interregnum, it would be difficult to find what can appropriately be so described. It is not necessary for an interregnum that there should be confusion and anarchy, and it cannot be said, in this case, that there was no confusion, and possibly even anarchy, in the Eastern Chalukya dominions which would not accept the authority of the rulers for the time being. It is therefore a matter of small consequence to history whether it was so or no, and these scholars who call it an interregnum are thoroughly justified in calling it an interregnum on the authority of the records of Saktivarman and his successors. Whatever be the appropriateness or otherwise of this designation, the claim the Chola documents make from the fourteenth year of Rajaraja onwards to the conquest of Vengi has a very substantial basis of fact to stand upon, and cannot with any chance of proof, be called into question.

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CHAPTER XXII

VISHNUVARDHANA

In the 'Making of Mysore' I have dwelt somewhat fully upon the aspect of this great ruler of Mysore as an empire-builder. I have, however, hardly touched upon the great change that came over him in the course of his royal career, which led to his conversion from Jainism to Vaishnavaism. I propose in this chapter to deal with this side of his character, and thus describe the religious condition of Mysore in his days.

Before proceeding to deal with this question, one or two common heresies regarding the particular form of worship followed by the disciples of Ramanuja have to be disposed of. It was Bishop Caldwell who gave currency to the idea that Ramanuja was the founder of Vishnu worship and that the Alvars were his dis ciples. Caldwell could be pardoned readily, if the late Professor Seshagiri Sastriar of the Presidency College, with much of the results of research that Caldwell had not before him, could hold the same opinion and identify the Vallabha Deva of the days of Periyalvar with Ati Vira Rama Pandyan, A.D. 1563, and bring other Alvars later in point of time. Professor Julien Vinson of Paris, following in the wake of these, with much more reasonable excuse in his favour than the late Professor, believes that Vaishnavism began about the fifteenth or the sixteenth centuries. The Chola inscriptions published by Dr. Hultzsch in his latest volume (Vol. III, Pt. II.) effectively dispose of Caldwell's

contention and *a fortiori* of those who follow in his footsteps. Mr. Venkayya, in his report to the Government last year (1904), refers to one inscription in the Triplicane temple of the time of the Pallavas, thereby proving the existence of the temple in Pallava times. If further proofs were wanted in this matter one has but to look for them. The Silappadhikaram a Tamil Kavya of the second century of the Christian Era (the most unfavourable estimate of its antiquity placing it in the seventh century A.D.), refers to the Vishnu temples at Srirangam, Tirupati and Tirumalirunjolai. Coming up from them, Paramesvara Varman Pallava (regarded by Dr. Hultzsch as the second of the name) built the temple Paramesvara Vinnagaram (Ulagalandha Perumal Koil) in Conjivaram. The period of the Pallava ascendency in Southern India must have been the period of great Hindu activity in religion, as against the rival faiths of the Jina and the Buddha. This was exactly the period of the great temple builders, and several temples dedicated alike to Siva and Vishnu in South India owe their existence to this dynasty. Simha Vishnu or Narasimha Varman, otherwise Mahamalla, was the builder of the rock-cut temples at Mahabalipuram (the Seven Pagodas) and he was the rival contemporary of Pulikesin II, whose court Ywan Chwank (Hiuen Thsang) visited in his travels through India. Kochengan, a Chola who must have preceded the Pallavas, built temples to Vishnu and Siva in close proximity often, so that from the seventh century onward Saivaism and Vaishnavaism developed side by side and were alike patronized by the royalties of those days.

Through all this time, however, Mysore remained generally Jain. The Ganga rulers appear to have been

Jains, although the Kongu chronicle states that the great Ranganatha temple at Srirangapatam was built in the days of the later Ganga rulers. There are records, however, of the existence of Siva and Vishnu temples, endowed by individual sovereigns of the Ganga dynasty. In the days of Vishnuvardhana a temple manager of the Siva temple at Maddur (*alias* Sivapura) claimed a plot of land on the strength of a copper-plate grant of Siva Mara II. (*circa*, A.D. 750). There are similar references to Vishnu temples. This Sivamara's father, Sri Purusha Muttarasa, is referred to as a worshipper at the feet of Narayana. Thus then we see Vaishnavaism as a religion was in existence long before the days of Ramanuja, however much he may have reformed, altered or added to it.

The advance of the Chola Power in South India marks the advance also of the Saiva religion, as most of the sovereigns were of the Saiva persuasion and richly endowed the temples, which either they themselves built or which were already in existence, although occasional grants were made and existing grants confirmed to the Vaishnava temples. About A.D. 1000, therefore, there was fresh vigour in religious development, partly because the struggle against the Jains had become somewhat keener, and partly because the work of the saints, Saiva and Vaishnava had borne fruit in the increased attention to religion. It was while this religious ferment was beginning to operate that the Chola conquest of Mysore began. This conquest, which gradually gave the Gangavadi 96,000 and the great part of Nolambavadi 32,000 to the Cholas, brought the Saivism of the Cholas and the Jainism of the Chalukyas face to face in the Mysore country. Nol-

ambavadi had been lost practically to the Chalukyas before the days of Ahavamalla Somesvara, so that the continued wars in this part of the frontier had also a religious element in it. When Vishnuvardhana, therefore, came to take part in the politics of Mysore, the country was in the unsettled state of religious debate. Jainism was generally in the ascendant, while there was a considerable following for the Saivas and Vaishnavas as well.

It was while matters were in this state that a Brahman youth of Conjivaram succeeded to the Vaishnava apostolic seat at Srirangam of his great grand-father Alavandar. The young man was Ramanuja, who, born in the year 937 Saka, was to become the great reformer of India, and whose disciples hold much of the country south and north. Having put away his wife and assumed the robes of an ascetic, he spent the best part of his days in teaching the Vaishnavas of Srirangam. In his vedantic teaching he had often to criticize other schools of thought in religion which naturally made him a few enemies, though, if we can judge of the man by his works, he must have been far from a militant preacher. An impertinent and half-blasphemous remark of one of his disciples in reply to a challenge sent out by a doughty Saiva champion jeopardized Ramanuja's position in Srirangam. The erring disciple placed himself in the position of the inoffensive preceptor and sent the latter for asylum into the Mysore country—the land of toleration. Here Ramanuja spent, according to the *Guruparamparai*, twelve years before he was brought to the notice of Bitti Deva, then gradually becoming master of the Gangavadi 96,000. The sincere piety and the persuasive eloquence of Ramanuja's teaching must have pre-

vailed with the king, for he became a convert to the Vaishnava faith about A.D. 1116. Bitti Deva thenceforward continued in the same persuasion under the title Vishnuvardhana.

The account of this apparently simple incident has come down to us in a variety of ways. The Vaishnava accounts say that while at Saligram Ramanuja's stock of Namam (the kaolin-clay used as the face mark by the Vaishnavas) was spent, and that he was in difficulties as to what to do, when he dreamt of a hill of that earth near Melkote. Thither he went and on his way he found Bitti Deva (Vitala Devaraya) in camp at Tondanur. This latter had a daughter, who was possessed by evil spirits, and all Jain incantations having failed to lay the ghost, Ramanuja brought about a successful exorcism, which convinced Bitti Deva of his superiority. He became a Vaishnava and after successful disputation in Bitti Deva's presence Ramanuja had a whole body of Jain ascetics and laymen ground in an oil mill, which is even now pointed out at Moti Talab (Tondanur).

The Jain account states that the king was influenced by Ramanuja through one of his queens to become a Vaishnava. He resisted the temptation for a long time; but when, owing to the loss of a finger of his right hand in war, the Jain ascetics declined to dine with him, he forthwith became a Vaishnava.

Of these two versions the latter must be stamped as false entirely, because Vishnuvardhana was an eminently sensible man, treated his Jain wife, ministers and subjects with great consideration. His wife, the first at least, who after his conversion was a Jain to the day of her death, and her Basadi, the Savati Ghandavarana Basti at Sravana Belgola, is evidence of her religion. His

daughter Hariale was a Jain. More than this, his right-hand man in the work of founding a kingdom, the great General Gangaraja in whose memory was built the Drohagharatta Jinalaya at Halebid, was also a Jain of eminence; for the inscriptions say that, by restoring Jain temples in the kingdom, he made it resemble Kopana or Koppal in the Nizam's Dominions. It could not, therefore, be that he became a Vaishnava by any underhand dealing, nor could he have had any particular dislike of Jainism as such.

The other version simply brings in a miracle to explain an ordinary event in the life of a great man. In those days it was the custom for eminent divines, Jain, Hindu or Buddhist, to discourse upon religious topics under the presidency of the great laymen—kings or rulers of provinces. We have numbers of references to it in the Shimoga inscriptions. Very probably Ramanuja held such a discourse, and ground down in the mill of his logic the arguments of his rivals. The oil mill affair could have been no more than this, for even if Ramanuja should have been so minded, Bitti Deva could hardly have permitted it, if not out of clemency, at least out of policy. With his wife, and his generals, and councillors all Jains, it would have been the height of folly in him to have done so. It is, therefore, nothing more nor less than a boastful assertion of triumphant success on the part of the Vaishnavas of a succeeding generation. Nor were they—the only sinners in this particular.

We read in an inscription of about A.D. 1128 at Sravana Belgola that the Jain Akalanka achieved a similar feat. The Bauddhas of Kanchi to get rid of the Jains, challenged their great teacher Akalanka, from Sudhapura or Sode in North Kanara, to a disputation under

Himasitala A.D. 855. Having once before defeated the Buddhists on behalf of the Vira Saivas, he went forth confidently and having, after days of argumentation had the better of the debate, Himasitala ordered them to be ground in oil mills. Akalanka, true to his character as the preceptor of the Ajvakas interceded, and got them banished to Ceylon and other distant islands. Strangely enough after this general destruction of the Buddhists by the Jains, we hear of Buddhists as governors of provinces even; to wit Buddhamitra, governor of Ponparri near Ramnad in the reign of Kulottunga II.

The oil mill incident was an accepted embellishment in handing down the accounts of these disputations, of which there must have been a number going on at different places simultaneously. That it is impossible that either Vishnuvardhana or his successors could have sanctioned any such thing, is borne out by a number of incidents in their history. It was from the royal residence at Melkote that Vishnuvardhana makes a grant to the Saiva temple, at Chamundi Hill. He does receive the 'holy food' presented by the Jains after the consecration of the Jinalaya at Halebid, and directs the image to be named Vijaya Parsvanatha in honour of his victory. He honours Sri Pala Trividya Deva (the Jain controversialist) and even appoints him tutor to his children. It was about this time that the Vira Saiva (the so-called Lingayat) sect comes into prominence, so that in the course of the century Jainism was subjected to the simultaneous attacks of the Vaishnavas from the south and the Vira Saivas from the north. The manner in which the Hoysalas—rulers and ministers alike—dealt with these rival sects is a supreme instance of their religious policy from which more modern rulers might learn

lessons of wisdom. Here is the historical account of the foundation of the temple at Harihar: 'The great minister, the setter up of the Chola, Vira Narasimha Deva Polalvadandanatha caused to be made a temple for the god Harihara, shining with one hundred and fifteen golden Kalasas.' The object of building the shrine was to reconcile the opposing sects of the Saivas and the Vaishnavas. "Some saying that beside Hari there is no god on earth, and some saying that besides Hara there is no god in the earth, in order to remove the doubts of mankind, was assumed with glory in Kudalur the one form of Harihara. May he with affection preserve us. The celebrated Siva acquired the form of Vishnu, Vishnu acquired the great and famous form of Siva, in order that this saying of the Veda might be fully established, in Kudal there stood forth in a single form, praised by the world, Harihara—may he protect the earth.' "The renowned Vaishnava Chakravarti, this celebrated Polavadandadeva, is the only one who obtained success with the collyrium of merit; if not how could be successfully acquire the treasure to create the lofty mansion of Harihara, shining with a hundred golden Kalasas? Formerly Herummadi Raja wanted to make a temple for Harihara, but stopping him in a dream, saying: "A faithful one will be born hereafter who will make my abode, you stop," and Harihara having with affection said: "you only make my temple in a suitable manner, Polalva," he made it.' This achievement of a Vaishnava minister in reconciling the two opposing sects is a unique instance of a breadth of view in religion, which is hard to find elsewhere at the time.

This was the fact of one of a class of persons, rulers and ministers, who have been devoted Vaishnavas.

Vishnuvardhana after his conversion, perhaps through the course of his career, built temples dedicated to Narayana—at any rate endowed them richly—such as Vira Narayana at Talakad, Vijaya Narayana at Belur, Kirti Narayana at Bannur. In his progress through his dominions he had taken pains to inquire into the condition of these and other foundations, and saw that they were restored to their former position of eminence as places of worship. He did not in this show any partiality to one sect or the other. His general Gangaraja endowed Jain temples equally with the sanction of his master, as the several donations to Jain temples by this general and other Jain devotees would show. This example was followed by his successors, equally well whether they were Vaishnava or Saiva for some of them were of the latter persuasion.

Thus then it is clear that in the matter of religion, this Vaishnava Constantine, Vishnuvardhana, as the disciples of Ramanuja took delight in calling him, was far from being a sectarian. No attempt was made at any uniformity of religious belief, and the policy of the rulers was the most liberal that could be imagined. If other states and rulers had maintained this neutrality in religion the world over, the world would have been saved many bloody wars. Had Vishnuvardhana and his successors adopted any other policy in religion, they would have shown a fatuity which might have ruined them. That they deliberately adopted this policy of religious neutrality speaks much for their statesmanship.

[Reprint from *Ancient India.*]

CHAPTER XXIII

BIJJALA

It has been pointed out in the chapter on the making of Mysore that the kingdom could be regarded as such only after A.D. 1193, almost in the middle of the reign of Vira-Ballala. Vishnuvardhana had made it in a way; it required the energy and enterprise of his grandson before his rule could be regarded as complete. The credit of consolidation belongs to Vira-Ballala, who succeeded his father on the twenty-second July A.D. 1173.

The Karnataka or the Chalukya Empire, stretched out southwards from the Satpura mountains to the end of the Dekhan plateau, and had been divided into a number of governorships, each under a Mahamandalesvara, with more or less of other authority vested in him, according to the character of the official and the degree of favour enjoyed by him at court. Of these potentates those round about the head-quarters of the emperor were more under imperial authority, and were usually loyal, as a virtue, perhaps, of necessity. Whether this was actually so or not, we have references to a southern treasury of the empire and by inference other treasuries likewise. Each of these larger divisions appear to have had a common fisc and included a number of provinces. An attempt had evidently been made to bring the frontier viceroys under the direct control of the head-quarters officials by the appointment of a board of control, whose chief functions appear to have been financial, thus bringing the sinews of war beyond the absolute dis-

posal of the viceroys. This, we see, was the practice under the usurper Bijjala, and it lets us thus into the secret of his elevation to the empire.

Bijjala's father, Permmadi, was governor of Tardavadi 1,000 district round Bijapur under Somesvara III Bhulokamalla (A.D. 1128). His son was Bijjala, who may have succeeded to his father's estate of governor of the Tardavadi 1,000. Whether he did so or not, he is heard of about the end of the reign of the emperor Jagadekamalla II (1138-49) with no official titles; but 'his servant' Vijaya Pandya was ruling the Nolambavadi 32,000. As inscriptions of Vira Pandya are met with up to A.D. 1148, the inscriptions referred to above must be about the end of Jagadekamalla's reign. It is in his reign that Bijjala rises into importance, and what is more he is found busy on the very frontier which was fast passing out of the emperor's hands. The Hoysalas had made themselves masters of the Gangavadi (which is not included in the 'Southern Treasury,') for some time; but their claims to the provinces of Banavase and Nolambavadi were very strongly contested by the Mahamandalesvaras themselves and by the, emperor. It was against these two sets of rivals that Vira-Ballala had to make good his claim.

Of these Nolambavadi had surely fallen under the Chola power. The fact that Chalukya inscriptions of an earlier period are absent, and the Chola inscriptions are found in the province shows the Chola hold upon the province. The Pandyas of Nolambavadi were as forward as the Hoysalas to render service against the Cholas and had earned the gratitude of Vikramaditya—no less than their compeers and relatives, the Hoysalas. Thenceforward the dynasty of viceroys, the Pandyas of Uchchangi

ruled from their hill-fort the province so recently recovered from the Cholas. When we come to the reign of Vira-Ballala, two generations of Pandyas had ruled after the brother of Irukkapala the father-in-law of Vishnuvardhana's father Ereyanga. When Bijjala appears on the scene, Vira-Pandya, one of the most powerful of the dynasty, was in power, which was about to pass to his younger brother Vijaya Pandya.

The neighbouring province of Banavase had long been under the empire. Vikramaditya had himself been viceroy under his father, and when he became emperor, his younger brother Jayasimha was viceroy. So that this had come to be regarded as the premier province of his empire. Whatever was the reason for it, upon the loyalty of the viceroy of this province depended the imperial authority over the provinces belonging to the southern treasury. When Bijjala emerges into the full light of history, we hear of him as the viceroy of the two provinces, ruling by deputies. This must have come about somewhat in this wise: Bijjala must have shown great administrative capacity which included in it great military ability, as governor of his hereditary province of Tardawadi, which must have been too narrow a sphere for the full display of his faculties. Either to put them to the best use or to get rid of him, he was entrusted with the duty first of all of watching and counteracting the machinations of the southern viceroys—perhaps as the fiscal officer sent out by the emperor. This would explain why, while claiming the Pandya for his servant, he appears without official titles of his own. This superior position he was able to turn to account, when later on Jagadekamalla was succeeded in the empire by his brother Taila III. Under the latter

he grew to be so useful and loyal that he was called to the head-quarters to help the emperor, governing Banavase and Nolambavadi by deputies. These deputies, whatever their loyalty, he subordinates and keeps under the eyes of the emperor, and that is himself by sending out five commissioners to control ostensibly the finances of the southern treasury. By so doing he keeps the most turbulent of these viceroys well in hand.

Unfortunately for the empire there arises the new power of the Kakatiyas of Warangal, and Bijjala's activity, so successful in the south, is wanted in the north-east, the more so, as the new power under Prola inflicted a defeat upon the empire in A.D. 1155. Bijjala's name has been handed down to us with the stigma of cruelty and persecution attached to it; first, because of his usurpation, and next because of his persecution of the so-called Lingayets and their founders. Both these charges against him have to be carefully examined in the day-light of history before the verdict is pronounced by the historian. Bijjala does not appear to have used any cruelty in his ascent to power, though no doubt he made a very skilful use of the advantage of his position and the adverse circumstances of the empire. He was not alone in this. Every viceroy tried to take advantage of the troubles into which the empire was thrown, while Bijjala ought to be given credit for having early observed the trend of affairs and for having made a successful attempt to stop the flowing tide of disruption. Exposed as it was to simultaneous attacks of the powerful Cholas in the south and the Chalukyas in the east, the empire was preserved from dismemberment through the genius of Vikramaditya. If it did not break up immediately after his death, it was because the enemy's powers were

otherwise engaged, and the Mahamandalesvaras of Vikramaditya remembered with gratitude his services to them. Nevertheless, the tendencies were there and, with each advance of the viceroys, other powers were rising on the horizon. The Hoysala activity in the south and the Kakatiya exertions in the east were kept under control by Bijjala taking advantage of the counteracting forces. This naturally led him on to the pinnacle of power, and it was only when he found that there was no possibility of keeping up the phantom of an emperor that he assumed imperial state. In one sense, therefore, he might be regarded as the benefactor of the empire, not emperor of course, in keeping it half a century longer than its appointed time. To him also probably belongs the credit of organizing the imperial resources and of bringing the viceroys under control by placing them under financial control from head-quarters. For it is in his reign that we see the five *Karaṇams* being sent out to keep a watch over the doings of the viceroys of Banavase and probably of other troublesome provinces as well.

In the religious aspect of the question again Bijjala had been brought to the notice of posterity only by the religious literature of the Vira-Saivas, mostly composed centuries after the time they treat of. In these he is held up naturally enough to execrâtion. But inscriptions of his time in the Shimoga district—particularly at Balagamve—throw a curious light upon the much-abused man and the ruler. On the one hand the inscriptions point to a far greater control over the viceroys, as grants have to be made with permission from head-quarters, or at least obtain sanction when made. On the other hand, the lands and other grants

made of Saiva, Vaishnava and Jain shrines are all placed under the control of the leading men of all persuasions. The place was sacred alike to all three of these. In A.D. 1162, while Bijjala had made himself supreme, his viceroy was Kasyapa, with whom no one can be compared 'in taking sole charge of a country ruined by the administration of others and bringing it into prosperity.' 'With the permission of that great one, Barmmarasa was governing the Banavasenad.'

'The royal inspectors were the five Karanams—Sridhara Nayaka, Achana Nayaka, Chattimayya Nayaka, Malliyana Nayaka and Tikkamayya Nayaka:—these shone like the five senses to king Bijjala Deva'—all 'benevolent to others, powerful as the fierce lions, able in detecting frauds, superior to all opposition, their great fame like the sound of the turya (a musical band), strengthened with all manner of self-acquired merit, devoted to the faith of the Isvara,—these Karanams were great.' Barmmarasa's great minister was Ravideva.

'While all these, united in the enjoyment of peace and wisdom, were one day discoursing on Dharmma, Bijjala Maharaja having come there, in order to subdue the southern region, encamped in Balagamve, Kasappya Nayaka rising and standing in front of his Maharaja, folding his lotus hands said, "Deva, a petition", and spoke as follows: "The southern Kedara is the means of the absolution of sin, the very presence of Siva manifested to all the citizens, visibly displaying all the glory of the Krita Yuga. Besides this, its matha is like the ancient Kamatha (tortoise) a support of all the world".

'Descended in the line of the gurus of that Matha, the disciple of Gautamacharya, is Vama Sakti Munis-

varacharya.' 'Therefore were the Deva to perform in that Matha some work of merit, it will endure as long as the sun and moon.'

'On his saying thus, the King Bijjala taking it to mind—for the decoration of the God Dakshina Kedaresvara, for gifts of food to the ascetics, for gifts of learning, for repairs to the temple, and for satisfying the good and the beloved,—in his sixth year, etc., at the time of the sun's eclipse, washing the feet of Gautamacharya's disciple Vama Śakti Pandit Deva, made a grant."[1] On the same day as this he made grants to other Siva temples as well.

Several others of his viceroys and governors were staunch Saivas and Vaishnavas who built and endowed Siva and Vishnu temples, the greatest among the latter having been Kesava Dandanayaka. A ruler who could not merely tolerate, but also actively participate in benefactions to the religious institutions of the rival sects could not be charged with persecution without ample evidence. It does not matter for the question, whether this was out of sincere toleration or as a matter of policy to keep the viceroys well disposed towards him. This would appear the more remarkable in Bijjala, when it is remembered that the time was one of great religious activity. The Vaishnavaism of Ramanuja was gaining strength in the south and on the border of Mysore some of the sects, the Pasupata, Kapalika, Kalamukha, etc., of the Saivas were strong. What was more, Vamadeva Pandita, the disciple of Gautamacharya, was the most important figure, often called in inscriptions the Rajaguru, and in the inscriptions at Balagamve, he

1. 102 of Shikarpur, *Epigraphia Carnataka,* Vol. vii.

is held up as a prominent teacher in whom is placed so much faith by Government and people alike, that the endowments to temples, Saiva, Vaishnava, Jaina, etc., are placed in his charge. While Bijjala was strengthening the imperial hold upon the viceroys, local governments appear to have been working with great vigour as well—the *paṭṭaṇasvāmiṣ* or town mayors playing a very important part at the head of their town councils. The fact which Mr. Rice notices of Jina images having been pared down into Lingams must have been of a later time when the so-called Lingayets or Vira Saivas, got the upper hand in those regions; for we see that in the next generation the struggle on the border land is not between the Jains and the Saivas but between the Vaishnavas and the latter. In this struggle again the rulers showed a commendable spirit not merely of toleration, but also of an attempt at reconciliation, the direct outcome of which policy is the Harihara temple at Harihar.

Thus in religion and equally so in administration, Bijjala and his sons, who followed in succession, pursued a conciliatory policy which kept the turbulent viceroys under control and their administration, strong and popular. Ahavamalla, the last of them, charged his viceroys of treasuries thus: 'Govern the country which is the treasury of the south like a father.' One Kesava Nayaka ruled so well under his Government, that none was conceited, none conspicuous in splendour, none in opposition, none clamouring for influence, none creating a disturbance, none who was in suffering, no enemies filled with anger, and none who receiving titles had his head turned by the songs of poets! Though a usurper Bijjala was able to retire in favour of his sons and let

them succeed peacefully, a contingency very often not met with in rulers even of the most undoubted succession. His assassination which appears to have been a fact must have been brought about by some private misunderstanding and, if such scandal could be believed in, had been brought about by a liason with the minister Basava's sister who is credited with an immaculate conception, by the Basava and Channa Basava Puranas, the outcome of which was the Younger Basava or Channa Basava. This would also account for the main plank of reform of the Lingayats—the re-marriage of widows.

During all this period of usurpation in the empire, the Hoysala activity appears to have been carefully checked; and through much of this period, Narasimha, ably seconded as he was by his father's viceroys and his son Kumara Ballala, had to be content with the Gangavadi 96,000. Any activity, noticeable at all, was against the petty chiefs, the Kongalvas and other hill-chiefs of the western frontier. When Vira-Ballala came to the throne in A.D. 1173, he had to begin to work on the lines of his grandfather Vishnuvardhana, while the empire had passed to Rayamurari Sovi-Deva.

[Reprint from *Ancient India.*]

CHAPTER XXIV.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYA I

A GREAT 13TH CENTURY PANDYA.

The power of the Pandyas underwent a decline simultaneously with the rise of the Chola power and almost directly as a consequence of this rise. In point of fact, it was a victory against an aggressive Pandyan invader of the Tondamandalam, Varaguna II, that brought the Cholas into prominence and laid the foundations of their great power which lasted from A.D. 900 to the middle of the 13th century. The first enemies of any degree of importance that the rising Cholas had to contend with were the Pandyas, and it is an early achievement against them which gave the first great Chola Parantaka the title Madhurantaka which became afterwards the favourite title conferred upon many a Chola prince and borne by many a Chola Emperor and Viceroy. Time and again in the course of this Chola history, the Pandyas tried to re-assert their power. As often as they made any effort in this direction, so often were they defeated in their effort, and every defeat carried along with it, as a necessary consequence, a still further reduction in their prestige. About the middle of the 12th century, the succession of great Cholas had given place to weaker rulers, and this weakening of the Chola power was taken advantage of by the Pandyas, to regain some little of their previous importance. Later in the century, they had so far regained in power as to give themselves up to the luxury of a

war of succession, in which the great ruler of Ceylon, Parakrama Bahu the Great, was invited to take sides. He espoused the cause of Parakrama Pandya as against his rival Kulasekhara, and the war went on for years in true guerilla fashion, till at last the active intervention of the Cholas under the last great Chola Kulottunga III turned the balance in favour of the fugitive Pandya Kulasekhara; the Ceylonese were driven out of the country and the throne was occupied by Kulasekhara. But Kulasekhara's rivals kept up the war and Kulottunga had to re-assert his authority by defeating these and subjecting their chief to a disgraceful punishment. The Chola authority was vindicated, but it left the disgrace to which the ruler was subjected rankling in the breast of the Pandyas who succeeded. When Kulottunga passed away and was succeeded by Raja Raja III, the Chola empire was subjected to great pressure in all directions and its dismemberment was only a question of time. The Pandyas were on the watch for asserting their authority and invasions under two contemporaries of the Chola emperor Raja Raja, could be kept off only by disgraceful submission, or by the intervention of a foreign power like that of the Hoysala from across the north-western frontier. At one time Raja Raja was made a prisoner in his own dominions by a feudatory chieftain of Cuddalore in his headquarters at Sendamangalam. It is in this bad predicament that one of two or three interventions by the Hoysalas did actually take place in the year 1342-43. Taking advantage of another intervention called for on behalf of this Raja Raja, the contemporary Hoysala Somesvara came down apparently in aid of the Chola and against an expected invasion by the Pandyas from the South. As the Pandya

threat was a standing menace, the Hoysala found it necessary to establish himself permanently at Kannanur near Srirangam, and make that the chief capital of his empire during his life-time. The Chola emperor thought it prudent to let him do so. There were other invasions from the North from the feudatory Telugu Cholas of Nellore, sometimes also from the Kakatiya Ganapati across the Chola frontier. Their invasions into the Chola country were stopped with great difficulty, and both of these enemies were sometime in occupation of Kanchi. It was in these circumstances that the Chola empire was fast undergoing a disintegration through the ambitions of feudatory chieftains within, the aggressiveness of the Kakatiyas and their friends from the north, and the standing menace of the Pandyas from the south. The ruler on the throne became unpopular as he had allowed the Hoysala occupation of Kannanur in the heart of the Chola country. A civil war between two rival claimants to the Chola throne brothers probably happened between the years 1346-49 which weakened the Chola authority so far, that the Pandyas were able to make much headway as against the Cholas.

It was in this state of political affairs in the Chola Kingdom that there came to the Pandya throne a ruler, apparently one among a number, 3, 4 or 5 according to time, who claims to have reduced the whole of the Chola Empire to subjection to him; and this was Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, whose accession is dated in the year A.D. 1251, and whose rule perhaps lasted on to his twenty-third or twenty-fourth year. He assumed the title "who took all countries." There are numbers of his records all through the Chola country up to Nel-

lore,[1] which clearly indicate the extension of his authority all through this region. His inscriptions, such as they are, do recite all his great deeds, but do not give us exactly to understand the order of occurrence of his various achievements. As recorded in these inscriptions he entered the Malaya country (Malabar) defeated and destroyed the army of the Chera, killing the latter in battle.[2] He then put in another ruler on the throne, possibly a counter-claimant or a member of the royal family. He then entered the Chola country apparently by way of Pudukotta. He placed the Chola under tribute and marched upon the Hoysala. He destroyed the army of the Hoysalas killing several of his generals, among whom was Singanna Dandanayaka whom he gave over to an elephant.[3]

He did not pursue the Hoysala who was then in full flight. He however ordered the death of the Chera

1. *Ep. Rep.* sec. 40 of 1911.

2. *Srirangam Prasasti,* ll. 21-22; see Sen Tamil, Vol. IV, pp. 514-16.

சேரனுந் தானையுஞ் செறுக்களத் தொழிய வாரசும் புலாா மலைநாடு நூறி.

மீளாவழிச்செல்ல வேணுடர்தங்களை வென்றதடந்
தோளான் மதுரைமன் சுந்தரபாண்டியன் சூழ்ந்திறைஞ்சி
யாளான மன்னவர்தன் னேவல் செய்ய வவனிமுட்ட
வாளால் வழிதிறந்தான் வட வேந்தரை மார் திறந்தே.

Inscription on the N. Wall of the East Gopura at Chidambaram Sen Tamil IV. 492.

3. *Ājau Simhaṇamunmadasya Kariṇō-datvāparagaṁtatō drishṭvā Rāmamahīpatēḥ praśamitakshēmābhishangōbhuvaḥ* Srirangam *Pillar Ins.* Sen Tamil, IV, 496.

who played the traitor by pretending to be his ally while working in the interest of his enemies.[4]

He then attacked *Kaṇṇanūr-Koppam*, the capital of the Hoysalas in the Chola country, and brought the Chola country as much under his authority as the Pandya country itself was. He then levied tribute of elephants upon the Hoysala who had retired behind the first line of his outposts in the Tamil country.[5] It was apparently in this connection that he mastered possession of Magadai country (the Attur division of the Salem district) and the neighbouring parts of South Arcot, and further west of this, the Kongu country. It was then that he received tribute in jewels and elephants sent by the ruler of Ceylon. Apparently Vira

4. Praśāsti quoted above ll. 30-9.

சென்னியைத்திறை கொண்டுதிண் டோள்வலியிற்
பொன்னிநாட்டுப் போசலத் தரசர்
....
செறுவிற லாண்மைச் சிங்கணன் முதலாய
தண்டத்தலைவருந் தானை யுமழிபடத் துண்டித்து
....
....
முதுகிடு போசளன் றன்னொடு முனையுமது தவறென்று
....
உட்பகையாய் நின்ற சேரனைக் கொன்று.

5. *Ibid*, 40-45.

நண்ணுதல் பிறரு லெண்ணுதற்கரிய
கண்ணனூர்க் கோப்பத்தைக் கைக்கொண்டருளிப்
பொன்னிசூழ் செல்வப் புனனாட்டை
கன்னிநாடெனக் காத்தருள் செய்ய
....
கருநடராஜனைக் களிறு திறைகொண்டு

Pandya his co-regent, who claims the conquest of Ceylon, sent from the king the tribute.[6] Then Sundara Pandya did not accept the tribute sent by the Pallava chief; but marched upon his capital Sendamangalam and laid siege to the citadel of Kopperunjinga (*Kāṭakadurgam* of the Sanskrit records). He took the fortress and bestowed it again upon the Pallava.[7] He then visited Chidambaram where he paid his worship at the shrine of Nataraja, covered the roofing with gold and anointed himself ruler of the Pandya and Chola kingdoms, after making a *Tulābhāra* (weighment, against gold and pearls).[8] Then he went to Srirangam,

6. *Ibid,* 42-44

துலங்கொளி மணியுஞ்சூழ் வேழமும்
இலங்கை காவலனை யிறைகொண்டருளி.
கொங்கருடல் கிழியக் குத்தியிரு கோட்டெடுத்து
வெங்கணழலில் வெதுப்புமே—மங்கையர்கண்
சூழத்தாமம்புனையுஞ் சுந்தரத்தோள் மீனவனுக்
கீழத்தானிட்ட இறை.

Chidambaram Inscription East Gate—south side. Sen Tamil IV. 493.

7. *Ibid* 50-55.

வருதிறைமறுத் தங்கவனைப் பிடித்துக்
கருமுகில் நிகளங் காலிற்கோத்து
வேந்தர் கண்டறியா விற்றிண்புரிசைச்
சேந்தமங்கலச் செழும்பதி முற்றிப்
பல்லவனடுங்கப் பலபோராடி
நெல்விளைநாடு நெடும்பெரும் பொன்னும்
பருமயானையும் பரியும் முதலிய
வரசுரிமை கைக்கொண்டர சவற்களித்துத்
தில்லை யம்பலத்துத் திருநடம்பயிலும்
தொல்லையிறைவர் துணைக்கழல் வணங்கி.

8. *Ibid,* 55-65; also

and after making some of his benefactions had himself crowned in the temple with the crown brilliant as the rising sun.[9] He then marched further north; turned the Banas into the forests, and came into occupation of Kanchi, having killed Gandagopala in battle.[10] When his brothers threw themselves upon his mercy, he restored the kingdom to them. He then continued his advance apparently inflicting a terrible defeat upon the Telungas and their allies the Ariyas at Mudugur, and drove them up to the Peraru (Krishna).[11] It is in this state of his campaign that he is described as a tiger to the antelope, Ganapati, a *Kūṭapākala* fever to the elephant Kataka, the slayer of Gandagopala etc. The reference to the Ariyas seems to indicate the Yadavas of

இனைவ ஸ்ரீ கிம்புரி வெண்பிறைக் கோட்டிகல் வெங்கடுகட்
சினமத்த வெங்கரிச் சுந்தரத்தென்னவன் றில்லைமன்றில்
வனசத்திருவுடன் செஞ்சொற் றிருவை மணந்தொக்கும்
கனகத்துலையுடன் முத்துத் துலையுங் கலந்ததுவே.

Sen Tamil IV. 491.

Rājasūryassamāruhyattulāḥ kanakamauktikaiḥ

Ibid. 495. Ins. at Chidambaram.

9. The Tamil Prasasti quoted above 78-80. The record is probably in the temple at Srirangam.

(தி)நகரோதயமெனச் செழுங்கதிர் சொரியும் கனகமாமுடி கவின்பெறச் சூடி.

10. வாக்கியல் செந்தமிழ்ச் சுந்தர பாண்டியன் வாளமரில்
வீக்கியவன்கழற் கண்ட கோபாலனை விண்ணுலகிற்
போக்கியபின்பவன் தம்பியர் போற்றப் புரந்தரசில்
ஆக்கிய வார்த்தை பதினாலுலகு மானதுவே.

Chid. Ins. East Gate, south side, VII, 3, Sen Tamil IV. 493.

11. Ep. Rep. 1914 Sec. 18.

Devagiri. If Rama Mahipati[12] in one of the Srirangam epigraphs could be held to refer to Ramachandra or Ramadeva, the Ariyas would undoubtedly be the Maharattas. Such inference seems warranted as the Aryas are referred to in close association with the Hoysalas in all the three places we have.[13] The only other possibility seems to be that this Rama Mahipati was the Chera ruler who was put to death for treacherous conduct as an ally. The Kakatiya king, Ganapati, must have died some time before this if the order adopted above is correct, (on this point see the Tirupputkuli Ins.)[14], though there is the possibility that the Hoysala Someswara was killed in a campaign on Sundara Pandya's return journey, a contingency which seems very highly probable as the Hoysala monarch is

12. See Note 5 also.

காரேற்றதண்டலைக் காவிரிநாடனைக் கானுலவுந்
தேரேற்றிவிட்ட செழுந்தமிழ்த் தென்னவன்
சென்றெதிர்ந்து
தாரேற்ற வெம்படையாரியந் தண்டுபடத் தனியே
போரேற்றுநின்ற பெருவார்த்தை யின்னும்
புதுவார்த்தையே.

Chidambaram East Gate north side.
Sen Tamil IV. 491.

13. A certain class of local chiefs in Pudukotta and the neighbouhood called themselves Araiyars. It does not seem likely these are under reference here as the Tamil word used in the verse is "*Āriyam.*"

14. *Jitva Kēraḷamudgamayya Magadān nirjitya Lankādipā (m)'s chitva Kshēmimudasya Hoyśalapatim vidrāvya Cholēśvaram. Bhanktvā Kāṭakadurgam Andhranrpatim hatvadhirūḍhastulām Kānchyām Sundara Pāṇḍyabhūbhridasisha(t) vīrabhishiktōmahim.*
Tirupputḳuli Epigraph: Sen Tamil IV. 513.

definitely stated to have fled when Kannanur fell, and Sundara held it unwarlike to press on a flying enemy and fight with him again. The Kataka apparently has nothing to do with Katak in Orissa, as a record of Sundara's co-regent Bhuvaneka-Vikrama Pandya states explicitly that he did not go upon his campaign farther north, as he ceased to be angry because of the two fishes, the eyes of Ganapati, and since he heard that the ruler there was a woman.[15] This is decisively against any assumption of his war having reached farther north than the Krishna.

In regard to the dating of the campaign, it began apparently soon after Sundara's accession in A.D. 1251. The march from the frontiers of Travancore to the banks of the Krishna with all the campaigning might well have occupied ten years. When he came to the northern end

15. Chidambaram IX. Sen Tamil IV, 493-4.

புயலுந்தருவும் பொருகைப்பி [வ]நேக வீரபுனல்
வயலு ந்தாளந்தரு கோற்கை காவல வாரணப் போர்
முயலுங் கணபதி மொய்த்த செஞ் சோதி முகத்திரண்டு
கயலுண்டெனுமது வோமுனி வாரிய—காரணமே.
வெங்கண் மதயானை விக்கிரம பாண்டியனே
பொங்கி வடதிசையிற் போகாதே—யங்கிருப்பாள்
பெண்ணென்றுமீண்ட பெருமானே பேரிசையாழ்ப்
பண்ணென் றும் வேய்வாய் பகை.

Similar sentiments are ascribed to the Yadava king, Mahadeva (*Bom. Gazetteer* I. ii 246.)

Yastasyaiva raṇē jahāra kariṇastatpancha śabdādikān Yastatyāja vadhūvadhāduparatastadbhūbhūjām Rudramāṁ Prasasti I, 52.

Hemadrit's Introduction to Vṛata Khanda. Bhandarkar's Dakhan. Bom., Gazetter I, ii, 273-4.

Pras, 11-14.

of his progress the Kakatiya Ganapati had died, and his daughter had just come to the throne in A.D. 1260. After a coronation at Nellore, he set forward upon his return march, and reached Kannanur and Srirangam in the next two years or so. There was probably another war in which the Hoysala Someswara fell and Sundara entered Srirangam and made his great donations to the temple. A record[16] of his fourteenth year (A.D. 1264-5) which he issued from Kannanur gives us the limit of date for his campaigns. The Ranganatha inscription of Sundara Pandya published by Dr. Hultzsch in Vol. III of the Epigraphia Indica gives in minute detail all his benefactions to the temple, and hints broadly for the first time of the death of the Hoysala Someswara. This death is referred to as a recent event in the first verse of the inscription. "Having caused to long for the other world (to set or die) the moon of Karnata (country.)"[17] The account of his benefactions to this temple which we find recorded in the Tamil work called *Koiloḻugu*[18] seems apparently to be based upon the ins-

16. Ep. Coll. 702 of 1904.

17. *Yēnāsau Karuṇāmaṇīyata daśām Śrīrangapadmākaraḳ Kṛitvā tam bhuvanāntara praṇayinam Karnāṭa dōshākaram.*
See also Ep. Rep. Sec. 47 of 1911.

18. *கண்டவர் மனமுங் கண்ணுங் களிப்ப*
வெண்டிரை மகர வேலையினெடுவரை
யாயிரம் பணைப்பணத்த நந்தன்மீமிசைப்
பாயல் கொள்ளும் பரமன்...............கத்
தொருபெருங் கடவுளு வந்தினிதுரையு
மீபெருங்காவிரி யிடைநிலத்திலங்குந்
திருவரங்கம் பெருஞ்செல்வஞ் சிறப்பப்

criptions, but adds a few more details. It is hardly necessary to give in detail all the repairs he made, on new structures and extensions that he made, which took on the character of extensions of colonnades and halls, providing connecting passages roofed over and paving the circuits round the main-temple. He seems to have added vastly to the thousand-pillared hall and another hall in the same yard. It was also he who constructed the various buildings, the *Yagaśāla* (building for the celebration of Vedic sacrifices) and those adjoining. But what is of some interest here is that these and various other things such as cars, gold and jewel-fittings for the car, jewels of various kinds for the God and Goddess, all these amounted to 18 lacs of pieces of gold of the current coin. This vast amount he set apart for these various purposes by a peculiar kind of *tulābhara* (weighment against gold). He got two boats of the same size and weight constructed, and got them afloat on the river in the bathing-ghat which goes by the name of *Makha* (the asterism in the full moon of February-March of each year under which a festival takes place). He probably connected them both, and on one of them placed an elephant seven cubits "of the carpenter's yard" high, and himself mounted on it in full panoply of war with all his warlike accoutrement; and on the other put in an equal weight of gold and pearls and gems of all

பன்முறை மணிதுலா பாரமேறிப்
பொன்மலையென்னப் பொலிந்து தோன்றவும்
பொன்மேய்ந்தருளிய செம்பொற் கோயிலுள்
வளர்திகழ் மாலுதய வெற்பனைத்
திருவளர்குலமணி சிங்காசனமிசை.

sorts so mixed as to rise to the same height.[19] He then made it over to the temple for these miscellaneous items of expenditure. This magnificent gift had to lie for two years as the temple authorities, in the name of God, will not accept it for some reason. Ultimately they were persuaded to accept it. His difficulties did not come to an end there. After making all the vast repairs and new constructions he cherished the ambition, natural to persons of the kind in such circumstances, of placing a statue of his and apparently of his queen Cherakulavalli in some prominent place in the temple. These again, the temple authorities will not have, perhaps on the ground that no statue of a human personality, however high, should defile the precincts of the holy temple. The great Pandya had to content himself with merely making two statues in the form of a God and Goddess, but bearing the respective names *"Ponvēynda Perumāḷ" or Hēmāchchadanarāja,"* the great one that covered the roof with gold, and *"Chērakulavalli,"* as also a large sized statue of *Garuḍa*, the Brahmani kite, the chief mount of Vishnu. These are yet shown in the temple. His munificence however, in spite of the want of a statue of his is yet green in the memory of people and the name of Sundara Pandya is familiar to those who know anything of the temple. His name is handed down in various forms on coins of his; *"Emmanḍalamuṁkoḍaruḷiya."* (the conqueror of all kingdoms) *"Ellāṁtalaiyānān"* (he

19. The elephant feature at any rate is mentioned in the inscription on the pillars in the *Mahāmanṭapa*.

Makuṭachayair vijitya Yadu Kēraḷa-Cholanṛipāṁstaduphṛtaiḥ bhalāt dviradhirūḍhatulābharitaiḥ.

Sen Tamil IV, 512.

who is the first of all), being some. It is apparently this Sundara Pandya who enjoyed the special distinction of *Vāḷalvaḷitirandān* (he who opened the way by the sword).[20] He is also sometimes spoken of as *Kodaṇḍa-rāma.*

Jatavarman Sundara's Co-Regents.

Along with this great ruler, we have records of at least two others—it is possible that there were three—who ruled simultaneously. One of them went by the name Vikrama Pandya[21] and the other Vira Pandya, both of them alike lay claim to conquests against the same enemies as Jatavarman Sundara Pandya. A record of Vira Pandya (Acc. A.D. 1253) states it clearly that he took Ilam (Ceylon), Kongu, and the Solamandalam (the Chola country), and who, having conquered the powerful Chola King, was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and victors at *Perumbaṟṟapuliyūr* (Chidambaram). He must have come after Maravarman Sundara

20. See verse quoted in note 2 last line.

21. Chidambaram Ins. IX, Sen Tamil IV, 493.

See also Sec. 20, Ep. Rep. for 1914. The first of this Tamil Inscription states that the Podiyil Hill down which the flowing streams sent out sprays against the rising sun is the hill of Vikrama Pandya, conqueror of *Vēṇāḍu.* This is misunderstood as implying a victory at Podiyil Hill for the Pandya in the Epigraphist's Report. The error is repeated in Mr. V. Rangachari's index.

(Sec. 157 of South Arcot) the verse runs:—

எந்துமருவி யிரவிபுரவியின் முன்
பூந்துவலைவீசும் பொதியிலே—காந்துசின
வேணாடனைவென்ற விக்கிரம பாண்டியன் மெய்ப்
பூணாரம் பூண்டான் பொருப்பு.

Pandaya II, as one of his grants refers to Murappunadu as Vikrama Somi Chaturvedimangalam, which received this name under Maravarman Sundara II.[22] This circumstance would indicate that in all probability they were not separate rulers, but lieutenants of the empire who took an active part in the achievements of the chief ruler for the time being. He is said to have instituted a Sundara Pandyan Sandi (an offering of food) in 197 of the Epigraphist's Collection for 1906. This same record of the 15th year of Vira Pandya mentions Koperunjinga. These circumstances would only confirm the conclusion. The actual number of Pandyas who held sway at a particular time, the relations between them and in fact, the history of the Pandyas generally of this period, require to be worked up a great deal more, before it is possible to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding these matters. There are two more Pandyas who come in, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II and another one of the same name, whose reign began somewhat later. Whether these were successors of the two others or whether they were additions, it is not possible to say at present. So much however, is clear that in this period extending from about 1250-1275 there were as many as four Pandya rulers, it may possibly be even five.

[(Reprint from *Everymans Review*, 1921-22.]

22. Ep. Coll. 435 of 1906.

CHAPTER XXV

GREATER INDIA: EXPANSION OF INDIA BEYOND THE SEAS

Overland Communication of Northern India.

India falls geographically into two divisions in respect of her communications with the outside world. In spite of the mountain barriers on the north, north-west and north-east, there is a volume of evidence, though of an indirect character, of considerable communication with the rest of Asia; with the portion of China and Indo-Chinese peninsula on the east, with Tibet and the western portion of China in the middle, and Central Asia stretching westwards as far as Asia Minor itself and the Mediterranean on the west. In respect of these overland communications with the west, we have, comparatively speaking, few glimpses by way of evidence. The discovery of the Bogaz-Keui inscription referring to the Vedic Deities, Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatya, and the Aryan character of the people Mittani have led to the inference of a movement of a section of the Aryan westwards into that region. The irruptions of the Kassites who over-ran Babylonia about four centuries previous to this, also implies the existence of a powerful community of Aryan speaking people so far out. The question wherefrom they came is involved in the general problem of the Aryan home which is still matter for discussion. The representation of apes, Indian elephants and Bactrian camels on an obelisk of Shalmanesser III in 860 B.C.

gives the first clear indication of a communication between India and Assyria. It is the expansion of the Empire under Cyrus and his successor Darius that brings the Persian Empire directly into touch with India and opens the way for the establishment of regular communication with western Asia. Similarly on the eastern side, there is evidence of considerable early communication with the east; much of the continental civilisation of the Indo-Chinese peninsula seems derivable from northern India of the Buddhistic age, some of which may possibly be referable to a time much earlier. This communication of northern India with the outside world is not what concerns us directly.

Overseas Communication of South India.

Such communication as South India had with the rest of the world must of necessity have been across the ocean. The early navigators of the Indian Ocean seem to have been many and the history of this subject is only very partially worked for the satisfactory reason that the material which exists for such work is, at the very best, inadequate. The Egyptian efforts under the Pharaohs have reference only to the coasts of Arabia and of Africa certainly as far down as Somaliland, and it may be much farther down towards Zanzibar. The expeditions to Punt under the eleventh dynasty and before, have had for their object various articles of value to the Egyptians. The most famous of this enterprise under the Pharaohs is the expedition sent out by the great Queen Hatsheput, and had for its object the bringing quantities of gold, incense and other articles, much prized in Egypt. They are all of them represented on her monument at Mehr-el-deri. It is possible to refer some of these articles to

India; but most of them are obtainable in the region of the Somali Coast. It is the enterprise of Alexander, which found its visible embodiment in the founding of Alexandria, that gave additional stimulus to this navigation of the Indian Ocean, and under the Ptolemies, great efforts were made to open the Red Sea trade with the East. It is set down to the credit of Ptolemy-Philadelphus, the contemporary of Asoka, that he cut a canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea, either newly or by opening out an old channel. As a necessary corollary to this, he founded a number of ports on the Red Sea. Of these Ptolemaic foundations, Arsinoe near the Suez and Berenice lower down the Red Sea coast, appear most prominent. Almost up to the time of the Roman conquest however, the trade seems to have been carried on even in Indian commodities from the great exchange marts of Arabia Felix, or as the Greeks called it, Eudaemon, i.e., the coast district round Aden. The discovery of blue cloth wrapped round some mummies recently excavated, and the further discovery that they were all dyed blue with Indian indigo, is clear evidence of Indian trade, but not necessarily of communication with India. With the Roman conquest of Egypt, a new impetus was given to this eastern trade and we come upon a new era of nautical enterprise on this side of Egypt.

Indian Trade with Western Asia.

In respect of Indian trade with western Asia, the matter seems to rest on a somewhat better footing. The earliest definite reference which we can get is a commercial expedition sent out by Solomon with the assistance of Hiram of Tyre. According to Josephus, Solomon gave the command to the pilots of the expedition, "that

they should go along with his stewards to the land that of old was called Ophir, but now Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India to fetch gold." The expedition left Ezion-Gebir (Akaba at the head of the Gulf of Suez), and was three years on its voyage. It brought with it 420 talents of gold, almug wood, ivory, apes and peacocks. According to the statement of Josephus, the objective of the expedition should have been the Malay peninsula, the golden Chersonese of Milton. Several scholars take it to mean the Malay peninsula and Sumatra, both of which produced enormous quantities of gold and came to be known to the inhabitants of India by the name Svarna Bhumi. But the variant of the name in the Septuagent is Sophir. Sophir can be considered equivalent in form to Ophir if the word with "S" passed through Persia. Sophir is the proper form nearest to the Indian equivalent. This is the Coptic name for the whole of the country India, and might have been derived from Sauvira which ought to have been one of the stages or the final stage which the mercantile fleet of India left as the last part of a coasting voyage. The only difficulty that scholars appear to have had against this identification seems to be the 420 talents of gold. That this region Sauvira, between the mouths of the Indus and Broach, produced gold is in evidence in the name of one of the rivers being "golden sands" (Svarna-sikata). This name is found recorded in the Junagad inscription, of the famous Kshatrapa king, Rudradaman, of A.D. 150. Of about the same time, we have another reference to a region lower down the west coast of India, which contained gold mines. The territory of North and South Kanara under the Tamil chief Nannan is said to have contained hills showing gold-veins. What is more telling

as a piece of evidence is a story connected with this chieftain, who had been branded with ignominy by the distinctive epithet woman-killer, as a result thereof. He is said to have had a fruit garden producing specially delicious fruits. A girl who went to a canal for water picked up a fruit floating down the canal which happened to be running through the royal garden. She took the fruit and ate it without a thought, and, for this great crime against "His Majesty", the king ordered the girl to be killed. Her parents and relatives offered to ransom her by giving to the king a life-size statue of the girl in solid gold, or whatever else the king might require by way of ransom. The story concludes by saying that the king refused the offer, and handed himself down to evil fame as woman-killer. The river Kaveri is known to classical Tamil Literature by the name Ponni, and this name is said to have been given to it as it carried gold in her sand. Hence the difficulty on the score of gold ceases to be of force in regard to this identification. Taking the other articles, the almug wood, is not other than the Sandal. It occurs in Greek as Santalon, and could have come from Tamil *śandana* or Sanskrit *chandana,* the pure Tamil word fo it is *āram.* This is a peculiar product of the Malaya hills, the southern portion of the Western Ghats.

Indian Names of Imported Articles.

Apes are known in Hebrew as *koph.* In Egyptian the word takes the form *kafu,* and these are derived from the Sanskrit word *kapi.* Satin (cotton cloth) becomes *sadain* in Hebrew and *sinthon* in Greek, probably from Sanskrit *sindhu.* These are all traceable to a part of India where the prevailing language was Sanskrit. There are words however for two articles imported from

India which cannot be traced to Sanskrit, and these are peacock and rice. *Peacock* occurs in Hebrew in the form of *tukim*. In Persian, it occurs as *tavus*; in Greek as *tofos*. All of them seem derivable from the original *tōgai*, which is unmistakably at the worst Tamil-Malayalam. Rice occurs in Aramaic in the form *aruz*; Latin, *oryza*; Greek, *oruza*; and Spanish, *arros*, all apparently from the Tamil *arisi*. The last two words must be held decisive, and must have reference to their origin in the Tamil country. This is confirmed by the discovery of a beam of teak in the excavations at Ur in Chaldea ascribed to the king Ur-Bagas, the first ruler of united Babylonia *circa* 3000 B.C. according to Sayce and Hewit. A similar teak beam was found by Rassam in the same locality in a building which was known to have been constructed by Nabonidus to the Moon-God in the middle of the 6th century B.C. Another beam of Indian cedar was found in the palace of Nebuchadnezer at Birs-Nimrud. It is impossible that the teak wood could have gone to these places from anywhere other than the Malabar coast or from Burma. Rice and peacock were known in Athens in their names of Indian derivation in 430 B.C. Thus for about 500 years from the fifth century B.C. backwards, direct communication with India seems probable. That this was across the sea directly from India, and not overland through Persia, may be established by the word for *muslin* being Sinthon without the change of "S" into "H" as the Persians invariably change the "S" of Sanskrit into "H". This direct communication receives some confirmation from the fact that the South Indians, particularly of the classical Tamil literature, knew of the western people by the designation *Yavana*, not by the northern designation of Yona,

even after the days of Asoka, showing thereby that communication between the Yavana region and South India began at an age when the Greek digamma had not dropped out of the word. The Baveru-Jataka, the Supparaka-Jataka, and the Mohosada-Jataka, all of them would be confirmatory equally, though these might well refer to communication between Northern India and Babylon. The explicit statement of Berosus, that the Babylonian market exhibited a crowd of all nationalities, might have included some Indian nationalities as well.

THE SITUATION OF OPHIR.

In respect of the question as to the situation of Ophir, whether it was somewhere in southern Arabia or whether we should look for it on the continent of India or in the Malay peninsula, the decisive factor would be the three years' duration of the voyage from Akaba to the region of Ophir and back, which would mean a voyage of more or less 18 months up and 18th months down. An eighteen months' voyage being regarded the fact, it must have been generally a coasting voyage, so far as the westerners were concerned, and it would seem to indicate the coast of India as answering to Ophir, though the Malay peninsula may be just possible. A station on the south coast of Arabia would hardly answer this indication satisfactorily. All this would have reference however only indirectly to the Indians having sailed across even the Arabian Sea. Direct evidence of Indian navigation is however not wanting. Even the Rig Veda knew of hundred oared ship, although these might have reference more to eastern navigation than to western. The Baveru-Jataka however is certain evidence of western navigation, as also the Supparaka-Jataka. But behind

this period lies the far older of possible communication between the Persian Gulf ports and the west coast of the Indian peninsula. Antiquarians are coming to the opinion that the early Sumerian civilization, the mother of Babylonian, may after all be Indian.[1]

Early Indian Voyages to Babylonia and the West.

Whatever might be the ultimate verdict of scholars in regard to this question, there could be no doubt, even on the indirect evidence available to us, of early communication between Babylon and India. There is considerable reason for the opinion, if it is not yet put beyond doubt, that the Indian borrowed from the Babylonians, the week-days, rather than from the Greeks, leaving the possibility open that they might themselves have originated it.

We have already urged reasons[2] and are pleased to find ourselves supported in this position by Dr. Vogel in an article he published in the "East and West" for January 1912. We have direct evidence of the westward navigations of the Hindus in two references. The first is that Q. Metellus Celer[3] received from the king of the Suevi some Hindus, who had been driven by storm into Germany in the course of a voyage of commerce according to Cornelius Nepos.

The other is contained in the visit of an Indian named Sophon Indos (Subhānu the Indian) to which reference is made in a Greek inscription found in the

1. H. R. Hall's *Ancient History of the Near East,* pages 173-174.

2. *Vide Beginning of South Indian History,* p. 304.

3. Macrindle's *Ancient India,* p. 110.

ruins of a shrine between the Red Sea port of Berenice and Edfu near the banks of the Nile.[4] The few sentences of Kanarese found by Dr. Hultzsch embodied in a Greek farce contained in the Papyrus of Oxhyrychus,[5] and the same learned scholar's discovery of a silver coin of Ptolemy Soter in the bazaars of Bangalore would only be evidence of communication, and not of the Indians, voyaging westwards.

With the beginning of the Christian era and with the discovery of the south-west monsoon by Harpalos, voyages of communication became more regular, and we have even reports of Indian Embassies to the Emperor Augustus, one of which is said to have reached him at Terragona in Spain and another in Cyprus. The westward navigation and communication had become so great that there are constant references to Yavana ships coming to the west coast bringing in gold in their well-rigged ships to pay in exchange for the spices which they carried from that coast of the Indian peninsula.[6] What is perhaps a more important point from the Indian side is that these Yavanas had at one time suffered defeat at sea at the hands of the Chera ruler of the west coast, who is said to have punished them by tying their hands behind their back, pouring ghee or oil on their heads and holding them up to ransom after this punishment.[7] There are other references to Yavanas. Armed women are referred to as immediate attendants on South Indian

4. The Ins. is quoted in H. G. Rawlinson's *India and the Western World*, p. 99; also in the *J. R. A. S.* 1904, p. 402.

5. *J.R.A.S.* 1904, p. 399 ff.

6. Aham 148. *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 121.

7. Padirruppattu, pp. 22-3; Pandit Swaminatha Aiyar's edition.

monarch, particularly the Pandya king, and are said to have constituted his body-guard. One of these references is to Yavana women handing him western wine in gold cups for the delectation of their royal master.[8] The other is much more interesting as it exhibits these Yavanas constituted as a body-guard of cavalry men. The Pandya king is described as being in camp in solitary bed over night; and his tent constituted the centre of the camp surrounded by an enclosure of armed women guards. These were separated by partitions of cloth from the tents of the regular guards of Yavanas and Mlechchas and their camp of occupation. The whole camp was enclosed within a stockade of wooden palisades, sometimes even of the steel javelins which the soldiers carried.[9] The question arises whether these could all be Greeks and whether the Indian king could have obtained so many Greeks who could hire themselves out for service of this character.

The dress and other details of the description seem to lead to the inference that these might have been people other than Greek. It seems far more likely that they were Arabians who let themselves out for service in this fashion. That the ancient Arabs were known by the designation Yavana seems warranted by the term Ethiopian applied to the inhabitants of Abyssinia. The term is derived from *atyob* meaning incense, and *Yavan*, the Yavana collectors of incense in the region of the Somali country.[10] Those who constituted the early inhabitants of this locality are regarded by scholars to be colonists

8. Narkkīrir in Puram, 56. See also Neḍunalvāḍai, ll. 101–102. Śilappadhikāram, XIV, 122-33.

9. Mullatippāṭṭu, ll. 41-66.

10. Schoff's Periplus, p. 62.

from Arabia. If that is so, the term Yavana must be the ordinary designation for an Arabian, at any rate as much as for a Greek. The name *Śōnagar* given to Muhammadans of Arab descent in South Indian coast towns is directly in support of this position, and the commentator Nachchinarkinyar renders the word by the term *Śonagar* in this and other pasages. However it is an open question whether the carpenters from Yavana who are said to have worked with a number of other foreign workmen from various divisions of India in the building of Kaveripattinam[11] were Greek Yavana, or Arabian. It may even be Chinese Yavanas. It would be hazardous to attempt to be precise in the face of the statement contained in the Pattinapalai,[12] that one quarter of Kaveripattinam close to the sea was set apart as the quarters of the sea-going inhabitants of various countries who had come in for residence in the course of their voyages and who spoke a multitude of tongues, almost in the same style as Berosus speaks of the multitude of people of all nationalities collecting in the Babylon market. The picture which we can get of this branch of Indian enterprise from the classical geographers would only confirm this indirectly.

The Evidence of Classical Geographers.

The classical geographers, the author of the Periplus[13] and Ptolemy, the Geographer, who date repectively

11. Manimēkhalai, canto XIX, ll. 107-110.

12. 214-218; also Śilappadhikaram V, ll. 9-12. The term Yavanar is rendered Sonagar by the earlier and Mlechchar by the later of the two commentators.

13. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea translated and edited by W. H. Schoff, Secs. 42 to 66.

about. A.D. 80 and A.D. 150, exhibit knowledge of a division of the country which we can derive from Tamil classical literature. The author of the Periplus begins his account of the west of India with the Indus (Sinthus). He says that the river had seven mouths, shallow and marshy, and therefore not navigable. On the shore of the central channel was the sea port Barbaricum with a capital, in the interior, of the Scythians called Minnagara (the city of the Min, Scythians); the port Barbaricum has not satisfactorily been identified. It seems to be the Sanskrit Barbaraka (belonging to the country of the Barbara, perhaps the same as the Greek barbarian). Passing down from there, the Periplus comes down the *Sūrāshṭra* coast (Syrashtrene), and the Rann of Cuch (Eirinon); sailing across what is the Gulf of Kambay, he takes us to Barygaza (Sans. *Bṛgukachcha*, mod. Broach). With this is said to begin *Ariaka* "which is the beginning of the kingdom of Nambanus and of all India." In regard to the divisions of that part of the country both Ptolemy and the Periplus agree except for the omission of some details in the latter. The southern limit of the coast of Ariaka is Tindis according to both. The corresponding portion of the country inland is described in the Periplus as *Ābhīra*, the coast portion being Surashtra, as was already stated. This part is described as a fertile country producing wheat, rice, sesame oil and clarified butter; cotton and coarser sorts of cloth made therefrom. Pasturing of cattle seems an important occupation and the people are described as of great stature and dark in colour.[14] The chief point to note here in connection with

14. Note the tradition that Agastya took with him a large colony of people from here in his southward migration.

this statement of the Periplus is that the coast under reference is described as "the beginning of the kingdom of Nambanus and of all India." The latter expression indicates clearly that whoever Nambanus was, he was, at the time relating to which the author of the Periplus got in his information, known to the outside world as the king of India. In other words, it refers to the days of the Andhra empire of Magadha.

The name Nambanus itself is a correction of the text which has Mambarus. This latter might well be the Lambodara of the *Puranic* list of the Satavahanas or the Andhras of the Dakhan. The chronology of the early rulers among these Satavahanas cannot yet be regarded as being definitely settled, and at any rate the expression in the text seems of very doubtful application to identify Nambanus with Nahapana, the Kshaharata ruler. After describing the difficulties of navigation up to the port of Broach and the arrangement made by the ruler for piloting vessels safely into the port, the Periplus proceeds to give the countries inland set over against that coast between Barbaricum, at the mouth of the Indus obviously, and Broach. He notes among them the *Āraṭṭas* of the Punjab, the Arachosii of Southern Afghanistan, the Gandaraei (Sanskrit, Gandhara) and the people of Pocalais (Sans: Pushkalavati) both in the region between the Kabul and the Indus in northern Afghanistan including also the northern portions of the Punjab, where was also the city of Alexandria Bucephalus located very near the Jhelum. Beyond these he says were the warlike Bactrians. He gives an interesting fact that in his day coins bearing Greek inscriptions of Greek legends were circulating in the country round Broach, and they contained, according to the Periplus, the devices of the Greek rulers

succeeding Alexander, among them Appollodotos and Menander. Coming further east from these countries he speaks of Ozene (Ujjain), and refers to it as the former royal capital. Passing over all that he says about the trade of Broach which is not to our present purpose, we come in Sec. 50 to another statement which is of immediate interest to us. He says "beyond Barigaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to to south, and so this region is called *Dachinabades*, for *Dachan* in the language of the natives means "south". The inland country back from the coast towards the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains; and all kinds of wild beasts, leopards, tigers, elephants, enormous serpents, hyenas, and baboons of many sorts, and many populous nations as far as the Ganges." This clearly indicates that he describes the whole of the region known as the *Dakshiṇāpatha* or the Dakhan, and the *Daṇḍakāraṇyam* of the Sanskrit writers; the central region of India corresponding to our modern division of the Dakhan. He then describes the interior marts of Paitan and Tagara, and of the sea-ports along the coast till he reached Naura and Tindis, the first marts of Damirica as he calls them. Sanskrit *Dramiḍaka* is the correct equivalent of the Greek, and the *Tamilakam* of the Tamil classics, Damirica, sometimes written by error Lymirica, is the Sanskrit *Dramiḍaka* which the author must have heard in contradistinction to *Āriaka*. It is perhaps a little far-fetched to see in it *Tamiḻakam* except through the Sanskritised *Dramiḍaka*. With Tindis began, according to both Ptolemy and the Periplus, the kingdom of Cherabothra (Cheraputra, Keralaputra). The next port of importance we come to, is 50 miles from Tindis again at the mouth of a river; the port called Muziris (Muyiri or

Musiri of the Tamils, the modern Cranganore). Fifty miles further south was the sea-port of Nelcynda which the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai correctly identified with Nirkunram in the country of the Pandyas. This place was situated about ten or twelve miles in the interior with an out-port at the mouth of the river, the village Bakeri-Vaikkarai as we know it now. The kings of both these market towns the Periplus says "live in the interior." The imports into Muzyris are given "as a quantity of coin; topaz, thin clothing, not much; figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead; wine not much but as much as at Barigaza; realgar and orpiment; and wheat only for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there." The exports from this place are the "pepper coming from Kottanora (*Kuṭṭa Nāḍu* in the interior)", "great quantities of fine pearls", ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, Malabathrum from the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds and sapphires and tortoise-shell, "that from the Chryse island (golden) and that taken from among the islands along the coast of Damirica." One may so far compare this statement with the following two extracts from Tamil Literature:—

(1) The *Kuṭṭuvan* king of the beautiful garland dropping honey like water, gives away in head-loads to those who go to him the sandal from the hill and the pearl from the sea, along with the gold brought in payment by ships, and carried by canal boats into his port of Musiri of the noisy beach:—Paranar in Puram 343.

(2) The prosperous Musiri to which come the well rigged ships of the Yavanas tearing up the foaming great river *Sulli* of the Chera, carrying gold to pay for the

cargo of pepper with which they returned usually:— Kattur Tayam Kannan in Aham. 148.

Beyond Vaikkarai, the Periplus refers to the dark-red mountains and of the district (stretching along the coast towards the south) "Paralia" generally taken as equivalent to Pural meaning coast; the first port in this coast region is what he calls Balita, identified with Varkalai or Janārdanam, which in those days had a fine harbour and a village by the sea shore. Then comes Kumari with a cape and a harbour. It is also referred to as a holy bathing place, and the coast region is then described as extending eastwards till it reaches Korkai "where the pearl fisheries are"; and the Periplus offers the interesting piece of information, "that they are worked by condemned criminals. Then follows another coast region with a region inland called according to the Periplus Argaru, taken to be the equivalent of Uraiyur. Argaru, however, refers to the Pandya country, and seems derived from Urgapura, one of the alternative names of Madura, the equivalent of the Tamil *Ālavāy* and Sanskrit *Hālāsaya*, more correctly *Hālahālāsaya*. This is the name given to the capital of the Pandyans in Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa VI. 59. These two regions of the coast country are somewhat differently named in Ptolemy. He calls the region between Nirkunram and Camorin as in the country of Aioi (Tamil Aay). Then follows the region which he calls Kareoi (Tamil Karai of Karaiyar, a class of fisherfolk) and the coast country extending from Korkai upwards is spoken of by Ptolemy in two divisions. The country of the Batoi (Tamil *Vēṭṭuvar*) and Poralia in the country of the Toringoi (error for Soringoi, Cholas). The exports from this region according to the

Periplus are: the pearls[15] collected from part of what was gathered each season in the appointed pearl-fields, and a kind of fine muslin called Argaritic. The most important ports mentioned on the Coromandel coast by the Periplus are three: Camara (identified with Kaveri-pattanam), Poduca (may be a Puduvai) and it is doubtful whether it stands for Pondicherry or a place in the

15. Pliny says (Chap. IX 54-58):—

Our ladies glory in having pearls suspended from their fingers, or two or three of them dangling from their ears, delighted even with the rattling of the pearls as they knock against each other and now, at the present day, the poorer classes are even affecting them, as the people are in the habit of saying that a pearl worn by a woman in public is as good as a lictor walking before her. Nay, even more than this, they put them, on their feet, and that not only on the laces of their sandals but all over the shoes; it is not enough to wear pearls, but they must tread upon them and walk with them under foot as well.

"I once saw Lollia Paulina, the wife of the Emperor Caius—it was not at any public festival, or any solemn ceremonial, but only at an ordinary betrothal entertainment covered with emeralds and pearls, which shone in alternate layers upon her head, in her hair, in her wreaths, in her ears, upon her neck, in her bracelets, and on her fingers, and the value of which amounted in all to 40,000,000 sesterces; indeeded she was prepared at once to prove the fact by showing the receipts and acquittances. Nor were these any presents made by a prodigal potentate, but treasures which had descended to her from her grandfather, and obtained by the spoliation of the provinces. Such are the fruits of plunder and extortion. It was for this reason that M. Lollius was held so infamous all over the East for the presents which he extorted from the kings; the result of which was, that he was denied the friendship of Caius Caesar, and took poison; and all this was done, I say, that his grand-daughter might be seen, by the glare of lamps covered all over with jewels to the amount of forty millions of sesterces."

vicinity. Then Sopatma (Tamil *Sōpaṭṭinam*) or fortified-port (Phrurion of Ptolemy). There come ships from what he calls Damirica and from the north for the exchange of commodities. Here the Periplus has an important statement to make in respect of the capacity for navigation of the Tamils. In these ports that he mentions, he says, were ships of two kinds, those intended for coasting voyages as far as Damirica, as he calls it; these were small and large and are called by him *Sangara.* Those intended, however, for the voyages to Chryse and to the Ganges were called, according to him *Colandia,* and are described as very large. The term Chryse which in Greek is the equivalent of gold, seems to refer to Suvarnabhumi in Sanskrit, and has been identified with the Malaya peninsula, spoken of by the Periplus in another place as an island. That it indicates the region about the Malaya peninsula is clear from what he says in regard to the direction of the land: "Just opposite this river (Ganges) there is an island in the ocean the last port of the inhabited world to the east under the rising sun itself; it is called Chryse and it has the best tortoise-shell of all the places on the Erythraean Sea." There are said to be imported into these ports everything that is made in Damirica "the greatest part of what is got from Egypt." Then he proceeds to mention Palaesimundu, "called by the ancients Taprobane." Further north from this, according to him, was the region Masalia, and further north of this Dosarene (Sanskrit *Daśārṇa*). Ptolemy, however, interpolates between the Chola coast and Maisalia (Masalia of the Periplus) the country of the Arouvarnoi or Arvarnoi (the *Aruvāḷar* of the Tamils) whose country was known to the Tamils in two divisions *Aruvānāḍu* and *Aruvā-Vaḍa-*

talai (northern Aruva) which would take us more or less close to the mouth of the Krishna river, the Maisalos of Ptolemy.

Of the trade of this coast, the most important ports are the three referred to already, and the imports of trade are set down as including everything made in Damirica, and "the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirica and of those that are carried through Paralia."

We have similar reference to the imports at Kaveripattinam in the Tamil work Pattinappalai[16] "horses were brought from distant lands beyond the seas, pepper was brought in ships, gold and precious stones came from the northern mountains, sandal and akir (aromatic aloe wood) came from the mountains towards the west, pearls from the southern seas and coral from the eastern seas. The produce of the regions watered by the Ganges; all that is grown on the banks of the Kaveri, articles of food from *Īḻam* or Ceylon and the manufactures (articles of consumption would be nearer the original) *Kāḻakam* in Sumatra." This looks like a restatement in a somewhat expanded form of what is found briefly stated in the Periplus.

Tamil Knowledge of the Eastern Archipelago.

It was already pointed out in the previous section that the Malabar coast got into touch with the western world, Egypt, Western Asia and across as far as the western extremity of Europe. The Hebrew references to various articles of Indian, particularly South Indian,

16. *Paṭṭinappālai*, ll. 127 ff.

production, the Baveru Jataka[17] which apparently relates to Babylon, the Supparaka Jataka[18] and a story in the Kathasaritsagara relative to the westward voyage from the port of Patri, and the Sanskrit origin of the name of the island Sokotra, all these might be cited as evidence of westward trade, at any rate, as arguing familarity with navigation on that side. That Indians took part in these distant voyages is directly stated in the references in Tacitus to a Hindu sailor having been stranded in the region of the North[19] Sea.

There is further evidence of a reference in an Egyptian inscription to a Sophon-Indos (Subhanu, the Indian)[20] in the heart of Egypt apparently, along the road from the Red Sea to Alexandria. The busy and the profitable character of the western trade and the part that the Roman empire took in it in the early centuries of the Christian era have already been indicated. The question in these circumstances would naturally arise whether the Tamils had any knowledge of the Eastern Archipelago, and whether they ever came into direct touch with it. The Eastern Archipelago was a region with which the Tamils were much more familiar apparently, and their commercial efforts seem to have gone on as far as the comparatively distant coast even of China.[21]

17. *The Jatakas,* translated by Cowell and Rouse, No. 339, III, p. 83.

18. *Ibid,* No. 463.

19. Macrindle's *Ancient India,* p. 110.

20. H. G. Rawlinson's *India and the Western World,* p. 99, where the Gk. Ins. is quoted. Also J.R.A.S., 1904.

21. In the excavations at Chandravalli Mr. R. Narasimha

Evidence from Tamil Literature.

We have direct evidence on the Tamil side of not merely knowledge of the islands near the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, but also of regular commercial voyages and even settlements of people. During the period with which we are concerned, people in the south, particularly the coast of the Chola country, kept up a busy trade oversea. The principal ports from which these fleets of commerce started and of which we have any reference are two in the Chola country, namely, Kaveripattinam at the mouth of the Kaveri, and Tondi farther south on the coast of Ramnad set over against Jaffna. Puhar which is the Tamil name for the port at the mouth of the Kaveri is spoken of as a great port where a crowd of merchant shipping brought in horses from across the waters, spices, particularly pepper, gold and precious gems from the northern mountains (Himalayas), sandal and aloe-wood (*akil*) from the western hills, pearls from the southern sea, *coral from the eastern sea*, various kinds of commodities from the Ganges, other commodities coming down the Kaveri, food articles from Ceylon and *the wealth produced in Kāḻaham*, other rare articles (such as, camphor, rose water, etc.), from China and other places.[22]

This catalogue of articles coming from various places in the east into Puhar is confirmed by various references in the Silappadhikaram[23] which relate specifi-

chariar found a coin of the Chinese Han. Emperor Wu-ti of the 2nd century B.C., as also a silver dinarius of Augustus.

22. *Paṭṭinappālai*, lines 185-192, already quoted.

23. Canto IV, lines 35-38. This is also referred in the Nedunalvadai and Perum-Kurinji.

cally to sugar-candy from the western region of the Yavanas, black aloe from the east, stones for grinding sandal from the northern mountains, and sandal from the southern hills. There is a further reference in the same work to the special quarter of the town near the port occupied by the Yavanas (rendered by the commentator *Mlēchchas*)[24] and people from various countries whose profession it was to go over sea and trade. Referring to the port of Tondi[25] which in those days was considered a port in the Chola country, the fleet of ships arriving there brought in the following commodities; aromatic-aloe (akil), silk, sandal, fragrant articles and camphor. The commentary explains elaborately the varieties of these articles which came in indicating also the sources from which they came. In regard to the first akil, four varieties are mentioned of which two seem to take their name undoubtedly from the localities of production. They are respectively named Takkoli (product of Takola) and Kidaravan (the product of *Kīḍāram*). Under Camphor, there are two varieties which are named respectively *Vārāśan* and *Varōśu,* both of which seem the Tamil name of Barus or Barusai of Ptolemy, and another variety which is specifically called China camphor. Apart from Barus there stand out the names Takkola and Kadaram. Takkola, or as it is sometimes written Takkolam in Tamil, is the famous port in the Malay peninsula near the mouth of the Takopa river which gives the name to one of the aromatic plants, the fruit of which is called Takkolam. The port of Takkola is mentioned as a prominent mart of the east shore of

24. Canto V, lines 9-12.
25. Canto XIV, lines 106-111.

the Bay of Bengal by Ptolemy. Kadaram which is referred to here is apparently the Kadaram that is found associated with one of the titles of Rajendra Chola, and which figures in the records of both Rajendra Chola and his father Raja Raja. These records refer to the same place in Sanskrit as well in the form *Kaṭāha*. Hence we are justified in taking it that the Sanskrit *Kaṭāha* is the Tamil *Kaḍāram*. Is it the same as the Tamil *Kāḻaham*? Kalaham used to be rendered hitherto Burma by antiquarians. Kalaham is equated with Kadaram by the commentator Nachchinarkiniyar,[26] and the articles of import therefrom referred to by the commentator as "articles of enjoyment," seem similar to the articles which the embassy from San-fo-Chi carried to China in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era. We seem therefore justified in taking *Kāḻaham*, *Kaḍāram* and *Kaṭāha* all of them to be one place, and that place as being the island or group of islands dominated by Sumatra, the *Śāvakam* of the Tamils, the *Yavadvīpa* of Sanskrit and *Sabadiu* of Ptolemy. The classic Manimekhalai has much to say in its own legendary fashion of Savakam and a mythical king of the island by name Punyaraja. The work refers to a famine, for the relief of which a man possessed of a miraculous bowl, which supplied food without its being ever exhausted, agreed to go. The information of the famine was given to him in one of the ports of the Pandya country by a body of people who came from oversea. He started with the next commercial fleet which sailed forward towards the east. Being overtaken by a storm the fleet had to go for shelter to one of the inlets round

26. The Nighanṭu Pinglandai gives the equation also.

Ceylon. When the fleet set sail again they sailed away in the belief that he was on board.[27] In another connection the same work refers to an island which the work calls the island of the naked Nagas, apparently Nakkavaram, the modern Nicobars then inhabited by naked cannibals. The particular point to notice in this connection is that the particular individual concerned was born a rich man and had squandered away all his wealth in evil company. Disgusted with himself he set forward on a new life and got into the company of a body of merchants trading overseas. In the course of the voyage the fleet of ships got tempest-tossed and several of them destroyed. He took hold of a broken piece of mast and reached the island. The story goes on to say that he was threatened with death having been sighted by the cannibals. He managed, however, to satisfy the cannibals that what they were about doing was wrong, and so far persuaded them into friendship to him that they were quite prepared to send him away with whatever he cared to take from the accumulated wealth of the previous ship-wrecks near the shore. They brought him quantities of all kinds of articles of wealth and let him take whatever he liked of them and as much as he pleased. When the next regular fleet of ships touched that port under the lead of the merchant chief Chandradatta he got on board ship and sailed across to the Tamil coast. The story indicates regular caravans of ships going backwards and forwards across the sea, and the number of incidental references that we get to various matters connected with overseas navigation in this class of works leads to the conclusion that they were familiar with the

27. Canto XIV.

islands on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. This is confirmed by the specific statement of the author of the Periplus in reference to the eastern parts of the Tamil country that "there are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirica,[28] large vessels made of single logs bound together called Sangara; but those which make the voyage to the Chryse[29] and to the Ganges are called Colandia and are very large."[30]

Other Confirmatory Evidence.

There are various pieces of evidence of a somewhat indefinite character which would lead to the inference that there were a large number of settlements of the Tamils in this region and that the southern culture had spread so far out as the Eastern Archipelago itself. This is made clear in the account of the voyage of Fa-hein on his return journey from Ceylon to China. He set sail from Ceylon and was caught in a storm, and after a difficult and dangerous voyage arrived at Yavadvipa (the Tamil *Śāvakam*) where he found "various forms of error and *Brahmanism flourishing*" while he found, much to his regret, that the Buddhists in the locality were not worth speaking of. This character of the Indian emigrants in the Eastern Archipelago is in a way put beyond doubt altogether by the so-called Yupa inscriptions of a king Mulavarman found in East Borneo (edited formerly by Dr. Kern), and of which

28. Meaning apparently to the end of the Tamil country in the west coast.

29. Gold country, Suvarnabhumi, the Malay Peninsula, generally.

30. Schoff's Periplus, p. 46, Sec. 60.

an excellent new edition is given us by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. These inscriptions are four in number and refer to a colony of Brahmans who celebrated a *Yāga* (sacrificial rite) in the true orthodox Vedic style giving at the end of the ceremony various gifts including even the *Kalpavrikshadāna*[31] (gift of gold wish-giving tree of the same form as in nature).

These are put on the *Yūpa-sthambhas* (sacrificial-posts) by the Brahmans who officiated at the sacrifice. Unfortunately the inscriptions are not dated but they are of the "Pallava-Grantha" character which Dr. Burnell called "Vengi-alphabet," a misnomer which is now no more accepted. Here are the words of the learned editor who gives us the revised version: "Among the epigraphical records of Southern India we cannot point to any specimen which exhibits exactly the same style of writing as is found in the earliest inscriptions of the Archipelago. But among the southern alphabets, it is undoubtedly the archaic type of the ancient *grantha* character (to retain Buhler's terminology) used by the early Pallava rulers of the Coromandel coast, which appears to be most closely related to the character of the Koetei epigraphs." Arguing on palaeographical grounds alone and admitting the defective state of our knowledge of the palaeography of this particular period Dr. Vogel would ascribe this inscription to the middle of the 4th century A.D. This would indicate that in that early period there were colonies of Brahmans apparently from South India so far east as East Borneo celebrating a sacrifice there and handing down the fact of such cele-

31. The expression *sakalpavrikshadāna,* in the inscription is badly rendered.

bration by putting up inscriptions on the very sacrificial posts in the unmistakably South Indian characters of the 4th century of the Christian era. Whether these colonies maintained any connection with India which could be regarded as of a political character and whether such colonisation would warrant any assumption of a greater India are questions categorical answers to which we cannot yet give with the material available for this period.

The Character of this Period of South Indian History.

This period with which we are concerned in this portion of South Indian history is coeval with the position of dominance of the Andhras in the Dakhan and over the empire of the Mauryas. The question would naturally arise whether these Andhras had anything to do with South India. As far as the material available to us goes they do not appear to have been brought into direct connection unless we could interpret the hostile Aryas who figure in the history of many of the Tamil rulers as indicating the contemporary Andhra sovereigns of the north, as in the case of the Chera who defeated the Aryas, and the elder Pandya, the hero of the Silappadhikaram who claims to have defeated the Aryas as well. There is a more precise reference to the *Kannar* in the Silappadhikaram. This term could be rendered Karnas, and they are clearly stated to be "the hundred Karnas." Whatever the significance of the hundred may be by itself, it is doubtful if we could regard it as the equivalent, even by mistake, of the Satakanis or Satakarnis of the Dakhan.

These last, however, have left us a few inscriptions

among the earliest of which is a Prakrit inscription of the second century A.D. This is on a pillar at Malavalli in the Shikarpur taluk of the Shimoga District, recording a grant by Hariritiputra-Satakarni for the God Isvara of the village.[32] The next inscription comes from the same taluk and is on a pillar standing in front of the Pranavesvara temple. This record states that the God Pranavesvara had been worshipped by Satakarni and other kings. Near the town of Chittaldrug itself some recent excavations unearthed several lead coins of the Andhra-bhrityas and their Viceroys. The prakrit inscription on the Malavalli pillar is followed by an inscription of the early Kadamba king, Kakutsthavarman dated by the late Professor Kielhorn, about the middle of the 6th century, though the character of the reference may indicate the century previous. The inscription (Shikarpur 176) known as the Talgunda pillar inscription contains further reference to this Kakutsthavarman and gives him credit for the construction of the tank in front of the temple.[33] This Kakutsthavarman was a contemporary of the Guptas and seems to have entered into matrimonial alliance with them.[34] During this period therefore the Andhra power stretched southwards as

32. Shikarpur, 263, *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VII.
33. *Ibid*, 176.
34. Mr. Rice would date the record in the fourth century apparently on the ground that Kakutsthavarman claims to have entered into marriage alliances with the Guptas, that is, according to him Samudra Gupta who came as far south as Kanchi in his southern conquests. This is hardly necessary but the boast would be pointless if we date the record at a period when the Gupta power was on the decline *i.e.*, the sixth century. The fifth century would be a better date.

far as northern Mysore. Their frontier extended southwards on the eastern side as far as the south Pennar at one time as their ship coins found in the region between the two Pennars would enable us to infer. Generally speaking, however, the Andhra power came into touch with the Tamils on the northern frontier marked by Tirupati and Pulikat. The wild people called Vadukar by the Tamils must have interposed between the Tamils and the Andhras. It was probably to keep guard over this somewhat dangerous frontier one capital of the Andhras was located Dhanyakataka near Amaravati in the Guntur district. This would mean that the Krishna in this region constituted the normal southern frontier of the Andhras. This position of the Andhras and the interposition of the tribes of Vadukar between them and the Tamils raises the question whether the Andhras of to-day, the Telugu-speaking peoples, can lay claim to any affinity with the imperial Andhras of the two centuries on either side of the beginning of the Christian era. The evidence available to us at present does not seem to warrant a categorical answer one way or the other. The Andhras are described as Aryan people who had given up the Aryan customs and practice in religion, in other words *mlĕchchas,* or even *Vrātyas.* In the Mahabharata the region of wild tribes is said to have intervened between the Andhras and the Tamil country which constitutes at the present time the heart on the Andhra country. It is a well-known phenomenon, in history that people still in tribal organization keep moving forward from place to place and give their name to the districts which they might occupy for the time being. Their name certainly attaches itself to the locality where they effected something like a permanent settle-

ment. Even other people who come and settle in that locality afterwards take their name from the district rather than give their name to the district. The present day Andhras are undoubtedly Andhras in the sense that they occupy the Andhra country, but whether they are the legitimate successors of the Andhras by race is more than can be postulated on the evidence available to us so far. Unless the reference to the Aryas in Tamil literature be to the Andhras of the Dakhan (or the imperial Andhras if they ever rose to that diginity), it may be safely stated that the Andhras as such do not find mention in Tamil literature. There is a chieftain known by the name of *Āay-Anḍiran*. The second word of this name is rendered Andhra by some. It is just possible that it is the Tamilised form of the word Andhra.[35] It would be unsafe, however, to assert that the Andhras, as such, came and settled in the south. This position is made still more difficult by the reference to the Vadukar, which term occurs very often in the literature of this period. Vadukar is the present day vernacular name for the Telugu-speaking people in the Tamil country; but they are described still as in the same savage stage of frontier tribes living as marauders. They are located in the region immediately to the north of the Tamil frontier of Pulikat and Tirupati. This would seem to preclude the equation that the Tamils

35. If the term *Anḍar* used to designate shepherds comes from the Sanskrit Andhaka, a Tamil derivation seems impossible, there is justification for this interpretation. The term *Anḍiran* is used in this compound in contradistinction to the term *Eyinan* in *Āya-Eyinan* undoubtedly denoting the caste or tribe from which he came. The two names would stand Āay, the shepherd and Āay, the hunter.

regarded the Vadukar and the Andhras as one. Hence for the time the question has to remain open whether the Telugus of the present day as a body should be traced to the Vadukar or to the Andhras.

It thus seems clear that the Tamil country remained a compact territory with a well-defined frontier in the north inhabited by wild tribes who were kept under control, this frontier separating the Tamil country from the territory of the Andhras. This Tamil country remained the asylum of the orthodox Brahmanical religion, which was able to hold its own as against the sister religions of Jainism and Buddhism within its own territory. During the four or five centuries of its history from the period of Asoka onwards the Tamils seem to have set themselves up in opposition to the systematic propagation of Buddhism under the imperial influence of Asoka himself. This apparently it was which caused the perpetual hostility between Buddhist Ceylon and the Tamil country set over against it, particularly the Chola country. This attitude of hostility would naturally have continued when the Andhras succeeded to the empire of Asoka and his successors in the South. So the Andhras were kept out of the Tamil country on the northern frontier. The Tamil country threfore remained the land of freedom in point of religion, and Brahmanism seems to have received the countenance, if not the active support, of the rulers and the body of the people as a whole. Hence the development of Brahmanism here was on the more natural orthodox lines which do not exhibit the ever-recurring reorganization necessitated by the impact of foreign invaders and hostile religions.

In the course of this evolution of Brahmanism there

appears to have been a stage of orthodoxy when sea-voyage was not held to make a Brahman fall from his high estate. Manu's objection seems to have but a restricted applicability ; but the Koetei epigraphs seem to make even the restriction of feeble force, as a prohibition of sea-voyage for the Brahman. That the emigrants apparently started from the Pallava country and not the Tamil country proper may be significant of the fact that these were followers of Baudhayana and not of Apastambha.

The Industrial Arts of South India

Passing on from the political to the industrial condition of India, we have already descibed the principal seaports, both on the western and eastern seaboard. If, as has been pointed out, there were so many thriving ports and, if foreign merchants sought these for trade at considerable risk of pirates, and if there was so much enterprise in sea-going among the inhabitants of the country itself, the conclusion is irresistible that the country had a prosperous industry; and so, on examination, it appears certainly to have been. Apart from the complaints of Petronius that fashionable Roman ladies exposed their charms much too immodestly by clothing themselves in the "webs of woven wind." as he called the muslins imported from India, Pliny says that India drained the Roman empire annually to the extent of 55,000,000 sesterces, equal to £486,979[36] sending in return goods which sold at a hundred times their value in India.[37]

36. Mommsen gives the total £11,000,000, £6,000,000 for Arabia, £5,000,000 for India.
37. Malabar Manual, Vol. 1, pp. 150-1.

He also remarks in another place, "this is the price we pay for our luxuries and our women."

That the industrial arts had received attention and cultivation in early times in India is in evidence to the satisfaction of the most sceptical mind. The early Tamils divided arts into six groups; ploughing (meaning thereby agriculture, handicrafts, painting, commerce and trade, the learned arts, and lastly the fine arts. Of these, agriculture and commerce were regarded as of the first importance. Flourishing trade pre-supposes a volume of industry, the principal of which was weaving then, as it also has been until recently. Cotton, silk and wool seem to have been the material which were wrought into cloths. Among the woollens we find mention of manufactures from the wool of rats[38] which was regarded as particularly warm. There are thirty varieties of silks mentioned, each with a distinctive appellation of its own, as distinguished from the imported silks of China which had a separate name. The character of the cotton stuffs which were manufactured is indicated by the comparisons instituted between them and "sloughs of serpents" or "vapour from milk;" and the general description of these as "those fine textures the thread of which could not be followed even by the eye."

Exports and Imports

The chief exports from the country, as the author of the Periplus says, were these. The produce of the soil like pepper, great quantities of the best pearl are

38. This seems a technical expression meaning the kind of wool which lent itself to weaving.

likewise purchased here; ivory, silk in the web, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the countries further to the east, transparent stones of all sorts, diamonds, rubies and tortoise-shell from the Golden Cher-sonese or from the islands off the coast of Damirike. This is all from the port of Muzuris on the west coast. He goes on to say, there is a great resort of shipping to this port for pepper malabathrum; the merchants bring out a large quantity of spice, and their other imports are topazes, stibium, coral, flint, glass, brass and lead, a small quantity of wine as profitable as at Barugaza, cinnabar, fine cloth, arsenic and wheat, not for sale but for the use of the crew. That Pliny's complaint about the drain was neither imaginary nor hypersensitive is in evidence in a passage descriptive of Muziris in one of the ancient classics of Tamil literature.[39] Musiri to which come the well-rigged ships of the Yavanas,[40] bringing gold and taking away spices in exchange.

Regarding the trade of the east coast, here follows the imports of Puhar; horses were brought from distant lands beyond the seas, pepper, was brought in ships, gold and precious stones came from the northern mountains towards the west;[41] pearls from the southern seas and coral from the eastern seas. The produce of the region

39. See Aham 148 quoted above.

40. Yavanas in this connection stand undoubtedly for the foreign Greeks and Romans. Other foreigners also were known and these were called *Mlechchas*. Mullaipattu, 61-65 Pandit Swaminatha Aiyar's edition of Pattupattu.

41. The Western Ghats in Konkan and Tulu seem to have produced gold. See Aham. 70.

watered by the Ganges; all that is grown on the banks of the Kaveri, articles of food from *Īlam* (Ceylon) and the manufactures of Kalaham (Sumatra)[42] were brought there for sale as was stated already. The products of particular importance received in the port of Tondi (east or Chola Tondi in the Ramnad District) are *akir* (a kind of black aromatic wood), fine silk, camphor, silk stuff (from China), candy, sandal, scents; and these articles and salt were carried into the interior by means of wagons drawn by teams of oxen, slowly trudging along through town and village, effecting exchanges with commodities for export. Tolls were paid on the way during the journey from the coast up the plateau and back again. They did not forget in those days to maintain a regular customs establishment, the officials of which piled up the grain and stored up the things that could not immediately be measured and appraised, leaving them in the dockyards carefully sealed with the tiger signet of the king.[43]

The Tamils built their own ships; and in the other crafts of the skilled artisan they seem to have attained some proficiency, though they availed themselves of experts from distant places. In the building of the audience hall of the royal palace at Puhar skilled artisans from Magadha, mechanics from Maradam (Mahratta), smiths from Avanti (Malva), carpenters from Yavana, worked[44] together with the artisans of the Tamil land. There is also mention of a temple of the most beautiful

42. Pattinappalai, 127, ff.
43. Pattinappalai, 134-6. Silappadhikaram, Canto VI, ll. 120-30.
44. Manimekhalai, Canto XIX, ll. 107.

workmanship in the same city, built of Gurjjara[45] workmanship. In the building of forts and in the providing of them with weapons and missiles, both for offence and defence, the Tamils had attained to something like perfection twenty-four such weapons are mentioned along the defence of Madura.[46]

SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, ETC., CONDITIONS OF SOUTH INDIA

Passing from the industrial to the literary, social and religious condition of the south, which we have so far been considering, we have again to do with three kingdoms, each with a capital city and a premier port. The Cholas had their capital at Uraiyur, with Puhar for an alternative capital and chief port; the Pandyas had their capital at Madura, with the port and premier Viceroyalty at Korkai; the Cheras had their captial at Vanji, with the principal port Muziris, and Viceroyalty at Tondi. The Cholas had their premier Viceroy, who was generally the heir-apparent, or at least a prince of the blood, at Kanchi. These towns and ports, therefore, bulk very largely in the literature and literary traditions of the period. The road from Kanchi to Trichinopoly appears to have passed through Tirukkovilur. From Trichinopoly (*i.e.*, Uraiyur) to Madura it lay along

45. *Ibid* xvii, l. 145. This has reference to the small temple of Sampapati, the Guardian-deity of Puhar. The Tamil Kuchchara can have a number of equivalents in Sanskrit and Prakrit, one of which of course is Gurjara. If it is proved that the Gurjaras were unknown in India before the end of the fifth century A.D., this equation with Gurjara will have to be given up. Apart from this it is possible we get a more satisfactory equivalent. Either way this cannot be held to be the decisive test of chronology.

46. Silappadhikaram, Canto XV, ll. 207-17.

the more arid parts of the Trichinopoly district to Kodumbai (*Koḍumbāḷūr*) in the state of Pudukotta, and thence to Nedungulam; from this place the road broke into three and led to Madura in three branches. From this last town a road kept close to the banks of the river Vaigai up the hills and down again along the banks of the Periyar to the town of Vanji, situated near its mouth. There were also other roads besides; one at least, from Vanji, proceeded to the modern Karur and thence on to Tirukkovilur.

These roads were not safe in all parts alike, there being certain portions of them that passed through desert regions inhabited by wild tribes who were a cause of terror to the way-farers, particularly those who had something to lose, notwithstanding the fact that robbery was punished with nothing short of impalement. Journeys were none the less frequent for purposes of pilgrimage or in search of patronage for learning, or for the profits of commerce.

Sources of Information and Criticism

I have gathered my facts from a vast body of Tamil literature only recently made available to the student. I now proceed to consider the sources of information, which are the classical writers, Indian literature, Tamil and Sanskrit, and the Ceylonese chronicle. Of the first group, Strabo wrote in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, Pliny published his geography in A.D. 77; the Periplus of the Erythraenean Sea was written in the first century A.D. probably A.D. 60 but not later than A.D. 80; Ptolemy wrote his geography about A.D. 150; the Peutingerian Tables were composed in A.D. 232. There were other writers who wrote later but we are not concerned

with them directly. I would draw attention to three points, taken from the works of classical writers. Pliny remarks: "At the present day voyages are made to India every year, and companies of archers are carried on board because the Indian seas are infested by pirates." Later on he says. "It (Muziris) is not a desirable place of call, pirates being in the neighbourhood, who occupy a place called Nitrias: and besides it is not well supplied with wares for traffic." This was done before A.D. 77. Ptolemy regarded this port Muziris as an emporium, and places the country of Aioi south of Bakarai. Though Ptolemy does mark the division of the Konkon coast extending northwards of Nitra (Nitrias of Pliny) and up to the port of Mandagara, which is identified with some place not yet definitely accepted, in the southern Mahratta country north of Goa as "Ariake Andron Piraton" meaning "the Ariaka of the pirates" in his time, says no more of pirates at all; meaning there was no piracy at the time to which his work relates, a period not far from him. The Periplus on the contrary does make mention of the piratic character of this coast and gives a straightforward account of its active prevalence at the time in regard to the ports in the neighbourhood. The bearing of this we shall see presently.[47] The Peutingerian Tables

47. The following account from Marco Polo of this coast is worth noting:—

There go forth every year more than a hundred corsair vessels on cruise. These pirates take with them their wives and children and stay out the whole summer. Their method is to join in fleets of 20 or 30 of these pirate vessels together, and then they form what they call a sea cordon, that is, they drop off till there is an interval of 5 or 6 miles between ship and ship, so

state clearly that two Roman cohorts were maintained in the same town for the protection of Roman commerce.

Mr. Sewell who has made an elaborate study of the Roman coins found in India considers that an examination of the coin finds leads to the following conclusions.[48]

that they cover something like a hundred miles of sea, and no merchant ship can escape them. For when any one corsair sights a vessel a signal is made by fire or smoke, and then the whole of them make for this and seize the merchants and plunder them. After they have plundered them they let them go, saying "Go along with you and get more gain, and that may-hap will fall to us also!"

He also notes in respect of the kingdom of Eli the following:—

If any ship enters their estuary and anchors there having been bound for some other port, they seize her and plunder the cargo. For they say, you were bound for somewhere else, and 'tis God has sent you hither to us, so we have a right to all your goods. And they think it is no sin to act thus. And this naughty custom prevails all over the provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship is driven by stress of weather into some other port than that to which it was bound, it was sure to be plundered. But if a ship came bound originally to the place, they receive it with all honour and give it due protection. It would be interesting to note as Yule remarks that it was in this neighbourhood that Ibn Batuta fell into the hands of pirates and was stripped to the very drawers. That region continued to be piratical up to the days of Clive and Watson as we know. In the days of Sivaji it continued to be piratical also, as he is said to have replied to an English Embassy protesting against this piracy that "it was against the laws of Conchon, to restore any ship or goods that were driven ashore." The central Asian ambassador Abd-er-Razaak has something to say of pirates near the Calicut coast.

Marco Polo, Yule and Cordier III (3rd Edn.) Chap. XXIV and XXV, pp. 385-392.

48. *J.R.A.S.* 1904, p. 599.

1. There was hardly any commerce between Rome and India during the Consulate.

2. With Augustus began an intercourse which enabling the Romans to obtain oriental luxuries during the early days of the empire, culminated about the time of Nero, who died A.D. 68.

3. From this time forward the trade declined till the date of Caracalla, A.D. 217.

4. From the date of Caracalla it almost entirely ceased.

5. It revived again, though slightly, under the Byzantine emperors.

He also infers that the trade under the early emperors was in luxuries, under the later ones in industrial products, and under the Byzantines the commerce was with the south-west coast only, and not with the interior. He differs from those who find an explanation of this fluctuation in the political and social condition of India itself, and the facilities or their absence for navigating the seas, and considers that the cause is to be sought for in the political and social condition of Rome.

From an examination of the second class of my sources of information alone, we find that there was a period when South India was under great rulers, who gave the country peace and thus provided the indispensable security for commerce. This period can be shown to correspond to that of the Roman empire from Augustus to Caracalla. After this period we find the country in a condition of political flux. So, then, we may still find one at least of the most potent causes of this commercial decline in the internal condition of India itself.

Pliny and Ptolemy do not mention the Roman cohorts at Muziris which the *Peutingerian Tables* do. The first exploit of the Red-Chera's father is the destruction of the Kadambu tree of the sea.

(1) பலர்மொசிந்தோம்பிய திறள்பூங்கடம்பின்
கடியுடைமுழுமுதறுமியவேய் II—11, ll. 12-13.

(2) கடம்புமுதறடிந்த கடுஞ்சினவேந்தே II—12, ll. 1-3.

(3) துளங்குபிசிருடையமாக்கடனீந்திக்
கடம்பறுத்தியற்றிய வலம்படுவியன்பணை
II—17, ll. 5-6.

From the Padirruppattu.

Another compliment which the poets never miss an opportunity of bestowing upon this Red-Chera himself is that the Chera fleet sailed on the waters of that littoral with a sense of dominion and security.[49] The Kadambu mentioned above is explained as a tree of extraordinary magic powers which could not be cut down by ordinary man. I rather think from the context that it has reference to a piratical rendezvous of the tribe of people who are known as the Kadambas. This view seems to be directly countenanced by the extract 3 in the note before the last which says in effect that he crossed the sea, destroyed the Kadambu and brought his enemies to subjection.[50] If this view be correct, the advent of

49. சினமிகுதானைவானவன்குடகடன்
பொலந்தருநாவாயோட்டியவவ்வழி
பிரர்கலஞ்செல்கலாதனையேம், Puram, 128.
Marokkattu Nappsalaiyar on Malayaman Tirumudik-Kari.

50. It would be nothing surprising if the Kadambu tree, the country-date or some tree like it had been the tree-totem of this

the said Chera brought along with it security. This would be in conformity with Ptolemy's reference to Aay, who was one of the seven chieftains known to literature as "the last seven patrons." From the body of works known to Tamil scholars as the Sangam works their contemporaneity could easily be established from internal evidence alone. I find the name Aay a distinctive name of two individuals, and not quite of a family. This Aay must have been the contemporary of, or a little older than, Ptolemy and the age of Ptolemy would practically be the age of the Red-Chera, and the Chera ascendency. This conclusion only confirms what has been arrived at independently of this class of evidence. The Gajabahu of Ceylon who visited the Red-Chera almost at the end of his reign, ruled according to the Ceylonese chronicles from A.D. 113 to 135. Even allowing for the difference between the Ceylonese date of the Nirvana of the Buddha[51] and that arrived at by modern scholars as Dr. Fleet, namely 60 years, that date for Gajabahu would be A.D. 173 to 193. The Chera ascendency then would cover the middle fifty years of the second century A.D.

The date of the death of the Roman Emperor Caracalla corresponds closely to the disappearance of the Satavahanas of the Dakhan. According to the latest

tribe. One tree in particular might have been regarded as peculiarly sacred by the tribe like the famous Oak at Dodona of the ancient Greeks or of the slightly less famous Oak trunk of the Saxons of the days of Charlemagne. Such trees with the Tamils were called guard-trees and cutting them down was an invitation to a war to the death; cf. the Margosa tree of Palayan. The Kadambas are one among four different classes of the agricultural population.

51. The case for making this allowance does not stand on so good a footing now as it did at one time.

opinion the power of the Kushanas also vanished about the same period. In South India likewise the Pandya ascendency passes into darkness. The century following is one of the dark spots in Indian history, until the rise of the Guptas in the North, of the Chalukyas in the Dakhan and of the Pallavas in the South.

The Rise of the Sassanian Power.

This prosperous and flourishing Roman trade with India lasted over a little more than two centuries as we saw, beginning almost from the reign of Augustus and coming to an end practically with the death of Caracalla. In India also the Kushan empire in the north and that of the Andhras in the Dakhan and the rule of the Tamil kings in the South came to an eclipse almost about the same time, as the rise of Sassanian power in Persia. What may be the exact connection between the rise of the Sassanian power on the one hand and of the extinction of the Indian powers on the other has to be unveiled by future research. It is, however, clear that Roman commerce suffered extinction practically because of the rise of this power which interposed itself along the route of Roman commerce overland and perhaps to a smaller extent obstructed the long oversea commerce. The Persian Gulf route passed effectively under the control of the Sassanids, who seem early to have exerted themselves to capture the trade of the Arabs and whose efforts had succeeded so far in it that they could extend their voyages of commerce across the whole width of the Indian ocean, and venture as far the Shantung Peninsula in China. While the rise of this power seems to have diminished the maritime enterprise of the Tamils in the Arabian Sea region, if it did not actually extinguish it, it left

the Tamil enterprise across the Bay of Bengal unaffected although not altogether alone.

Tamil enterprise across the Bay of Bengal from Tamil sources

From what has already been said above it is clear that the Tamils of South India had commenced their colonial enterprise across the Bay of Bengal earlier than we know anything of. The familiarity with which Savagam and the voyage thereto are spoken of, and the description of the imports into the port of Tondi in the Ramnad district and Kaveripattinam at the mouth of the river Kaveri, which answer detail after detail to what we learn from the Periplus and Ptolemy, warrant the inference that the Tamils had an established system of overseas trade on this side of the coast of the peninsula. Taken as a whole, then, the knowledge we gain of the overseas enterprise of the Tamils, reaches back to times, perhaps centuries, before the age of the classical Tamil literature from which these details are gained. The ship coins of the Andhras whose provenance, according to Sir Walter Elliot, is the coast region between the Pennars, north and south, the region pre-eminently of a class of people known by the name Tiraiyar goes only to confirm what we learn from Tamil literature. What is more, we hear of a class of merchants described in Tamil as *Mā-Śāttu-vāṇigan* (Sans. Maha Sartha Vanik) as great sea-going merchants indicating the existence of a class of people whose profession it was to trade overseas. When actually this communication began we are not in a position to state, but that there was something like a settled communication and regular voyages of commerce cannot be doubted. This prevalence of communication between South

India on the one side and the Malay peninsula and the Island on the other is confirmed in a very unlooked-for fashion by the recently discovered Koetei inscriptions to which we have already referred. The fact that Brahmans emigrated to the distant east, as far east as the east coast of Borneo, and the character of the emigrant colony make it indubitable that this was an emigration from South India, probably from the region of the early Pallavas.

Among the ruins of the monuments discovered all over this region, both Further India and the islands, the general position seems to be that the earliest monuments have reference to the worship of Vishnu. According to the recognised authorities Saivism followed, these two being followed later by Buddhism. This order of succession, not necessarily exclusively so, seems to be the case in regard to Further India as far as exploration work has gone on there. A similar conclusion seems warranted from all that we know of monumental Java, as the position is explained by the explicit statement of Fa-hien in regard to his own Java which must be the same as Ptolemy's Sabadiu, and not the island Java, as we know it at present. This may now be stated with confidence for the following reasons, summarised by Colonel Gerini as a result of an elaborate investigation in his Researches on Ptolemy's Geography.[52]

"As to the name Java being applied to the whole or part of Sumatra we have the evidence (1) of the Kedah Annals (Ch. XIII, Low's Translation in the *Journal of Indian Archipelago,* Vol. III) that Achin or Acheh was called the country of Jawi (Javi), (2) of Ibn Batuta, who

52. Page 462.

records Sumatra in 1345-6 under the name of "Island Jewah (or Java,)" (See Defremerey and Sanguinetti's Edition and Translation, Vol. IV, pp. 228) and (3) the still more decisive and far older testimony of the Pagar-ruyang inscription in the central part of the island (Manang-Kabau district) dating from A.D. 656, where king Aditya-Dharma is called the ruler of the "First (or primeval) Land of Java" (*Prathama Yava Bhū*) meaning, apparently, the first kingdom founded by the Yava or Java race in Sumatra, or still better, in the Archipelago (See Bom. R.A.S., June 1861, Appendix P. XVII). It should moreover, be noted that the natives of Nias speak of the Malays of Sumatra as Dawa, a term which is evidently a corruption of Java or Dava, especially as the Battak apply to the same people on their borders the slightly different denomination of Jau."

This Savagam was known to the Tamils as a kingdom ruled over by a king by name Bhumi-chandra. The name of his queen was Amara Sundari, and both of them brought up a child, an avatar of the Buddha, somewhat miraculously born of a cow. But the geographical detail in connection with this story is that it had for its capital a town called Nagapuram (See Manimekhalai, canto XIV). Colonel Gerini in his Researches labours hard to explain what Ptolemy's Argyre,[53] the capital of his Iabadiu or Sabadiu actually was and identifies it with Achin in Acheh on the N.-W. coast of Java.

If Nagapuram was the capital of Savagam, the capital of Sabadiu must be the equivalent of Nagapuram. Ptolemy's Argyre does not come any way near it at first sight; but this Nagapuram

53. *Opus cit.*, pp. 656 ff.

passes by the alternative designation Bhogavatipura, and has yet another possible alternative Uragapura which comes nearest to Argyre. It is well known that Kalidasa speaks of the capital of the Pandyas as Uragapura,[54] meaning thereby that the capital of the Pandyas was in his time known as Uragapura.

To the Classical Tamils although Madura is by far the most familiar, the term Alavay[55] or Halasya (abr. Hala-Halasya) was not unfamiliar. If the name of the island Savagam was due to Tamil, the capital may well be ascribed to the same source, and if the capital city had been founded under the auspices of Madura, it might well take the name Uragapura giving Ptolemy's equivalent Argyre. Whether Uragapura in its alternative form Bhogavatipura is actually responsible for the term Sri-Bhoja for the later capital of Sumatra is more than we can assert at present. Hence it would be more reasonable from every point of view to regard Sumatra as the "Prathama" Java, the other island Java being so called by the immigrants from this original Java.

Information from I-tsing's Records of the Western world.

As we pass from Fa-hein to the other Chinese traveller to whom we are indebted for a considerable volume of information regarding Java, we find a different state of things from the point of view of religion. This traveller I-tsing left the Shantung peninsula in a Persian ship and came down to Sri-Bhoja; proceeded from there to Tamra-

54. Raghuvamsa, Canto VI Sloka 591.

55. One poem in the *Ahananuru* is ascribed to an author whose name is given as Peralavayar.

lipti and travelled therefrom in India learning Sanskrit and collecting manuscripts bearing on Buddhism. After spending a number of years, he returned to Sri-Bhoja with hundreds of manuscripts. After taking a holiday home, he returned with several collaborators to Sri-Bhoja. He stayed some years there and completed the translation of several of the manuscripts he had collected and sent home 500 volumes of translation. He settled down in Sri-Bhoja for the obvious reason that he commanded the convenience for carrying on his literary labours. The period of his travels cover the last quarter of the seventh century. He then founded the kingdom of Sri-Bhoja which exercised authority not only over its own territory, but also over the islands and principalities across the straits in the Malaya peninsula, so that we might say that the period of expansion of the kingdom of Sri-Bhoja had already begun. He was hospitably treated and was provided with a state ship by the Maharaja of Sri-Bhoja, who apparently also supplied him with all requirements for conducting his literary labours after his return from India. The country was then essentially Buddhist. The change from just the beginnings of Buddhistic influence in the age of Fa-hien, to the dominance of Buddhism during I-tsing's stay in the islands gives us clearly to understand that the intervening centuries, fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, of the Christian era constitute the period of Buddhistic outspread in this region. It may be due to the influence of Buddhistic scholars like Buddha Gosha, who is said to have travelled from Ceylon to Burma on a religious mission. Either he himself, or others like him before and after were responsible for this expansion of Buddhism. This does not seem unlikely as we know that in the sixth century South

India contributed at least one principal to the Nalanda University, perhaps the most distinguished, Dharmapala of Kanchi. When Hiuen-tsang was in Kanchi, he had to cancel the project of going to Ceylon, where he wanted to learn certain parts of the Buddhist Vinaya. During his stay in Kanchi there arrived a number of Buddhist Divines from Ceylon, and they told him that the island was so disturbed by internecine war that it would not be worth his while going there then. When he told them what exactly his mission was, they undertook to instruct him themselves as they were by far the most learned in that particular section of the Buddhist Canon. This disturbed state of the country relates to the middle of the seventh century. Some of the Buddhists from Ceylon might have found asylum in Sri-Bhoja, and that perhaps was the reason why in I-tsing's days Sri-Bhoja had become a great Buddhist centre. Whatever the cause, Sri-Bhoja in which I-tsing stayed was an important centre in which he could carry on his literary labours quite as well as in Nalanda itself, the climate of which was unsuitable to the Chinese scholar. Hence we see that the outspread of religion from South India into the islands of the Archipelago, probably was in the same order chronologically as in the case of Further India, and that is also found to be what we discover the order in respect of the archaeological monuments in Java. The most remarkable ones such as the Boro-Budur are entirely Buddhist and this Java monument is described by competent authority (such as Prof. Foucher) to belong to the 8th or the 9th Century A.D. In the central province of Java, however, on the heights of the mountains could be discovered ruins of temples dedicated to Siva considered to belong to a period not later than the

seventh or the eighth century. In the western part of Sumatra island again, Sanskrit inscriptions of a Vaishnava character have been found, and these are ascribed to the period about A.D. 450 to 600. This according to Colonel Gerini[56] indicates the order of the religious overflow from Sumatra into Java. This order, from the point of view of India, is essentially a question of wherefrom the emigrants started and to what particular region of South India they belonged. Vaishnavism and Saivism flourished side by side at the dawn of the Christian era, and they could both of them have gone eastwards at any time since that period. If it should have been that the first colony went from the region of the Pallavas, that is from near the mouth of the Krishna, Vaishnavism could have been established first. Whatever was the origin of this chronological order there is no question about the order itself. The Koetei inscriptions are evidence of the spread of Vedic Brahmans from South India. The Takopa inscription on a stone found near the mouth of the River Takopa in the Malaya peninsula is again in Pallava characters of the 7th or the early 8th century, and relates to a Vishnu temple of Narayana-Venugopala on the top of a hill called Narayana higher up the river. The actual purport of this inscription is the construction of a tank near the temple and the placing of it under the protection of certain communities of people described as *Sēnā-Mukham*, *Maṇigrāmam* and *Chāpattār*.[57] The first seems to refer to a military force Sena-Mukham being explained as the

56. *Opus Cit.*
57. *J.R.A.S.* 1904, pp. 397-88.

Royal Guards."[58] Manigramam is a well known mercantile community of the west coast and "Chapattar" the last, if the reading of the first part is quite correct (it is rather doubtful) would mean "body of archers." Manigramam is certain indication of a colony from the west coast. This origin of the colony would explain the Vaishnava character of the settlement. So far then we see the influence of South India continued intact; and the period ranging from before the days of Ptolemy right on to the beginning of the 10th century almost, may be regarded as the period of the greatest South Indian influence in this part of Asia.

The advent of Islamic enterprise in the East

During the period extending from the first quarter of the seventh century onwards, a new influence began to be felt in the rise and expansion of Islam in Arabia. The fall of Persia as a result of the successful war conducted by Khalif Omar introduced a new political element in mid-western Asia whch was likely to exercise a considerable influence upon the Indian Ocean navigation. We hear of the descent of Arab Muhammadan fleets on the coasts of the northern Konkan and the region of Sindh in the reign of Omar himself. But the Persians under the Sassanids seem to have established themselves so well on the Indian Ocean, that even this conquest did not displace Persian nautical enterprise in the eastern arm of the Indian Ocean. Late in the 7th century, the Per-

58. Silappadikaram XIX, 369 Sena Mukham is also a division of any army composed of 3 units namely, 3 chariots, 3 elephants, 9 horses and 15 men—Pingalandai, 541.

sians so far maintained themselves as to carry on a regular trade as far east as the Shantung peninsula. That I-tsing travelled in a Persian ship from the Shantung peninsula to Sri-Bhoja in the island of Sumatra is the clearest possible evidence of it. At the time, the fact that I-tsing performed the rest of his journey to Tamralipti in a ship provided by the Maharaja of Sri-Bhoja is equally a clear indication of the rising sea-power of this enterprising state of Sumatra. While therefore the Arab and Persian had to carry on the eastern trade in friendly rivalry, this new element of a native power in Sumatra was somewhat disconcerting to the rivals themselves. It cannot be stated that during this period the Hindus of South India and Bengal and the inhabitants of Ceylon necessarily ceased their maritime activities. The Takopa inscription already adverted to is evidence of some enterprise on the part of the colonists from the region of the Malabar coast, but more than that this was the age of Buddhistic outspread from South India, and all this expansion it would be difficult to assert, took place by means of available foreign shipping. The fact that an invasion set out from the coasts of the Pallava country against Ceylon consisting of a fleet of 300 ships is certain indication that nautical efforts on the Tamil coasts had not come to an end. A Tamil poet could still speak in the 8th century of ships bringing elephants and gold, and lying in harbour at Mahabalipuram (the Seven Pagodas of Anglo-India). There are records of several invasions of the West Coast and of Ceylon by the Cholas; what is more of a greater invasion fitted out and sent against the king of *Ramañña*, the ruler of Pegu, by the great Ceylon Buddhistic King Parakramabahu. The sounder conclusion from the evidence at our command therefore is that

these had all traded together in peaceful rivalry during this period.

The Expansion of the Kingdom of Sri-Bhoja.

The rise of the kingdom of Sri-Bhoja and the prominent position that it occupied when I-tsing was on his travels in India, that is, in the latter half of the 7th century A.D. was the beginning of a career of expansion for this kingdom. The number of references that we get to missions sent from this kingdom to China and the early reference in the records of Muhammadan Arab travellers indicate clearly that the kingdom of Sri-Bhoja beginning as a small state was fast advancing to what might be described as a sort of imperial position in the Eastern Seas. Sulaiman. (A.D. 851), speaking of Zabej, says "that the entire region obeys a single king." Both Ibn-Khurda-dbih (A.D. 864) and Abu-Said of the later 9th century have much the same thing to say of the Maharaja of Zabej. He is said to rule over a large number of islands stretching for a distance of a thousand parasangs (2,400 miles). Among his possessions are counted (1) Sarbaja or Serboza both of them alike standing for Sri-Bhoja (Modern Palembang), (2) Rami producing camphor, this Rami being the same as Lambri or Lameri including in it Fansur of Barus camphor-forests, and (3) Kalah on the Malay peninsula. According to Ibn-Khurda-dbih, it was ruled over by the Jaba prince of India (ruler of Pegu). But Abu-Said includes it in the territory of the Maharaja of Sri-Bhoja. This position given to it in the 9th century is confirmed by later writers —those who obtained their information from previous writers as well as those who wrote from first-hand information of their own. What we learn therefore from

Arab writers would justify the inference that in the centuries of Chola ascendency in South India Sri-Bhoja was the dominant power in the Archipelago. It is apparently of one of these rulers that Renaudot records a somewhat legendary story of invasion of what seems the Pandya country for the purpose of punishing the contemporary Pandya ruler for having spoken ill of the great Maharaja.

Diplomatic and other relations between the Chola Empire and Sri-Bhoja.

To the Tamilian rulers, however, across the Bay of Bengal, the Maharajas of Sri-Bhoja were rulers of Kadaram; as such they are brought to our notice in a few records relating to them. In regard to the identification of the rulers of Kadaram with the Maharajas of Sri-Bhoja the evidence has been discussed elsewhere.[59]

A ruler of Kadaram by name Chudamani Varman applied for permission and obtained a license from the great Chola Raja Raja for the building of a Vihara in Negapatam, which is called in the record Chudamani Vihara. About the same time an embassy went from him to China, asked for the blessings of "His Celestial Majesty" for the new Vihara that he built, and obtained from him approval of the name and "the presentation of bells." The vihara perhaps was not completed in the time of Chudamani Varma. His son Mara Varma purchased and made over to this vihara two villages, the record conveying which is known to Epigraphists by the name "the large Leyden Grant."[60] This is a Chola

59. Rajendra, the Gangaigonda Chola in the Sir Asutosh Commemoration volumes: Vol. III, Calcutta University.

60. Translated by Dr. Hirth in *J.R.A.S.* 1896, p. 489.

charter on copper-plates licensing or ratifying this transaction. This relationship apparently continued for about 20 years, when for some reason or other a cause of war had arisen. An expedition was fitted out against this Raja of Kadaram known this time as Sangrama Vijayottunga Varma, probably the son and successor of Mara Vijayottunga Varma. As is explained in the article quoted above, Rajendra had, as a necessary preliminary, to conquer Orissa as the royal families of Orissa and Sri-Bhoja appeared to have been related to each other, both of them belongig to Sri-Sailendra-Vamsa. The war which Rajendra carried on as far as the banks of the Ganges, and the thorough-going way in which he carried it to bring the Kalinga rulers into submission to him were both necessitated for the safety of his own flank. One possible cause of this invasion overseas seems to be that the Tamil States in the east were being absorbed by the ruler of Sri-Bhoja in the course of his imperial expansion. The several embassies referred to in the record of the Chinese trade Superintendent Chao-Ju-Kua, and the one in particular of date A.D. 1033 from a Lo-cha-Into-Lo-Chulo is from Sri-Rajendra Deva Chola, that is, Rajendra, the Gangaigonda Chola, had probably the same object in view.[61] This distant embassy was apparently sent by Rajendra with a view to putting matters on a permanent footing in respect of his eastern territory across the seas. The last mission we hear of is dated A.D. 1077 from the Chola country belonging to the reign of the great Chola ruler Kulottunga A.D. 1070 to 1118. The Sung history relating to this mission states that Chu-lien (the Chola country) had become tributary to San-

61. See also Gerini, *Opus, Cit.*, p. 609, Note 2.

fut-Zai (Sri Vijaya of the time) which seems to be the name that Sri-Bhoja assumed at that time. The Sung reference cannot therefore be to the Chola country on the peninsula of India. It refers apparently to the Chola possessions on the east coast and the islands of the Bay of Bengal. We do not hear of any relation between the Chola country and the east after this period, and therefore the inference seems safe that the Chola overseas dominance was thenceforward as good as given up. The century following is a century of the decline of the Chola power and a revival of that of the Pandyas. The great Pandya king who ruled from A.D. 1268 to 1310-11 had considerable maritime trade both with the west, as far as, at any rate, the Persian Gulf, if not Arabia, and as far east as China. But this vast trade which was the cause of prosperity of the vast Pandya kingdom seems to have been in the hands of a body of Arab Muhammadans whose head-quarters were in the Persian Gulf in the island of Kis or Kais. Their ruler, known by the title Malik-ul-Islam Jamal-ud-din, had not only the monopoly of the horse trade of the Pandya kingdom but seemed also to have enjoyed the control of the eastern trade. His first agent Abdur Rahman-ut-Thaibi had his headquarters at Kayal, the chief port in the south-east of the Pandya country and had control of the whole coasting trade. It was a cousin of this agent a Jamal-ud-din (Chamalatung) who went on a mission to China on behalf of the great Pandya king Kulasekhara. This transformation, of the trade passing from the hands of the native of South India into the hands of the Arab agents of the local monarchs, seems to have come about in the course of the decline of the Chola power. The inference then is that the Cholas were the chief maritime power of the Coromandel coast

and that their decline meant, the decline of the maritime activity of the Tamils.

ULIMATE ARAB SUPERSESSION OF HINDU TRADE.

The Arab Muhammadans must have for some considerable time settled down along this coast for purposes of trade. We have already stated that there were small settlements of these even in a town like Kaveripattinam. That state of things must have continued and it is probably the passing of the bulk of the estern trade under their control, and of the Coromandel coast proving the exchange mart between the goods from the west and goods from the east that explains the Arab name Ma'abir (landing place) which the Arabs gave to the South Indian coast extending from Quilon to Nellore according to Wassaf. It is just about this time of the rising of the Arab agencies in the Indian coast there were founded a number of settlements of these Arabs along the Ceylon coast as well. It is to this age again that is ascribed the gaining of sufficient influence by the Arabs on the north coast of Java, wherefrom by a few important conversions to Muhammadanism they began to exercise that influence which ultimately led to Java and the islands adjoining adopting the Muhammadan faith. It is this conversion to Muhammadanism of the East Indian Archipelago, that is responsible for the cessation of the Hindu maritime enterprise in the east. It does not appear however to have ceased entirely. The famous charter to oversea traders granted by the Kakatiya king, Ganapati, and which is recorded in the pillar at Mottupalli near the mouth of the river Krishna seems to have revived a little of the Hindu enterprise in this particular region about the same time that the trade of the Pandyan

coast was passing into the hands of the Arabs. The Telugu poet Srinatha in the dedication of his poem Haravilasam to one Avachi Tippaya Setty of Nellore says that Tippayya Setty had the monopoly of supplying all valuable article to the great Devaraja II of Vijayanagar, to the Sultan Muhammad of the Bahmani kingdom and to the Reddi chief, Kumaragiri Reddi of Kondavidu. He is said to have imported camphor-plants from the Punjab, gold from Jalanogi, elephants from Ceylon, good horses from Hurimanji (Ormuz), musk from Goa, pearls from Apaga, musk from Chotangi and fine silks from China.

Whether we should take it that he got them all through the agency of the Muhammadan overseas merchants may be doubted. There is however the silent fact that, in the two and a half centuries of the ascendency of the Vijayanagar Empire in Southern India something like 300 ports were open to trade along the coast. There is no reference to any effort on the part of this empire to build up or maintain a navy unless the "Lordship of the Southern Ocean" held by Lakkanna under Devaraya II meant naval control of the seas. It is the want of a navy on the part of Vijayanagar and its failure to provide one that opened the way for the enterprise of foreigners, European foreigners in this period in India.

CONCLUSION.

This somewhat cursory survey of the maritime enterprise of the Hindus of South India makes it clear that the South Indian Hindus exhibited commendable enterprise overseas, and carried their civilization and religion across the Bay of Bengal to the East Indian Archipelago in the centuries, perhaps anterior to the Christian era.

With the dawn of the Christian era, this enterprise takes form and shape and we begin to see therefore communities of South Indian inhabitants along the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal. These communities began to grow and flourish to such an extent that they cease to be merely temporary trade settlements, but permanent colonies of the Hindus, necessitating even a considerable amount of Brahman emigration as essential to the life of the Hindu community as a whole. The whole turn that was given to the civilization of the East Indian archipelago is in the form that religious and cultural development exhibited in South India. Vaishnavism and Saivism or subsequently southern or Hinayanist Buddhism spread over from South India and Ceylon to the east and gave rise to those magnificent monuments, some of which even excel those of the mother country. The character of these monuments as far as they could be studied from their ruinous condition and the few inscriptions that have been discovered indicate unmistakably that the inspiration came from South India. The culture was South Indian undoubtedly. The cause of prosperity of these might be regarded as due to South India as it is South Indian enterprise that built up the trade of the Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula with which it maintained a continuous trade in commodities of rare value, and gained from her the practical monopoly for several of them. In the development of a commerce from out of this exuberance of nature, South Indian Hindus played a prominent part. At one time, it looked as though it had succeeded in establishing a Greater India, but the want of sustained enterprise combined with efficient rivalries stopped them short in this enterprise, as soon as it was well on the way

to its full development. This failure proved a vital defect in the imperial career of Vijayanagar and made a permanent Hindu Empire even in South India impossible.

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